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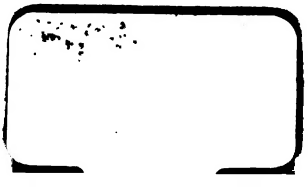

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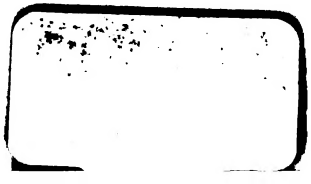

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OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

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OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

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PREFACE.

THE more remote in Oregon affairs has been given in my *History of the Northwest Coast*, which is indeed a part of the *History of Oregon*, as elsewhere explained. The later volumes deal with events which occurred within the memory of men now living; they are wrought out from yet more original sources, a large proportion of the facts herein presented never having before appeared in print. Obviously it is more difficult to treat fully and fairly a comparatively modern epoch, from absolutely crude material, than an earlier one which has been worked over by scholars for centuries. Of the hundreds of personal narratives which have been placed before me by those who assisted in making the history, no two wholly agree; and yet to the careful student, with all the evidence before him, the truth is generally clear.

The leading features of this history are not found in bloody conquests inspired by the thirst for gain and glory united to the hope of winning heaven, but in the more gentle purpose of adding to the enjoyments of earth by commerce and agriculture, the fur company, the missionaries of different sects soon converted into rival traders, and the middle class from the United States, all contributing of their several characteristics to form a society at once individual and independent.

It is in the missionary rather than in the commercial or agricultural elements that I find that romance which underlies all human endeavor before it becomes of interest sufficient for permanent preservation in the memory of mankind. A mountain-walled plain, between the coast elevations and the northern stretch of the great Andean range, with a fertile soil, a genial climate, and picturesque scenery, through a peculiar sequence of events become the western Utopia of the American states, and kindle in the breasts of those who here lay the foundations of a commonwealth the fire of patriotism, forever sacred even when fed by fallacies. The silent conquest of this area by men and women from the border, intent on empire, is a turning-point in the destinies of the country; and it is to me no less a pleasure than a duty to recognize the heroic in this conquest, and to present one more example of the behavior of the Anglo-Saxon race under the influence of American institutions.

Nor did the people of the earlier west enter upon these achievements without a well-defined purpose. Proselyting alone was not the object; nor yet traffic, nor even broad lands. There was present, besides the desire to secure for themselves and their descendants some small portion of this earth, the determination to plant here those pure moralities and fair civilities which belong to the higher Christian civilization; and one glance at the present condition of the people is sufficient to assure us that they succeeded. Aside from the somewhat antiquated sentiments of eternal justice and the rights of man as apart from man's power to enforce his rights, the quick extermination of the aborigines may be regarded as a blessing both

to the red race and to the white. The two seldom profitably intermix. And this happy consummation, the swift and sharpest means of sweeping from the earth every human encumbrance, the people of the United States have never been backward about. However merciless the conquerors, Spain's government, aided by the church, was ever tender of her native American subjects, and we see the result in Mexico and Central America. The British fur-traders would not permit the killing of their hunters, and we see the result in British Columbia. Avarice, war, injustice, and inhumanity are often the most important aids to civilization. In this respect, with noble intentions and devout aspirations far higher than ordinary, the settlers of Oregon but followed their destiny. They labored for the best, and quarrelled not with the inevitable.

It is proper to remember here that the United States first reached the Pacific in the latitudes of Oregon, thus completing the great zone of states from ocean to ocean; that the first proposals to build a line of military posts, a wagon-road, and a railway across the continent were made in connection with the occupation of the Columbia Valley; likewise in the first project to connect the eastern and western coasts by steamships Oregon was the objective point.

Through the generosity and frankness of the people of Oregon I am enabled to present this history in the fulness of its details, and I sincerely hope they have not found their confidence misplaced. It has been my earnest endeavor, here as everywhere, rightly to understand facts and properly to construe motives.

Of every one, however humble, who came early to Oregon, and of all those who early or late contributed their intelligence and energy toward establishing the commonwealth, so far as possible I have made mention; and I believe the time will come, if it be not here already, when to the descendants of these hardy empire-builders this enrolment will be recognized as equivalent to a patent of nobility.

The history of Oregon has been to me a most interesting study, and of her present proud position and her brilliant future her sons cannot entertain too high an opinion.

CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

OREGON IN 1834.

PAGE.

The Northwest Coast and the Oregon Territory—Physical Features—Mountain Ranges and Rivers—The Imperious Columbia—Distribution of Vegetation—Climate—Sunshine and Rain—Post-plantings of Civilization—Fort Vancouver—Its Lord Paramount—The Garden—Hospitality—Money, Morality, and Religion—Fort George—Fort Nisqually—Forts Langley, Umpqua, and Walla Walla—Okanagan and Colville—Forts Hall and Boisé—Fort William and Wapato Island—The French-Canadian Settlement—Missionaries, Traders, Farmers, Horse-dealers, Scientists, and Fur-hunters as Empire-builders—Origin of the Term Oregon 1

CHAPTER II.

LIFE AT FORT VANCOUVER.

1825-1846.

Marriage Relations—Fidelity—Social Conditions—McLoughlin—Douglas—Peter Skeen Ogden—Ermatinger—Thomas McKay—Duncan Finlayson—Gairdner and Tolmie—Pambrun—McKinlay—Black—Rae—McLoughlin Junior—Lewes—Dunn—Roberts—Barclay—Manson—McLeod—Birnie, Grant, McBean, McDonald, Maxwell, Ballenden, and McTavish—Patriots and Liberals—Attitude toward the Settlers—The Blessed Beavers 26

CHAPTER III.

SETTLEMENT OF OREGON.

1832-1834.

The Flatheads at St Louis—They Ask for Missionaries—Interest Raised among Religious People—The Churches Roused—Action of the Methodist Board—Jason and Daniel Lee Chosen Missionaries—Wyeth Consulted—Journey Overland from Independence—Preaching at Fort Hall—Arrival at Fort Vancouver—Visit to the Willamette Valley—Mission Site Chosen—Reasons for Abandoning the Flathead Plan—The French Canadians—Campement du Sable—Hall J Kelley—Something about the Men Who Came with Lewis and Clarke, the Astor Expeditions, Wyeth, Kelley, and Ewing Young 54

CHAPTER IV.

METHODIST OCCUPATION.

1834–1838.

PAGE.

Removal of Effects—Fencing, Building, and Planting—The Sorrowful Work of Conversion—Missionary Failures—Daniel Lee Visits the Islands—Arrival of Kelley and Young—Figueroa's Letter—Estrangement of Ewing Young—Attack on an Incoming Party by the Natives of Rogue River—The Affair of the Distillery—Arrival of a Government Agent..... 78

CHAPTER V.

COMING OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.

1834–1836.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—Parker and Whitman Sent to Choose Mission Sites—Whitman Returns East for Teachers—Parker's Adventures—His Favorable Opinion of the Indians—Their Desire for Teachers and Religious Observances—Parker Selects a Site at Waiilatpu—Religious Services Established at Fort Vancouver—Parker Returns Home—Whitman and Spalding and their Wives—Their Overland Journey—Whitman's Wagon Route—Stuart and Pilcher—The Welcome at Fort Vancouver—Return of Gray for More Teachers—Later Missionaries, Walker, Eells, and Smith..... 104

CHAPTER VI.

THE WILLAMETTE CATTLE COMPANY.

1836–1837.

Need of Cattle in the Willamette Valley—The Hudson's Bay Company Refuse to Sell—McLoughlin's Views on the Question—Meeting at Champoeg—Formation of the Cattle Company—Ewing Young and Party Sent to California for Stock—Solemn and Momentous Negotiations—The Crossing of the San Joaquin—Herds Drawn Across by Ropes and Rafts—An Indian Ambush—Plot to Shoot Edwards and Young—Division of the Stock and its Increase in Oregon—What Became of Ewing Young's Property..... 139

CHAPTER VII.

COLONIZATION.

1837–1840.

Three Missionary Brides—Jason Lee's Marriage—Sea-coast Excursions—Branch Mission among the Calapooyas—Petition to Congress for a Civil Government—Lee Goes East—Death of Mrs Lee—Missionary Enthusiasm in the East—Bill for the Occupation of Oregon—Sailing of the 'Lausanne' with the Mission Colony—Treaty of Commerce with the Hawaiian Islands—Affairs in Oregon—Drowning of the First White Boy Born in the Territory—Death of Shepard—Religious Interest at the Dalles—Arrival of the Mission Colony..... 154

CHAPTER VIII.

CLOSE OF THE METHODIST RÉGIME.

1840–1841.

PAGE.

Settlement of Clatsop Plains—The Nisqually Mission Site—Daniel Lee Returns East—The Willamette Station—Trials of Inexperienced Pioneers—Exploration of the Umpqua Valley—White Determines to leave Oregon—Accident at the Falls—The Oregon Institute—Plan to Drive McLoughlin from the Falls—Conduct of Waller—Parts Played by Hastings and Abernethy—Ingratitude and Trickery—Legality of Claimants to Oregon City—Lee Superseded by George Gray—Progress of Colonization 184

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS.

1839–1841.

The Peoria Party—Incidents of the Journey—Farnham Arrives in Oregon—Return of McLoughlin from London—Dissatisfaction of Missionaries and Colonists—Petition to Congress—Belcher's Expedition—Extent of Canadian Jurisdiction—More Immigrants from Illinois—Missionaries Continue to Arrive—The Newell Party—Missionary Hospitality—Spaulding's Report—Wilkes on the Coast—The 'Star of Oregon'—Overland Exploration to California—Sir George Simpson at Fort Vancouver—Mofras' Mission—The Red River Settlers 226

CHAPTER X.

THE SUB-INDIAN AGENT'S COMPANY.

1842–1845.

The Effect of Lee's Letter to Cushing—White Visits Washington—Plans of the 'Friends of Oregon'—White is Appointed Sub-Indian Agent for Oregon—He Raises a Large Company of Emigrants—Incidents of the Journey—A Canine Massacre—Dissensions in Camp—The Halt at Fort Laramie—The Sioux Take a Hand—Fort Hall is Reached—Reception by the Missionaries—White and the Colonists—Disgusted Immigrants—McLoughlin to the Rescue—Hastings Leads a Party to California 253

CHAPTER XI.

WHITE'S ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

1842–1845.

The Indian Agent's Troubles—His Negotiations with the Cayuses and Nez Percés—A Code of Laws for the Indians—The Peace Broken again, and again Patched up—White's Troubles with Illicit Distilleries—The Killing of Cockstock—The Oregon Rangers—Yellow Serpent's Disastrous Expedition to California—Death of his Son Elijah—White's Interview with Chief Ellis—His Conciliatory Promises, and How They were Kept—His Departure from Oregon..... 268

CHAPTER XII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

1843.

PAGE.

Methodist Officials—A Probate Court Needed—Meeting of the Settlers—Officials Chosen—Withdrawal of the French Catholic Element—Further Political Elements—The Oregon Lyceum—Fresh Overtures to the Canadians—The Land Law—Another Methodist Movement—The 'Wolf' Organization—The Canadians Brought in—New Selection of Officials—Report of the Legislative Committee—Government Expenses—The Four Great Districts—Measures against McLoughlin—Influence of Shortess on Political Affairs..... 292

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CATHOLIC MISSIONS—MORE OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.

1838–1847

Call of the French Canadians—Coming of Blanchet and Demers—The Vicar-general among the Cayuses—St Francis Xavier on the Cowlitz—Protestant and Catholic Rivalry—Langlois and Bolduc—The Jesuits in the North-west—Labors of Father De Smet—Point and Mangarini—St Marys on the Bitter Root—Mission of the Sacred Heart—De Vos and Hoecken—Jesuit Reënforcements—Blanchet Made Archbishop—St Pauls—Affairs at Waiilatpu and Lapwai—Insolence of the Savages—Whitman's Winter Journey to the East—His Treatment by the Board—Return and Disappointment..... 315

CHAPTER XIV.

OREGON BEFORE CONGRESS.

1820–1846.

Oregon's Early Champion—Irrepressible Destiny—Crude Ideas of the Country—Expediency of Occupying the Columbia—Tortuous Course of Floyd's Bill—The Russian Ukase—Baylies, Tucker, Colden, Mallary, Wood, Walker, Breckenridge, Buchanan, Dickerson, Benton, and Others Express their Views—End of the First Epoch of Legislation—Linn, Clay, Calhoun, Pierce, Cushing, and Pendleton, of the Second Epoch—Linn's Bill—Popular Feeling—Petitions for the Occupation of Oregon—The Question of Slavery..... 349

CHAPTER XV.

THE IMMIGRATION OF 1843.

Effect of Congressional Discussion and Missionary Agitation—Flocking to the Rendezvous—Organization—Disaffection and Division—Names of the Emigrants—The Light Column and the Cow Column—Along the Platte—At Fort Hall—Whitman's Doings—On to the Columbia and down the River—Policy of the Hudson's Bay Company—It is Better to Sell or Give than Tempt the New-comers to take by Force—The Applegates—Other Biographical Notices..... 391

CHAPTER XVI.

LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS.

1844.

PAGE.

Character of the Immigration of 1843—The Land Law—Old and New Settlers—Organic Laws—Personnel of the Committees—Message of the Executive Committee—Revision and Correction of Legislative Errors—Judicial Affairs—The Blessings of Land and the Ballot—Willamette Falls the Seat of Government—The Question of Boundary—Law Relating to Marriage—Liquor Law—Slavery—Negroes and Mulattoes—Attitude toward the British Fur Company—Independence of Oregon..... 425

CHAPTER XVII.

THE IMMIGRATION OF 1844.

Belligerent Attitude of the British and Americans—Vancouver Fortified—Gathering of the Emigrants—The Several Divisions and Companies—The Independent Colony—Cornelius Gilliam—Nathaniel Ford—The Journey—Sufferings on the Journey—Their Destitute Condition—Reception by Missionaries and Fur-traders—Names of the Immigrants—Biographical Notices..... 446

CHAPTER XVIII.

AMENDMENT OF THE ORGANIC LAWS

1845.

The First Three Legislative Bodies—Opposing Parties—The Several Legislatures—Memorial to Congress—What Benton Thought of It—Elijah White's Exploits—Proceedings of the Legislature—Fusion of the Americans and British—English Spies in Oregon—British Vessels—Conduct of McLoughlin Discussed—Unjust Censure—Consequence to McLoughlin..... 470

CHAPTER XIX.

THE IMMIGRATION OF 1845.

A Notable Migration—Various Starting-points—Divisions and Companies—Joel Palmer—Samuel K. Barlow—Presley Welch—Samuel Hancock—Bacon and Buck—W. G. T'Vault—John Waymire—Solomon Tetherow—California Extolled at Fort Hall—Meeting with White—His Fatal Friendship—A Long Cut-off—Hardships on the Malheur—Disease and Death at the Dalles—Heartlessness of Waller and Brewer—Emmet's Wanderings—The Incoming by Sea—Names of the Immigrants—Third Session of the Legislature—Explorations for Immigrant Pass—Wagon-road—Public Buildings, Capital, and Liquor Questions—New Counties—Revenue..... 508

CHAPTER XX.

OPENING OF THE SOUTHERN OREGON ROUTE—IMMIGRATION OF 1846.

PAGE.

Road-making as a War Measure—A Pass Required—A Company Organized—They Proceed to Rogue River—Whence they Continue Eastward and Cross the Cascade Range into the Humboldt Valley—They Proceed to Fort Hall—Hastings and his Cut-off—Immigration of 1846—Applegate's Cut-off—J. Q. Thornton, his Book and his Vindictiveness—Sufferings of the Emigrants by the New Route—Comments of the Settlers on the Southern Route — Biographical Notices..... 542

CHAPTER XXI.

THE WAR FEELING IN OREGON.

1846.

Social Efforts of the Crew of the 'Modeste'—First Theatrical Entertainments—First American Newspaper on the Pacific Coast—A Military Company—Arrival in the Sound of H. B. M. Ship 'Fisgard'—President Polk's Message—Arrival of the U. S. Schooner 'Shark'—Horse-racing—Howison on the Situation—Wreck of the 'Shark'—A Flag and Guns for Oregon—Passage of the Notice Bill—Overland Railway—The Boundary Determined—How Tidings of the Treaty were Received..... 573

CHAPTER XXII.

POLITICS AND PROGRESS.

1846-1847.

Waiting for a Territorial Government—The Question of a Delegate to Washington—Attempts to Provide for the Ejectment of British Subjects from their Land—Legislative Proceedings—Memorial to Congress—Public Reproof to Trespassers—Reelection of Abernethy—Douglas' Bill for Establishing a Territory, and its Failure—Action of the People—Private Delegate to Congress—Biographical Notices—The Immigration of 1847..... 600

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WHITMAN MASSACRE.

1847.

Savages as a Handiwork of the Creator—They might have been Better Made—But They are not so much Worse than White Men, who are Bad Enough—Rival Claimants for the Rewards to Follow their Conversion—Portentous Clouds Hanging over Marcus Whitman—Strange He cannot See the Darkening Sky—The Natives Maddened by the White Man's Diseases, and by the Coming in of so Many to Take from Them their Lands—Attitude of Catholics and Protestants—Rival Roads to Heaven—The Savages Prefer their own Way—And Thereupon They Perpetrate a most Horrible Deed..... 639

CHAPTER XXIV.

RESCUE OF THE CAPTIVES.

1847

PAGE.

His Honor the Indian—Preparations for War—Legislative Proceedings—Joseph L. Meek, Messenger to Washington—Formation of Military Companies—Applegate's Attempt to Reach California—Public Appropriation and Private Subscriptions—Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs—Chief Factor Ogden's Adventures among the Cayuses—The Ransom Effected—Price Paid for the Captives—Correspondence between Ogden and Abernethy—The Gentle Savage is Willing to Forgive the White Men not yet Massacred—Further Display of Hot Distemper between Catholics and Protestants..... 669

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CAYUSE WAR.

1848.

Organization of the Army—Colonel Gilliam en Route for the Dalles—Thomas McKay's Canadian Company—Captain English's Company—Captain Martin's Company—Captain Shaw's Company—Captain Garrison's Company—The Army at Fort Gilliam—The Army at Fort Lee—Meek's Party—Peace Measures—A Brush with the Enemy—Official Correspondence—Headquarters at Waiilatpu—Action of the Peace Commissioners—Council with the Cayuses—The Murderers must be Delivered Up—Death of Colonel Gilliam—Major Lee Assumes Command—The Governor's Proclamation—Scarcity of Ammunition—The War Ended and Troops Mustered out—Biographical Sketches..... 700

CHAPTER XXVI.

OREGON'S ENVOYS—ERECTION OF A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

1848.

Journey of Thornton—Adventures of Meek—The Pious Lawyer and the Profane Trapper—Interviews with the President—Memorials to Congress—The Ordinance of 1787—Bills before Congress—The Slavery Question—Warm Discussions—Final Passage of the Bill Creating the Territory of Oregon—Appointment of Officials—Anxiety of President Polk—Return of Joe Meek with a Live Governor—Lane and Meek at San Francisco Bay—Arrival in Oregon—Lane's Proclamation—Decline of Mission Influence..... 755

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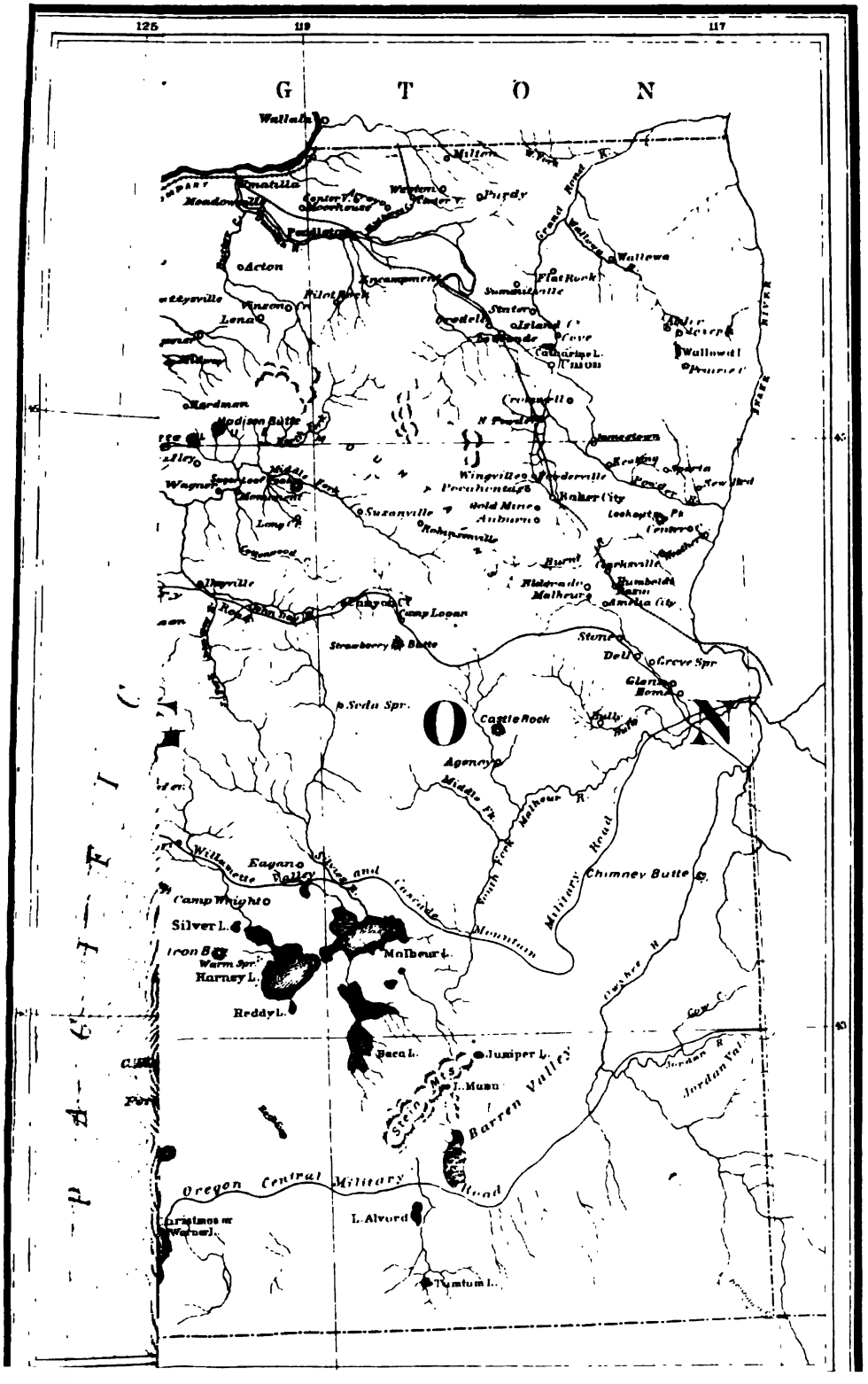

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Chimney Butte
Eagan
Camp Wright
Silver L.
Warm Spr.
Harney L.
Reddy L.
Malheur L.
Baca L.
Juniper L.
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Barren Valley
Oregon Central Military Road
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Tumtum L.
Jordan R.
Jordan Val.
Owyhee R.
Cow C.
Snake River
Grand Road
Wallowa R.
Powder R.
Burnt
Malheur
Amelia City
Humboldt
Cornwall
Cottonwood
Middle Fork
Willamette Valley
Silver R.
Cascade Mountain
South Fork

HISTORY OF OREGON.

CHAPTER I.

OREGON IN 1834.

THE NORTHWEST COAST AND THE OREGON TERRITORY—PHYSICAL FEATURES—MOUNTAIN RANGES AND RIVERS—THE IMPERIOUS COLUMBIA—DISTRIBUTION OF VEGETATION—CLIMATE—SUNSHINE AND RAIN—POST-PLANTINGS OF CIVILIZATION—FORT VANCOUVER—ITS LORD PARAMOUNT—THE GARDEN—HOSPITALITY—MONEY, MORALITY, AND RELIGION—FORT GEORGE—FORT NISQUALLY—FORTS LANGLEY, UMPQUA, AND WALLA WALLA—OKANAGAN AND COLVILLE—FORTS HALL AND BOISÉ—FORT WILLIAM AND WAPATO ISLAND—THE FRENCH-CANADIAN SETTLEMENT—MISSIONARIES, TRADERS, FARMERS, HORSE-DEALERS, SCIENTISTS, AND FUR-HUNTERS AS EMPIRE-BUILDERS—ORIGIN OF THE TERM OREGON.

THE Oregon Territory, when first the term came into use, embraced the same somewhat undefined region which in these Pacific States' histories I have denominated the Northwest Coast; namely, the lands lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, and extending northward indefinitely from the forty-second parallel of latitude. Later the name Oregon was applied to a narrower area.

In surface and climate it is varied; in resources limitless, though its possibilities are little known. There is grand and beautiful scenery in every portion of it; some wild and rugged, some treeless and lonely; altogether a magnificent stretch of primeval wilderness. It is divided longitudinally by the Cascade Mountains, one with the Snowy Range of California

and Nevada, and so called from the turmoil of the Columbia in passing through them; while the eastern portion is cut transversely by the Blue Mountains—in popular parlance blue, from the contrast of their violet shadows with the tawny plain. Another and lower range rims the seaboard from Lower California and along the Oregon frontage to the Russian possessions; the high spurs thrown out by the Coast and Cascade ranges separate the valleys thus formed in southern Oregon by barriers as insurmountable as those in Greece.

Besides mountains and rivers there are forests, not spread over broad areas of level surface as they were back of the English Plantations; beneficent nature has for the good of civilized man confined them to the mountain sides and to the low lands along the streams. On the mountains different species of pine, fir, and spruce prevail, while near the streams grow deciduous trees, oak, maple, ash, alder, cotton-wood, and willow. This distribution of forest and prairie gives a charming diversity to the landscape in the western portion of the territory, from California northward; and singularly attractive is the valley of the Willamette with its infinite variety of forms, the richness of verdure, and the frequent small rivers with their fertile and wooded borders.

In western Oregon there is scarcely a spot, and few places in the eastern part, where there is not visible some lofty snow-clad peak of the Cascade Range, standing as sentinel of the centuries, and forming a landmark and guide. In many places three or five of these glistening heights may be seen at once. Hardly less striking are the purpled summits of the continuous range, silvered with snow in spring and autumn, and glowing during the afternoons of summer under a rosy violet mist. Eastern Oregon seems less prolific of natural beauties than the country west of the Cascade Range, where the Columbia River provides not only uninterrupted navigation from the sea to the

heart of the mountains, but constitutes in itself a continuous panorama of rare views, to which minds even of the least ideality soon become attached. As the eastern foothills sink to plain, the forest disappears, only a few scattering pines remaining in the vicinity of the Dalles; by the bars and on sandy margins of the river grow willows and low shrubs, while above them rise high rounded bluffs, bald and monotonous, yet not without picturesque effect. Beyond these the country rolls off in broken plains, covered in spring by a delicate verdure bright with flowers, later wearing a russet hue that early gave it the name of desert. Yet even through this eastern part there is much to please the eye in the softly flowing outlines of the ever-changing scene, in the calm blue which canopies the imperious Columbia raging at its rocky obstructions, and in the deep cañons that channel the inflowing rivers from the south. A hundred miles from the mountains there are smaller streams with open valleys, occupied as grazing lands by native horse-owners, the Umatillas, Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Nez Percés.

Yet farther east, beyond the Umatilla and Walla Walla countries, is the Snake or Lewis River region, in the eyes of those who visit it as worthless as it is wild and lonely. Its waterless deserts, severely hot in summer and cold in winter, inspire the overland tourist with dread; and many a trapper and voyageur meets his death from want in crossing them. Yet fertile spots are found, pleasant little valleys where the climate is delightful, and, so far as appears, the earth fruitful. North of the Snake River the whole region is unexplored except as traversed by fur-hunters; indeed, away at the base of the Rocky Mountains is a large and diversified tract, a *terra incognita* to the world at large. And for many years to come this portion of the Oregon Territory offers few attractions to agriculturists. On the other hand, all the western portion of Oregon, especially the

Willamette Valley and the Puget Sound region, has been favorably spoken of by successive explorers, until its spreading fame agitates the question of ownership.

Little is yet known of agricultural and mineral resources, but its mild and equable climate, affecting as it does the quality and value of furs, and being in itself so peculiar considering the latitude, is better understood. The winters of western Oregon are so mild that little ice forms; but they are wet, and cloudy of sky. The rains begin about mid-autumn and continue with greater or less constancy till May, after which fleeting showers occur until the June rise of the Columbia begins to decline. This excessive moisture comes in a measure from the Japan current, and is more immediately owing to the south-west winds of autumn and winter, driving inland the evaporations of ocean, which being arrested by the Cascade Range are precipitated on its seaward sides. Hence the peculiarities of the Oregon climate; the mountains wall the moisture from their eastern slopes, rendering that region arid. The dense growth of the western forests are of those trees that live on the moisture of the atmosphere, but do not like it about their roots. The evergreens of Oregon, the firs especially, refuse to grow on land that is subject to overflow, and their foliage protects the roots from rain. Spruce, yew, hemlock, and cedar grow on lower lands than firs and pines. It may seem anomalous that trees which avoid water should thrive in a so-called moist climate, and also that, while the climate is so wet, Oregon's atmosphere is remarkably dry, as evidenced by the fact that wet articles exposed to the air, but protected from the rain, dry quickly even in the rainy season. Observing this, the early Oregonians call their ordinary rains 'mists,' and maintain that they do not wet people; and by a further stretch of imagination their descendants may fancy themselves not affected by the December and January mists.

But even if the winters are unpleasantly rainy, the

summers compensate. By the first of July the clouds which clothe the prairies in waving grass and beds of flowers have passed away, and a clear sun ushers in each long delightful day, which begins in a clear twilight two hours after midnight, and ends only in another lingering twilight, softer though not more beautiful than the first. Often the temperature of the dry summer season falls to sixty or fifty-seven degrees Fahrenheit; seldom it exceeds seventy-two or seventy-six, though occasionally rising for a brief period to ninety or one hundred; yet whatever the heat of meridian, by four o'clock in the afternoon it begins to abate, leaving the evening so pleasantly cool that the bed requires a blanket—so comfortably cool that the settlers acquire a love for sleep that becomes characteristic, and is sometimes mentioned to their discredit. About four months of dry weather, with little or no rainfall, constitutes the summer of western Oregon, during which the grass becomes yellow and the earth powdered Grain ripens and is gathered in August. September is seeding time, experience early teaching that it is better to have the wheat in the ground over winter, even if it must be pastured down, than trust the chance of late spring sowing.

The food resources native to western Oregon are fish, game, and berries. The Indians use a root resembling the potato, which they call *wapato*, found in abundance on Wapato Island, and also in some shallow lakes or overflowed prairie land. In wild fruit the country is prolific; but none are as fine as the same kinds in the middle states of the continent. Elk, bear, and deer are plentiful, but owing to the difficulty of pursuit through the dense undergrowth of the mountain forests, the chase is laborious. There is an abundance of water-fowl, conspicuous among which are brant, geese of several species, cranes, mallard, canvas-back, and summer duck, blue-winged and green-winged teal, snipe, golden and killdee plover, and other wading birds, some of which are not pal-

atable. Of game-birds found in woods there are also plenty; grouse, quails, pheasants, and wood-doves inhabit the thickets of young firs, and the groves of oak and fir that skirt the older and darker forest. Singing birds which make their homes in trees are rare. The only really musical bird of Oregon is the meadow-lark, which carols to the passer-by of the happiness he finds in his humble life near the ground.

The streams are well stocked with fish—the brooks with trout, and the rivers with salmon of two or three species. The most palatable and largest of these, the *salmo quinnat*, has been one of the chief articles of food for twenty years, and constitutes a staple in the Hudson's Bay Company's supplies; in fact, the company's servants receive dried salmon and nothing else when other articles are scarce.

Such were the natural conditions of life in Oregon in 1834. European civilization, however, had already driven in its stakes here and there about the wilderness preparatory to its overthrow. For some time past the country had been dominated exclusively by fur-traders from Canada and Great Britain; now people from the United States begin to come and settle. Ownership becomes a moot question; the territory is held by the United States and Great Britain under treaty of joint occupancy. Although in the *History of the Northwest Coast* I have given full descriptions of the fur-traders' forts and incipient settlements, I deem it advisable to review them here, so that the reader may have the picture fresh in his mind at the opening of this part of my history.

The most important post and place in all the Oregon Territory was Fort Vancouver, the Hudson's Bay Company's headquarters. It was situated upon a beautiful sloping plain, on the north bank of the Columbia, about six miles above the mouth of the Multnomah River, as the Willamette below the falls was still called, and opposite the centre of the Wil-

lamette Valley, at a point where the Columbia is broad and much divided by low, woody islands, which add diversity to a prospect embracing every element of grandeur and grace, from glistening snow-peaks to the reflections of leaning shrubbery, whose flowers of white or red are mirrored in the calm surface of this most majestic of rivers.

The fort was not formidable in appearance. It consisted of a strong stockade about twenty feet high, without bastions, embracing an area of two hundred and fifty by one hundred and fifty yards. Within this enclosure, around three sides, were ranged the dwellings and offices of the gentlemen in the company's service. In the centre, facing the main entrance or great gate, was the residence of Doctor John McLoughlin, the governor by courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon, a French Canadian structure, painted white, with piazza and flower beds in front, and grapevines trained along a rude trellis. The steps leading to the hall of the governor's house were of horseshoe form, and between the two flights stood a twenty-four-pound cannon, mounted on a ship's carriage, and on either side of this were two mortar guns, all with shot piled orderly about them, but otherwise looking innocent enough in their peaceful resting-places. There were no galleries around the walls for sentries, nor loop-holes for small-arms, no appearances, in fact, indicating a dangerous neighborhood. Near the centre of the enclosure rose the company's flag-staff, and everything about the place was orderly, neat, and business-like. The magazine, warehouses, store, and shops were all contained within the palisades, and during the hours appointed for labor every man attended to his duties, whether as trader, clerk, smith, baker, or tailor.

A bell large enough for a country church was supported by three stout poles about twenty feet high, covered with a little pointed roof to keep off the rain. This brazen monitor rang out at five o'clock in the

morning, rousing the furriers, mechanics, and farmers to their tasks. At eight it announced breakfast; at nine, work again; at twelve, dinner; at one, work; at six, suspension of labor, and supper. Saturday's work ended at five in the afternoon, at which time the physician of the establishment served to the men their week's rations, consisting in winter of eight gallons of potatoes and eight salt salmon, and in summer of pease and tallow; no bread or meat being allowed, except occasionally. The Indian servants of the Indian wives hunted and fished for additional supplies. Nor was this unremitting industry unnecessary. The management of the Hudson's Bay Company required its posts to be self-supporting. The extent of territory they traded over was immense, and the number of their forts increased the demand for such articles as could be produced only in favorable localities. For instance, at Fort Vancouver the demand for axes and hatchets for the trappers and Indians required fifty of them to be made daily. In addition to the manufacture of these, the smiths had plenty to do in repairing farming tools and milling machinery, and making the various articles required by a community of several hundred people. The carpenter, the turner, and the tailor were equally busy; two or three men were constantly employed making bread for the fort people and sea-biscuit for the coasting vessels. The furs had to be beaten once a week to drive out moths and dust. The clerks had not only to keep accounts and copy letters, but keep a journal of every day's affairs. Among so many persons, some were sure to be in the hospital, and on these the best medical care was bestowed. Though so far from the world as to seem removed from the world's wants, Fort Vancouver was no place for the indulgence of poetic idleness.

And if within the fort this industry was necessary, it was none the less so without, where a farm of about seven hundred acres had been brought under cultiva-

tion, on which was raised abundance of grain and vegetables, requiring extensive storehouses. Large bands of cattle and sheep were kept, the latter improved by careful breeding until they yielded twelve-pound fleeces. From the few English apple seeds elsewhere mentioned had sprung trees which, though young, were so crowded with fruit as to need propping, and from the peach sprouts brought from Juan Fernandez Island had grown large trees that were bearing their first fruit. Indeed, the garden at Fort Vancouver rejoiced in a scientific overseer by the name of Bruce, who on visiting England with McLoughlin would see nothing in the duke of Devonshire's garden so pleasing to him as his Fort Vancouver plants, yet was careful to abstract as many of the Chiswick improvements as his mind could carry. Even then, and before, Bruce cultivated strawberries, figs, and lemons, the first with great success, the other two with the fruitless efforts that alone could be expected in the northern temperate zone; ornamental trees and flowers also received his fostering care.

On the farm was a flouring mill and thrashing machine, worked by oxen or horses in the Arcadian way, yet sufficient for the wants of all. A few miles above the fort, on a little stream falling into the Columbia, stood a saw-mill, cutting lumber enough during the year to supply not only the fort, but to load one or two vessels for the Hawaiian Islands.

Between the fort and the river, on the smooth sloping plain, lay a village consisting of thirty or forty log houses, ranged along a single street, and occupied by the servants of the company, Canadians, half-breeds, and Hawaiians, with a few from the Orkney Islands. In every house an Indian woman presided as mistress, and the street swarmed with children of mixed blood. Nothing offensive met the eye; everywhere cleanliness and decorum prevailed.

When a visitor came to Fort Vancouver -and the fort was seldom without its guest even in 1834—he

would, if a person of consideration, be met at the boat-landing by the presiding officer, McLoughlin, a tall, large, commanding figure of benevolent mien, who courteously made him welcome to every comfort and convenience, as well as to his own genial society and that of his associates. Entering by one of the smaller gates at either side of the principal entrance, he was escorted to the doctor's own residence, and assigned plain but comfortable quarters; for it was not in empty show that the hospitality of Fort Vancouver consisted, but in its thorough home-like features, its plenty, and its frank and cordial intercourse. The visitors were all of the sterner sex, no white ladies having yet set foot within these precincts.

It was a rule of the company that the Indian wives and offspring of the officers should live in the seclusion of their own apartments, which left the officers' mess-room to themselves and their guests; and while no more time than necessary was consumed at table, the good cheer and the enlightened conversation of educated gentlemen threw over the entertainment a luxury and refinement all the more enjoyable after the rude experiences of a journey across the continent or a long voyage by sea. After the substantial dinner, concluded with a temperate glass of wine or spirits, the company withdrew for half an hour to the 'bachelors' hall,' to indulge in a pipe, and discuss with animation the topics of the time. When the officers and clerks returned to business, the guest might choose between the library and out-door attractions. A book, a boat, and a horse were always at his command. The sabbath was observed with the decorum of settled society. The service of the established church was read with impressiveness by Doctor McLoughlin himself, and listened to with reverence by the gentlemen and servants of the company. Respect for religion was inculcated both by precept and example. Observing that during his ten years' residence in the country many young children were coming forward in the

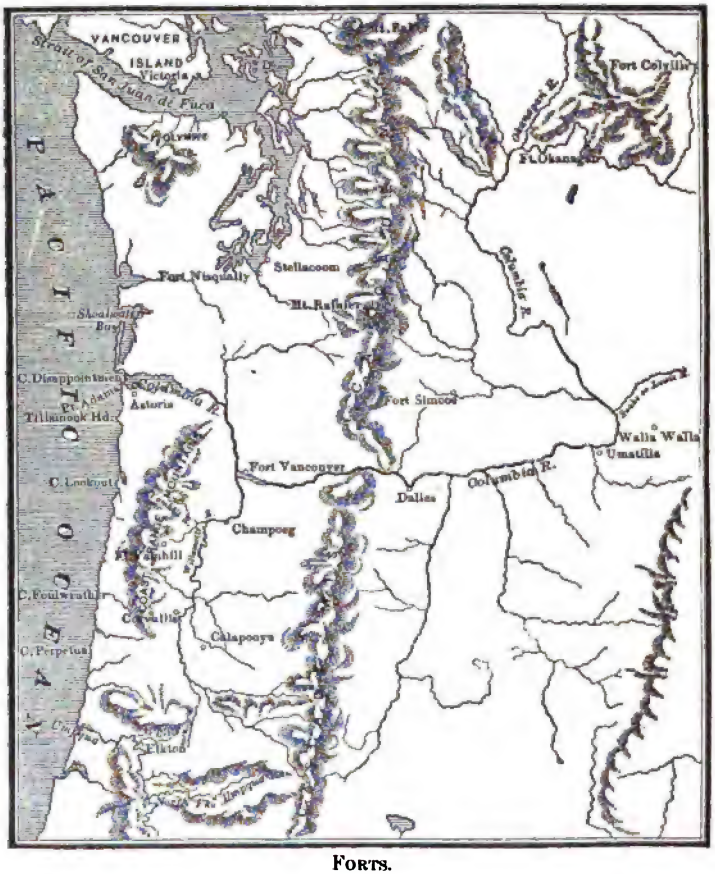
village and within the walls of the fort, McLoughlin secured the services of an American as teacher, one Solomon Smith, left objectless by the failure of Wyeth's expedition; and the school thus organized, the first in Oregon, was a good one, wherein were taught the English branches, singing, deportment, and morality. It was the heart and brain of the Oregon Territory, though there were other places pulsating in response to the efforts at Fort Vancouver.

The most western establishment was Fort George, the Astoria of 1811–14. It no longer deserved to be called a fort, the defences of every description having disappeared, while at a little distance from the old stockade, now in ruins, was one principal building of hewn boards, surrounded with a number of Indian huts. Only about four acres were under cultivation, and only one white man, the trader in charge, resided there. It was maintained more as a point of observation than as a post affording commercial advantages.

A place of more importance was Fort Nisqually, situated on a little tributary of the river of that name, and less than a mile from the waters of Puget Sound. It consisted of a stockade about two hundred feet square, guarded by bastions well armed, enclosing a dozen small dwellings and the magazine and warehouses of the company. The situation was unsurpassed, on an open plain, yet convenient to exhaustless forests of good timber, within a short distance of navigable waters, and with the grand Mount Rainier in full view. The fort had only been established about one year, at this time. Away to the north, on rivers draining the valleys of British Columbia, were several trading posts, Fort Langley and the rest, owing allegiance to the Oregon governor, but not requiring mention in this connection.

The only other post of the Hudson's Bay Company, in what is now Oregon, was situated near the confluence of Elk Creek with the Umpqua River, two hundred miles south of the Columbia, and occupying

a fine position among the hills of that beautiful country. It was but a small place, with a twenty-acre farm attached, under the charge of a French trader. The neat dwellings and other buildings were surrounded by the usual palisade, with bastions at the corners,



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for the Indians in this quarter were more savage than those in the vicinity of the Columbia.

About two hundred miles east of Fort Vancouver, on the east bank of the Columbia, near where it makes its great bend to the west, and at the mouth of the

Walla Walla River, was a fort of that name. This establishment was also a stockade, and being in the country of warlike savages, there were two bastions, with an inner gallery, and other defences strongly constructed of drift-logs which had been brought from the mountains and heaped ashore at this place by the June freshets. Little agricultural land being found in the vicinity, and no timber, Fort Walla Walla was without the attractions of Fort Vancouver, but it ranked nevertheless as a place of importance, being the principal trading post between California and Stuart Lake, and accessible by water from Fort Vancouver. It was on the way from the great fur-hunting region about the head-waters of the Snake River and its tributaries, and the first resting-place the overland traveller met after leaving the Missouri River. There was always a genial and generous officer stationed at Fort Walla Walla, on whose head many a weary pilgrim called down blessings for favors received. Horses were plentiful, and a few cattle were kept there, but no grain was raised. The little garden spot by the river furnished vegetables, and those of an excellent quality. The climate was usually delightful, the only discomfort being the strong summer winds, which drove about with violence the dust, and sand, and gravel, so that it was deemed impossible to cultivate trees or shrubbery; hence the situation appeared without any beauty except that derived from a cloudless sky, and the near neighborhood of the picturesque cliffs of the Columbia and Walla Walla rivers.

One hundred and thirty-eight miles north from Fort Walla Walla lay Fort Okanagan, at the mouth of the Okanagan River, like the others a stockade, in charge of a gentlemanly officer. Other trading posts were located at favorable points on the Kootenais River, on the Spokane, on Lake Pend d'Oreille, and on the Flathead River, besides several north of the fiftieth parallel. But the post of the greatest impor-

tance next to Fort Vancouver was Fort Colville, situated on the Columbia River, one hundred miles northeast of Fort Okanagan, though much farther by the windings of the river. In the midst of a good agricultural country, with a fine climate, good fishing, and other advantages, it was the central supply post for all the other forts in the region of the north Columbia. Established shortly after Fort Vancouver, with its allotment of cattle, consisting of two cows and a bull, it had now like Fort Vancouver its lowing herds, furnishing beef, butter, and milk. It had, besides, bands of fine horses and other stock, and a grist-mill for the large yield of grain. On the well-cultivated farm grew also excellent vegetables in abundance.

Such a convenience as a saw-mill did not exist in all the upper country, notwithstanding the number of posts, hence there could be little architectural display or furniture except of the rudest kind. Bedsteads and chairs were luxuries not to be thought of; bunks and stools were made from split logs, with a hatchet. Yet, since those who called at Fort Colville had travelled many hundred miles with only a blanket for a bed, the good fare here afforded made the place to them a Canaan.

Two forts had this year been established in the territory east of the Blue Mountains drained by Snake River. The first was Fort Hall, erected by an American, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, on this river, at its junction with the Portneuf; the second was erected by the Hudson's Bay Company, on the same river, a mile below the mouth of the Boise, and called Fort Boise.

The American, Wyeth, this being his second adventure in these parts, who had thus recently built, stocked, and manned Fort Hall, went on to the lower Columbia River that same autumn to meet a vessel, the brig *May Dacre*, of Boston, laden with goods from the United States, as the eastern seaboard of the great republic was then designated by western adventurers, and at the time of which I write he was

engaged in building a fort and trading post on Wapato Island, which he called Fort William. With him came others, of whom I shall have occasion to speak in another place. While the work was being advanced, the men in Wyeth's service were living in temporary huts; pigs, chickens, goats, and sheep were running about in the vicinity; the *May Dacre* was moored to the bank, and a prospective rival of Fort Vancouver was already well under way. Mr Wyeth's adventures are given at length in *The Northwest Coast*, this volume beginning with an account of settlers from the United States promising permanence.

Nor was Fort William the only settlement in Oregon exclusive of the Hudson's Bay Company's forts. Thomas McKay, one of the race of Alexander McKay of the Astor expedition, and one of the company's most celebrated leaders, occupied a farm on the Multnomah opposite the lower end of Wapato Island. And there were other farms from fifty to a hundred miles south of this. The servants of the company were hired for a term of years, and were free at its expiration. But as they had been obliged to receive their pay in kind, for which they had not always use, and had seldom saved their earnings, if they wished to retire they must live not far from Fort Vancouver, and continue as the company's dependents, raising wheat, in exchange for which they received such indispensable articles as their condition of life demanded.

There were of this class, commonly called the French Canadians, a dozen or more families, most of them settled on a beautiful and fertile prairie about forty miles south of the Columbia, in the Valley Willamette. They lived in log houses, with large fireplaces, after the manner of pioneers of other countries; had considerable land under cultivation; owned horses of the native stock, not remarkable for beauty, but tough and fleet; and had the use of such cattle as the

fur company chose to lend them. Numerous half-breed children played about their doors; they had no cares of church or state; no aspirations beyond a comfortable subsistence, which was theirs; and being on good terms with their only neighbors, the natives, they passed their lives in peaceful monotony. At the falls of the Willamette were the log houses which had been built by McLoughlin in connection with his mill-works there, and which were occupied occasionally by the company's servants, some improvements being still in progress at that place.

In addition to the French Canadians were a number of Americans who had come to the country with Wyeth's first expedition, and had also made settlements in the same neighborhood, on the east side of the Willamette River. In all the American territory west of the Blue Mountains there were about thirty-five white men, including the party at Fort William, who had not belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company, but were there with the intention to settle permanently.

Another element was this year introduced into the early society of Oregon. Since the fallen condition of the race left no spot of earth untainted, it followed that missionaries were needed to look after the spiritual interests of the natives of this western Eden. Missionaries were there in the persons of two brothers, named Lee, assisted by certain laymen, who, after having been received with the usual hospitality at Fort Vancouver, were busy erecting a dwelling and making other improvements at the place selected for their station, a little to the south of the French Canadian settlement in the Willamette Valley.

Besides the missionary family, there were at Fort Vancouver two gentlemen from the United States, who were travelling in the interests of science, Messrs Townsend and Nuttall, naturalists, after whom and by whom so many of our western plants were named; so that it cannot be said of Oregon that her earliest

society was not good. After the failure of the Astor adventure, and previous to 1834, few persons had visited the Columbia River except those in some way connected with the fur-traders. Wyeth's first company of twelve, including himself, was the only party of the kind and number to enter Oregon. Two years previous, David Douglas, a Scotch botanist, had visited the territory and had spent some time roaming over its mountains; and rarely had the river been entered by a foreign or American vessel.

Another constituent of early Oregon society appears at this juncture, and if not so respectable as the fur magnates, so religious as the missionaries, so learned as the scientists, or so order-loving as the French Canadians, united with the small American element it became a power in the land. It made its appearance in the form of ten persons coming with a band of horses from California, and led by Hall J. Kelley, who once figured on paper as the would-be founder of a new Pacific empire.

East of the Blue Range, and in and about the Rocky Mountains, were American trappers and traders, who from their wandering and precarious mode of life could not be accurately numbered, but were in all probably ten or twelve hundred, to whom were opposed equal numbers owing allegiance to the Hudson's Bay Company. These were at that time hardly to be spoken of as component parts of any Oregon community, but some in time added themselves to those who had come from the United States.

Thus has been outlined a picture of the Oregon Territory in 1834, at which time this *History of Oregon* begins.

The Name Oregon.

In regard to the word Oregon, its signification and origin, I will here give what is known. Its first appearance in print was in the book of Jonathan Carver, who therein represents that he heard from the natives in the vicinity of the head-waters of the Mississippi, to which region he penetrated as early as 1766, of a great river flowing into the great western ocean, and called by

them the *Oregon*, *Oregan*, or *Origan*. Nothing is said by Carver of the meaning or origin of the word. It is doubtful whether Carver understood the natives, or whether they made such a statement, though there may have been some sound or symbol by which or from which to coin the word. There could have been no object, apparent to us, for him to misrepresent; he could never have dreamed that this probably meaningless sound, caught up from the wind by his too attentive ear, should ever be applied to the designation of a great progressive state. From his standpoint, it was as much to his credit to report a great river to which there was no name, as one to which there was a name; or he may have preferred to manufacture a name. We cannot tell. But if so, he did it in a most foolish and bungling manner, in evidence of which I will further explain.

As a rule, the aboriginals of America have no name for their rivers, and mountains, and lakes. It is not necessary they should have; they can live by but one river at one time, and that to them is 'the river.' Or they may apply to it, as to other natural objects, general, local, or descriptive terms; it is common for the town, country, river, and tribe to be designated by the name of the chief, which name changing, changes all the rest. According to Blanchet in *Historical Magazine*, ii. 335, the lower Chinooks called the Columbia *yakaitl-wimakl*, 'great river,' purely a general and descriptive term, and no name at all. Chief Factor Tolmie, of the Hudson's Bay Company, writes: 'Indians have names only for particular localities, and not for rivers. The white people gave the name Walamet to the whole Wallamet valley and river.' When Clarke, of the Lewis and Clarke expedition, visited the coast about Tillamook Head, he understood the Indians to say that they procured wapato roots by trading with the Indians over on the Shocatilcum or Columbia River. There can be no doubt of Clarke's misapprehension of the meaning of his informant, for the word was never heard of afterward, and it certainly bears no resemblance to the one whose origin we are seeking. With reference to this case I made special inquiry of an intelligent chief of one of the most intelligent tribes of the region of the upper Columbia, the Nez Percés, living on one of its tributaries, whether it was possible for that stream ever to have had a distinctive appellation by which it was known to any peoples upon it, or about it, or about the head-waters of the Mississippi, or Missouri, or any other stream; and he assured me, what I knew before, that it was not possible. It is very certain that the word Oregon does not belong to any of the several dialects of the territory drained by the Columbia River. In looking for traces of it among those of the country which was travelled over by Carver, in which the *r* sound is wanting, words must be looked for with the cognate *l* or other consonant. In the Iroquois language the word *giveyon*, meaning 'all,' is closely related to 'great,' as in *kwan* and *kowanea* of the Oneida and Cayuga dialects. It is to be noted here that the Iroquois travelled far and wide with the fur-traders. In the Algonquin tongue *ouni-gam*, according to Mackenzie, signifies 'portage;' while again in Iroquois, according to Schoolcraft, *ti-ar-o-ga* means 'a place of water rocks,' *ti* being 'water,' *oga* 'a place,' and *ar* an abbreviation of *tar*, 'rock.' *Gan*, in Algonquin, Knisteneaux, Ojibwa, Snake, and other Indian tongues, is a common ending. In Algonquin, *gan* signifies 'lake,' being usually, however, combined with other words, as in *Sagayigan*, the Knisten-

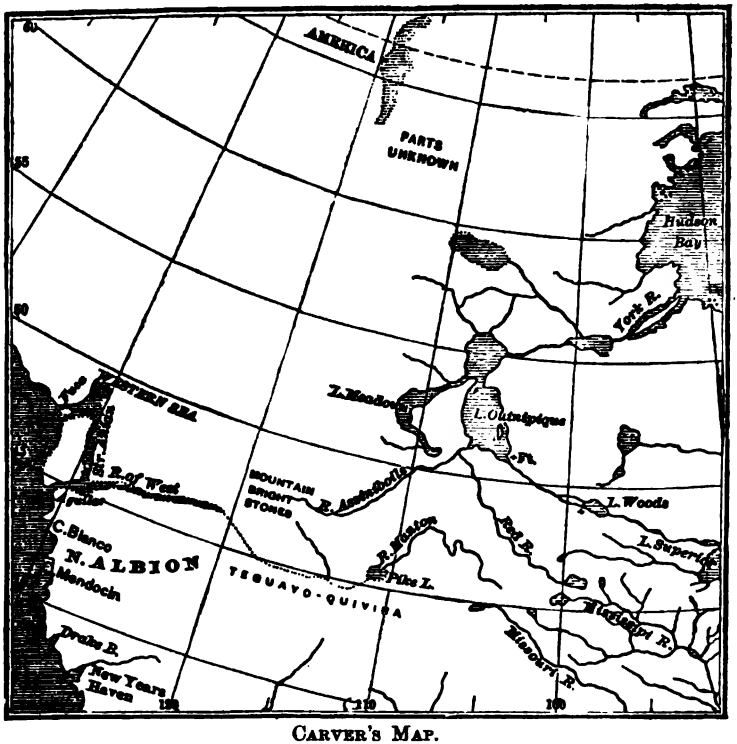
eaux as well as Algonquin form. The terminal syllable in the different dialects is variously pronounced *gan*, *gun*, and *gon*. In the Shoshone language occur two words bearing some relation, if not a very near one, to the subject. *O-gwa*, says Stuart in his *Montana*, means 'river,' and *Oo-rook-un* 'under,' 'on the bottom;' and a word of a similar sound in Algonquin has a similar meaning. Schoolcraft mentions that *o* is a common prefix to the names of various parts of the body. Besides these various analogous sounds and meanings in several of the native languages, we have in the Oregon territory one river with the prefix *o* and the terminal *gan*—the *Okanagan*. After all this research we arrive at nothing nearer than that the word *gan* relates in several dialects to water in some form, and might possibly be used to signify a river, any river, but not necessarily the Columbia.

A popular theory, and one frequently advanced as new, concerning the origin of the word, is that the first European discoverers called the Columbia River, and country adjacent, Oregon, from the abundance of *origanum*, or wild marjoram, a plant possessing some medicinal virtues. This conjecture is open to several objections, the first that the plant mentioned grows a long distance from the coast, the only portion of the country visited by the early navigators; nor is the presence of it very conspicuous anywhere. Mengarini, a writer in the *New York Ethnological Journal*, i., 1871, advances the idea that the word comes from *huracan*, the Spanish for hurricane, founded on the fact that at some seasons of the year strong winds prevail on the Columbia River. The Spaniards derived their word 'huracan' from a native American word found among the people of the central parts; 'hurakan' is the name of a Quiché god, meaning the tempest. The English *hurricane* and the French *ouragan* are forms of the same word; but as the French had little to do with the earliest history of the Northwest Coast, the origin of the name has never been ascribed to them.

Of all the conjectures hazarded by writers from time to time, the one that suggests a Spanish origin from *orejon*, meaning 'a pull of the ear,' but for this purpose often interpreted 'long ear' or 'lop ear,' seems to have been most popular, though not supported by facts or probabilities. It has been often repeated, with not so much as a qualifying doubt, that the Spaniards travelling up the northern coast met a tribe of Indians with ears of extreme length, weighed down by heavy ornaments, and from this circumstance the Spaniards called them 'Long-ears,' and the country *La Tierra de los Orejons*, which became corrupted into *Oregon* by Englishmen and Americans. Others assert that while the derivation is correct it was not properly applied by these first-named writers, but that it signifies the country of lop-eared rabbits, this animal abounding there as well as in California. So popular became this theory in the mining times of 1848–9 that the Oregonians went by the name of 'Lop-ears' among the Californian miners. Indeed, I suspect this opportunity to ridicule their obtruding neighbors, proving too good to be lost, really first gave currency to the idea. From jest it grew to earnest; soberer-minded people then began to look for a more distant origin. On investigation it does not appear that any tribe upon the Oregon coast was ever

more addicted to ear ornamentation than is common to all savage nations, or that they wore heavier ornaments. Neither is Oregon inhabited by lop-eared rabbits in a degree to distinguish it from some other countries.

Dates must not be disregarded as we look for proof or disproof of the current theories concerning the word. That it is not of early Spanish origin is established by the fact that it does not occur in the Spanish voyages, or on the Spanish maps. The Spaniards never had a name for the Columbia River, unless it be *San Roque*, which they applied in 1775 on one of their maps,



CARVER'S MAP.

without being sure that any river flowed there. On their subsequent maps in 1791–2, after the river had been visited, it was put down as *Rio de la Columbia*. It is clear, then, that the name Oregon had not been applied to the country by any navigator up to that time, nor for a long time afterward. The word does not occur in Lewis and Clarke's journal, though it is found in Jefferson's instructions to Lewis, but not with reference to the river. It is not in any work published in the United States or England previous to the year 1811, the first year of American settlement, with one exception; that exception is the book of travels by Carver first mentioned, and which was published in London in 1778. It comes in thus: 'From the intelligence I gained from the Naudowessie Indians, among whom I arrived on the 7th of December,

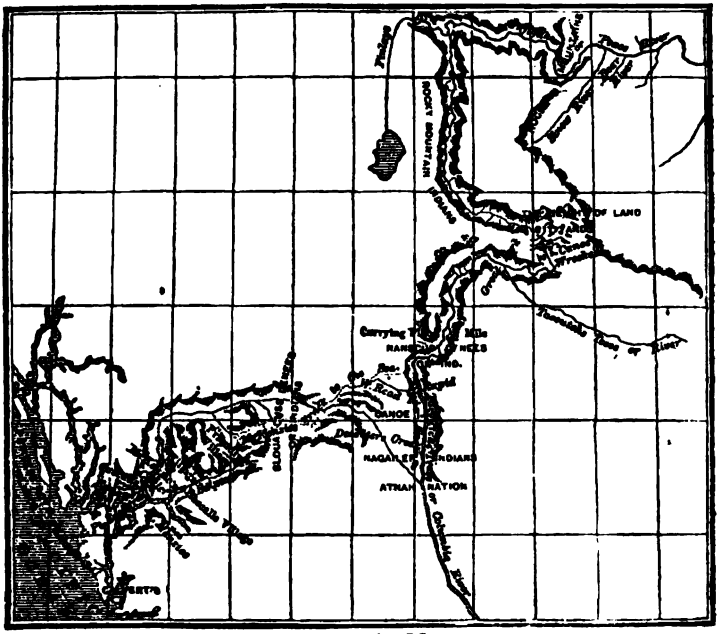
and whose language I perfectly acquired during a residence of seven months; and also from the accounts I afterward obtained from the Assinipoils, who speak the same tongue, being a revolted band of the Naudowessies; and from the Killistinoes, neighbours of the Assinipoils, who speak the Chipéway language, and inhabit the heads of the River Bourbon;—I say, from these nations, together with my own observations, I have learned that the four most capital rivers on the Continent of North America, viz., the St Lawrence, the Mississippi, the River Bourbon, and the Oregon, or the River of the West, have their sources in the same neighborhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter, however, is rather farther west.'

There is a happy audacity in Carver's statements, whether or not he intended to deceive, common to discoverers and geographers of that day. On his map he has the *Heads of the Origan* put down in latitude 47°, longitude 97°, and in the immediate vicinity of the head-waters of the upper Mississippi. Meantime, and doubtless while his map was being engraved, he received reports of the discoveries and movements of the Russians in the Pacific, who had been active during the years intervening between 1766 and 1778, the latter being the date of publication of Carver's book in London. On a map of 1768 by Jefferys the name *River of the West*, according to the Russian maps' is shown. In the very year of the publication of Carver's narrative Cook was making his famous voyage along the Northwest Coast, and a general interest was felt among the maritime powers as to the results of any expedition of discovery. Enough had come to Carver's ears to make him place in the text of his book, though it was too much trouble to do so on the map, the sources of the Origan 'rather farther west;' and to add to his imaginary stream the secondary name of River of the West.

His assertion that four of the greatest rivers of the continent rose within thirty miles of each other, though pointing toward truth, was purely speculative. It was the fashion in those days to array speculation in positive forms. Also when he said, 'This shows that these parts are the highest lands in North America,' he meant those lands where he was, about the head of the Mississippi; therefore, if any such river as Origan existed, it rose there, in that neighborhood. The partial discovery of the Russians, and other rumors, led him to identify it with the River of the West; and the discovery made subsequently that there is a point on the continent where three great rivers head near together gave a weight to the former supposition which it did not merit.

The first American writer, after Carver, to make use of the word Oregon seems to have been the poet Bryant, in 1817. Struck with the poetical images suggested to his youthful mind by reading Carver's narrative, and knowing just enough of the country, from the reports of ship-masters and rumors of the hasty government expedition of 1804–6, to fire his imagination, he seized upon the word that fitted best his metre, and in his *Thanatopsis* made that word immortal. The popularity of Bryant's verse both at home and abroad fixed it in the public mind. Its adoption as the name of the territory drained by the River Oregon I am inclined to ascribe to the man who claims it, Hall

J. Kelley, the evidence being in his favor, and no adverse claimant appearing. As stated in his *History of the Settlement of Oregon*, he was the first to make that application familiar to the public mind, while previous to his writings and correspondence the country was known as the 'Northwest Territory,' 'Columbia River,' or 'River Oregon.' About the time that Kelley was laboring to raise a company for Oregon, and importuning Congress and the cabinet members for aid, there are frequent allusions to the subject in *Niles' Register*, xl. 407; xli. 285; and xlii. 82 and 388. He, too, was looking

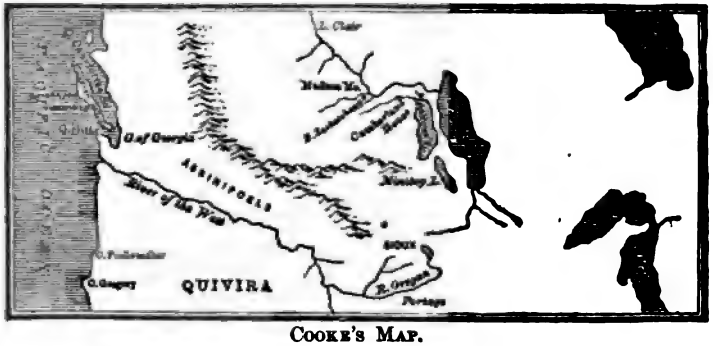


MACKENZIE'S MAP.

for its origin, and says: 'Oregon, the Indian name of this river, was traced by me to a large river called *Orjon* in Chinese Tartary, whose latitude corresponds with that of *Oregon* in America. The word *Killamucks*, the name of the tribe a little south of the outlet of the Oregon, was also traced to a people called *Kilmuchs*, who anciently lived near the mouth of the Orjon in Asia.' This coincidence, however, does not account for the manner in which Carver obtained it; for he did not obtain it upon the shores of the Pacific, but about the head-waters of the Mississippi. Kelley, in his anxiety to prove his assertions, states, without other evidence than a reference to the 'Marine Archives of Madrid,' that Cuadra, a Spanish captain in the service of the viceroy of Mexico in 1792, and who in that year was at Nootka with Captain Vancouver of the British exploring squadron, and captains Gray and Ingraham of the American trading fleet in the Pacific, 'called this river *Oregon*.' The reference to a manuscript in the archives of Madrid must have been for

display, since neither Kelley nor his readers could have had access to it without journeying across the Atlantic, and it is extremely doubtful if he had ever seen anything like it; though he may have believed, in the confused state of his intellect, that such a fact had been communicated to him.

In another place he remarks: 'After surveying the mouth of the Columbia I supposed the word *Orejon* to be of Portuguese derivation—*Orejon*, a fort. It seemed an appropriate name; the entrance of the river being well fortified by nature.' He also refers to the fact that Humboldt speaks of 'le mot Indian Origan,' and says, 'Humboldt was a particular observer and correct writer, and would not have called this word Indian without good authority.' But this is a statement as disingenuous as the first. In referring to Gray's

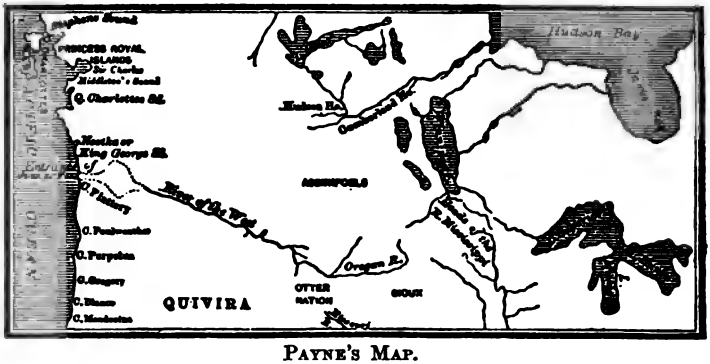


COOKE'S MAP.

discovery of the Columbia River in 1792, Humboldt adds a note, wherein he mentions a doubt thrown by Malte-Brun upon the identity of the Columbia with the *Tacoutché-Tessé*, or *Oréyan* of Mackenzie, which illustrates how far great men may sometimes wander from the truth. Mackenzie in 1793, after the discovery and naming of the Columbia, having come overland from Canada, discovered a river, the Fraser, which he hoped and believed was the Columbia, and which in his narrative he calls by that name, alternately using 'Tacoutche Tesse' and 'Great River' in his book; and having 'Tacoutche Tesse, or Columbia River,' engraved on his map. But that Mackenzie calls any river the Origan, or Oregon, is not true.

Humboldt's criticism on an unknown geographer, however, furnishes a key to the manner in which a merely speculative idea became perpetuated through a mistake in map-engraving, when he goes on to say that he does not know whether the Origan enters into the lake placed in 39° to 41° north latitude, or pierces the mountain chain to enter some little bay between Bodega and Cape Orford; but that he objects to the attempt of a geographer, ordinarily learned and prudent, to identify Orégan with Origen, a name which the above-mentioned geographer erroneously believes to have been placed on the map of Antonio Alzate, *Geog. Math. et Physique et Politique*, tom. xv. 116-17; and he further explains that Alzate had placed the words 'cuyo origen se ignora' near the junction of the Gila and the Colorado, and that the words being separated by the engraver, the geographer whom he is criticising, not under-

standing the Spanish language, and seeing the word Origen, and probably having read Carver's book, jumps to the conclusion that this is the Origan, and so represents it, to which Humboldt very properly takes exception, in the language so disingenuously quoted by Kelley. He has confounded the Spanish word *Origen* with '*le mot Indien Origan.*' But Humboldt calls it an Indian word because he has been so told by Carver and those who copied him; hence his mistake; the Indian word resembling it in the countries explored by Humboldt being, as already mentioned, 'huracan.' On a map contained in *Cooke's Universal Geography*, printed in London, without date, but from the names upon it not existing before Vancouver's surveys, we may infer the time of its publication, the Columbia is represented as rising near



PAYNE'S MAP.

the Mississippi, and running nearly due west to the Pacific Ocean; it is called *River of the West* near its mouth, and *River Oregon* where it rises. In a similar work by John Payne, New York, 1799, the River of the West is made to debouch into the strait of Juan de Fuca, while the name Oregon appears on the head, which is far east of the head of the Missouri. Both are evidently borrowed from Carver.

Greenhow thinks the word was invented by Carver. He says: 'On leaving the river, Gray gave it the name of his ship, the *Columbia*, which it still bears; though attempts are made to fix upon it that of *Oregon*, on the strength of accounts which Carver pretended to have collected, in 1766, among the Indians of the upper Mississippi, respecting a River Oregon, rising near Lake Superior, and emptying into the Strait of Anian.'

Thus have I given in detail all that is known concerning the name and the naming of Oregon, from which it appears clear to my mind that the word came from Carver through Bryant and Kelley. How Carver obtained it—whether with him it was pure fiction, vagary, caprice, or the embodiment of a fancied sound—we shall never know. That any natives of America ever employed the word for any purpose there is no evidence. Out of some Indian word or words, or parts of words, perhaps, Carver made a name for that yet unseen river, flowing into that mystical and mythical strait which had been the dream of discoverers for over two hundred years, and for which they had

not ceased to look when his book was published. Therefore the summing of the evidence would read—*Oregon*, invented by Carver, made famous by Bryant, and fastened upon the Columbia River territory, first by Kelley, through his memorials to Congress and numerous published writings, begun as early as 1817; and secondly, by other English and American authors, who adopted it from the three sources here given.

The authorities consulted on this subject are, *Carver's Travels*, 16; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, ii. 37, 490–1, 495; *Id.*, v. 708; *Mackenzie's Voyages*, 369; *Humboldt's Essai Pol.*, i. 14, 342–4; *Malte-Brun, Précis Géog.*, vi. 314; *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 142–5; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh.*, 8; *Twiss' Oregon Question*, 15–17; *Ethnog. Jour.*, vi. 1871; *Kelley's Settlements of Oregon*, 88; *Ross' Adventures*, 5; *Historical Magazine*, i. 246–328; *Davidson's Coast Pilot*, 126, 154; *Strong's Hist. Oregon*, MS., 23; *U. S. Govt. Doc., 25th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rept.*, no. 101, 6–7; *Pajaro Times*, May 6, 1865; *Brown's Willamette Valley*, MS., 11–12; *Benicia Tribune*, Dec. 13, 1873; *Grover's Pub. Life*, MS., 15–19; *Trans. Oregon Pioneer Assoc.*, 1875, 67; *American Register* for 1808, 138; *Blagdon's Modern Geographer*, 63–5, 392; *Howard Quarterly*, i. 70; *California Farmer*, Aug. 7, 1874; *Portland Bulletin*, Aug. 10, 1872; *Eugene City Guard*, Aug. 20, 1874; *Pac. R. R. Report*, ii. 18; *Nouvelles An. des Voy.*, xiv. 53; *Benton's Debates*, viii. 188; *Sturgis' Oregon*, 8; *Burton's City of the Saints*, 210; *Cath. Almanac*, in *Smet's Missions*, 15–16; *Robertson's Right and Title to Oregon*, 179; *Salem Farmer*, Aug. 10, 1872; *Bigland's World*, v. 510; *Murphy's Oregon Dir.*, 1873, 30; *San Francisco Bulletin*, Sept. 19 and 24, 1863; *Portland Oregonian*, Sept. 15, 1863.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE AT FORT VANCOUVER.

1825–1846.

MARRIAGE RELATIONS — FIDELITY — SOCIAL CONDITIONS — MCLOUGHLIN — DOUGLAS — PETER SKEEN OGDEN — ERMATINGER — THOMAS MCKAY — DUNCAN FINLAYSON — GAIRDNER AND TOLMIE — PAMBRUN — MCKINLAY — BLACK — RAE — MCLOUGHLIN JUNIOR — LEWES — DUNN — ROBERTS — BARCLAY — MANSON — MCLEOD — BIRNIE, GRANT, MCBEAN, MCDONALD, MAXWELL, BALLENDEN, AND MCTAVISH — PATRIOTS AND LIBERALS — ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SETTLERS — THE BLESSED BEAVERS.

So long and so conspicuously before the world stood the metropolitan post of the Pacific, so unique was its position, and so mighty its influence on the settlement and occupation of Oregon, that although I have often briefly noticed the place and its occupants, a closer scrutiny, and further familiarity with its inner life and the characters of its occupants, seem not undesirable or uninteresting at this juncture.

Up to August 1836, Fort Vancouver was a bachelor establishment in character and feeling, if not in fact. The native women who held the relation of wives to the officers of the company were in no sense equal to their station; and this feature of domestic life in Oregon was not a pleasing one. It was with the company a matter of business, but with the individuals it was something different. To be forever debarred from the society of intelligent women of their own race; to become the fathers of half-breed children, with no prospect of transmitting their names to posterity with increasing dignity, as is every right-minded man's desire; to accumulate fortunes to be devoted to anything

but ennoblement—such was the present life and the visible future of these gentlemen. The connection was so evidently and purely a business one that, as I have before stated, the native wives and children were excluded from the officers' table, and from social intercourse with visitors, living retired in apartments of their own, and keeping separate tables.[1]

Not to be degraded by conditions so anomalous presupposes a character of more than ordinary strength and loftiness; and this, a close scrutiny of the lives of the principal officers of the company in Oregon will show. But if there was present no higher motive,

[1] The families lived separate and in private entirely. Gentlemen who came trading to the fort never saw the family. 'We never saw anybody.' *Harvey's Life of McLoughlin*, MS., 13. The statement of Mrs Eloise McLoughlin Rae Harvey has been of great use in determining many points of the history of those early times. Ross Cox, in his gossipy book, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, ii. 343–4, says: "The half-breed women are excellent wives and mothers, and instances of improper conduct are rare among them. They are very expert at the needle, and make coats, trousers, vests, gowns, shirts, shoes, etc., in a manner that would astonish our English fashioners. They are kept in great subjection by their respective lords, to whom they are slavishly submissive. They are not allowed to sit at the same table, or indeed at any table, for they still continue the savage fashion of squatting on the ground at their meals, at which their fingers supply the place of forks. The proprietors generally send their sons to Canada or England for education. They have a wonderful aptitude for learning, and in a short time attain a facility in writing and speaking both French and English that is quite astonishing. Their manners are naturally and unaffectedly polite, and their conversation displays a degree of pure, easy, yet impassioned eloquence seldom heard in the most refined societies.' This is a somewhat superficial view. The quickness in the children is true enough, but the paternal name soon disappears. The daughters often marry whites, the sons seldom. Says another writer: 'Many of the officers of the company marry half-breed women. These discharge their several duties of wife and mother with fidelity, cleverness, and attention. They are in general good housewives; and are remarkably ingenious as needle-women. Many of them, besides possessing a knowledge of English, speak French correctly, and possess other accomplishments; and they sometimes attend their husbands on their distant and tedious journeys and voyages. These half-breed women are of a superior class, being the daughters of chief traders and factors, and other persons high in the company's service, by Indian women, of a superior descent or of superior personal attractions. Though they generally dress after the English fashion, according as they see it used by the English wives of the superior officers, yet they retain one peculiarity —the leggin or gaiter, which is made, now that the tanned deerskin has been superseded, of the finest and most gaudy-colored cloth, beautifully ornamented with beads.' *Dunn's Oregon Territory*, 147–8. This seems to be an eastern view presented second-hand by the author. Before 1842 or 1843 there was not a white wife of a Hudson's Bay officer in Oregon to be imitated. About that time George B. Roberts, who had been on a visit to England, brought to Fort Vancouver the only white woman ever at home within its walls. She died in 1850 at the Cowlitz farm.

they were compelled to a life of comparative virtue by way of example to their subordinates. He who respected not his own marriage relations, or those of others, must suffer for it, either by incurring the wrath of the company,[2] or the vengeance of the natives, or both. Licentiousness could not be tolerated, and this was one reason why, with so many discordant elements in the service, such perfect order was maintained. And this discipline was as rigidly enforced outside the fort as within it.[3]

Notwithstanding the conjugal relations here described, society at Fort Vancouver embraced many happy elements, and numbered among its members men who would have graced a court.

Foremost among these, we may be sure, was John McLoughlin, always a pleasing character to contemplate. On the consolidation of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay fur companies, he had been sent to

[2] There is a story in *Cox's Columbia River*, 345, in which is given an instance of the seduction by one trader of another's wife; but it resulted in the seducer quitting the company's service, and the discarding of the unfaithful mistress. Cox also tells us that when a trader wished to separate from his Indian wife he generally allowed her an annuity, or married her comfortably to one of the voyageurs, who for a dowry was glad to become the husband of *la dame d'un bourgeois*. A retired partner, thus disembarrassed, on arriving in Canada was soon an object of interest to the ladies of Montreal and Quebec, where he was met by numerous hospitable invitations, and where, in short, he soon was able to marry a wife to his taste. More often, however, when the period he had fixed upon for quitting the Indian country arrives, he finds the woman who had been for many years a faithful partner cannot in a moment be whistled off and 'let down the wind to prey at fortune.' Children have grown up about him; the natural affection of the father despises the laws of civilized society, the patriot sinks in the parent, and in most cases the temporary *liaison* ends in a permanent union. See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, and *Hist. Brit. Col.*, this series.

[3] In the spring a clerk who understood the country would go with the trappers, and whatever that clerk said, the others had to do. They were all free, but at the same time they had to come under the control of that one man. They had their by-laws, which were enforced. 'If they did anything wrong, it was reported to the company, and they would be punished accordingly. They all had Indian women, never more than one. Old Doctor McLoughlin would hang them if they had more than one.' *Matthieu's Refugee*, MS., 17. Saint-Amant asserted that the company's policy of recompensing agents without imposing sacrifices, of maintaining the Indians in absolute dependence with the aid of the Canadians, and of creating more consumers, caused them to favor marriages of subalterns, especially those who had some means, with Indians, and to grant them lands along the Willamette, Cowlitz, and Nisqually.

Oregon as chief factor and virtual governor of the great Northwest. He was born in the city of Quebec, of Irish parentage,[4] in 1784, and educated in Paris for the profession of medicine. He entered the Northwest Company at an early age, and while in their service was stationed at several posts, and finally at Fort Frances, on Lake of the Woods, from which station he was transferred in 1824 to the Columbia River.

Finding Fort George unsuitable for a permanent establishment, such as he desired, he founded Fort Vancouver in 1824–5, leaving the old post at the mouth of the river in charge of Donald Manson. The selection of the new site was fortunate; prosperity reigned, and the days at Fort Vancouver were of the pleasantest in the early annals of the Northwest Coast. Here he held sway for many years, absolute monarch of the district of the Columbia, comprising all the Hudson's Bay trapping-grounds west of the Rocky Mountains, and extending as far south and north as the trapping parties ventured to penetrate.[5]

Of McLoughlin's personal appearance almost every visitor who came to Fort Vancouver has left a sketch. All agree in representing him as of commanding presence, partly the effect of a tall, well-formed person, somewhat inclined to stoutness, flowing white hair, and a benevolent expression of countenance. He seems to have become gray early in life, for he was only thirty-nine when he came to Oregon. To

[4] See *Hist. Brit. Col.*, chap. xvii., this series. Howison, *Rept. on Coast*, 12, affirms that McLoughlin is of Irish parentage; and Jesse Applegate, in his *Views of History*, MS., 27, says the same; but George T. Allan, who was for many years at Fort Vancouver, and should be good authority on this point, says he was Scotch. 'I am not sure but his grandfather emigrated to Canada. The doctor, though a true Canadian, used to tell anecdotes of old Scotland, possibly furnished by his grandfather. One I remember, of a certain Highland chief who was in the habit of carrying a yellow cane, and of drumming the unwilling of his clan to church with it, so that the faith of that tribe came to be called the religion of the yellow stick.' *Allan's Reminiscences*, MS., 5.

[5] McLoughlin was called 'governor' by courtesy, but he had no right to the title. Sir John H. Pelly was the governor in England, and Sir George Simpson the resident governor. *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 78.

this fine personal appearance he added courtly manners, and great affability in conversation. With the air of one monarch-born, he was fitted to govern men both by awe and love. Such was the autocrat of the Columbia when he first became known to American traders, missionaries, and settlers. White men and red alike revered him.[6]

He prevented wars, upheld right and justice, and ruled with a strong, firm hand. Perhaps there is no more difficult office to fill than that of sole arbiter, not only by reason of the numerous cares attending it, but because the struggle of a single will to maintain the mastery of the many requires a great expenditure of mental force. Absolute monarchs must be strict disciplinarians; to relax in the least is to encourage a freedom fatal to their influence. McLoughlin possessed and acted on this knowledge; and like other potentates, acquired a certain quickness of temper that made him the terror of evil-doers, from the trader to the ploughboy.[7]

This unlimited power carried with it unlimited responsibility, and placed McLoughlin in very delicate positions, not alone with regard to his business with the company,[8] but also in dealings with and treatment of those who had no connection with the company, and especially Americans, with whom, on account of the political situation of the Oregon Territory, he

[6] He is thus spoken of many years later by an American settler in Oregon: 'McLoughlin was one of nature's noblemen. He was six feet six or seven inches in height, and his locks were long and white. He used to wear a large blue cloak thrown around him. You can imagine a man of that sort—a most beautiful picture. See him walking down to his church Sunday morning—it was really a sight.' *Chadwick's Public Records*, MS., 4, 5; *Harvey's Life of McLoughlin*, MS., 5, 6. See also *Hist. Brit. Col.*, chap. xvii., this series.

[7] *Harvey's Life of McLoughlin*, MS., 16–18. 'I may mention that a young American gentleman, Mr Dwight, of Salem, Mass., having come across the plains, had been rather imposed upon by the company's agent then at Fort Hall, having had to leave his rifle for provisions supplied him there, and complained, or rather spoke of the matter to me, then at the Sandwich Islands. I wrote and explained the case to McLoughlin, who immediately sent orders to Fort Hall and had the rifle forwarded to Mr Dwight free of all charge. I had the pleasure of returning it to him.' *Allan's Reminiscences*, MS., 10, 11.

[8] 'McLoughlin was a stout, hearty man, and very determined in character. Even the directory in London could not well control him: he would have his own way.' *Finlayson's V. I.*, MS., 70.

was especially careful to be in friendly relations, as well for the honor of the company as from a nice sense of justice. Yet it will be seen that he dared to discriminate, as in the cases of Kelley and Young. His liberality of sentiment and freedom from sectarian prejudices were proofs equally of a noble nature and a cultivated mind,[9] and his energy and genial disposition placed him foremost in every good work.

I might have some doubts as to the propriety of attributing so many high qualities to a single character, were it not that every authority I turn to—and they are numerous—bears me out in it, and compels me to record some small portion of the almost universal praise. McLoughlin did not always please, but in the end most people came to say with Finlayson, "By the light of maturer years, and considering the circumstances under which he was placed, I cannot but express my utmost admiration of his character."

While McLoughlin was at Fort William, on Lake Superior, James Douglas, a youth of seventeen, was sent there from Scotland, and placed in the service of the company. McLoughlin was to him as an elder brother. For years they were constantly associated.[10]

Tall like McLoughlin, but unlike the doctor he was dark and grave, as was the Black Douglas, the strongest pillar of the Scottish throne. Unlike the doctor, too, he was not quick or enthusiastic, but painstaking, cool, methodical, and resolute. His manners were by some thought pompous; but courtly bearing,[11] in a man of his size and gravity of deportment, must partake somewhat of pomp. I think he

[9] He was above proselyting. He was broad in his views. 'A man, dying, left him his daughter to bring up; the father being a Protestant, McLoughlin would not put the daughter to a Catholic school, so conscientious was he.' *Applegate's Views*, MS., 14.

[10] See *Hist. Brit. Col.*, chap. xvii., this series.

[11] 'I have often smiled at Douglas' behavior to people, honest perhaps, but rough, who had not been accustomed to show much outward respect to any one; his excessive politeness would extort a little, in that way, from them.' *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 17.

impressed all the early settlers of Oregon as being much less approachable than the doctor, while at the same time they could but admire his bearing toward them.[12]

Next in rank at Fort Vancouver was Peter Skeen Ogden, son of Chief Justice Ogden of Quebec. His father had been a loyalist, in early times, in New York, and had emigrated to Canada. Young Ogden was for a short time in the service of Mr Astor, and later of the Northwest Company, from which he was transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company. He had been active in establishing posts and negotiating commercial relations with Indian tribes. In one of his expeditions he discovered the Humboldt River.[13] Ogden was a contrast in every way to McLoughlin and Douglas, being short, dark-skinned, and rather rough in his manner, but lively and witty, and a favorite with everybody.[14] He died at Oregon City in 1854, aged sixty years.[15]

Frank Ermatinger was another person of note at Vancouver; a stout Englishman, jovial and companionable, but rather too much given to strong drink. He was a successful trader, and was sent out to compete with the American fur companies in the Flathead and Nez Percé countries. Afterward, when Oregon City had been established, he took charge of the company's business there, and figured a little in American affairs, being much esteemed by the set-

[12] 'Douglas would not flatter you. McLoughlin was more free and easy than he. He was a man born to command; a martial fellow. He never gave an evasive answer; he was a gentleman, too.' *Waldo's Critiques*, MS., 11.

[13] *Applegate's Views*, MS., 13.

[14] He carried his love of fun and frolic to great lengths. 'One of his tricks played at home was, as I have often been told—and played too on his own mother—to send notes to all the midwives in Quebec, asking them to repair to the house of Mrs Ogden at a certain hour, greatly, of course, to the astonishment and indignation of that lady.' *Allan's Reminiscences*, MS., 9.

[15] There is an anecdote, told by an eye-witness, of Ogden's Indian wife, to the effect that when the Hudson's Bay and American companies were competing in the mountains, riding into the enemy's camp to recover a pack-animal loaded with furs, the gallantry of the American trappers permitted her to recapture the pack. The Indian women were very useful to the traders in many ways.

tlers. Allan, a brother clerk, says he was sometimes styled Bardolph at the fort, from the color and size of his nose; that he was fond of talking, and would address himself to the governor in all humors when others stood aloof, bearding the lion in his den, as the clerks called it, and being met sometimes with a growl. "Frank," said the governor, "does nothing but bow, wow, wow!"[16]

One of the most noted story-tellers of the bachelor's hall was Thomas McKay, a step-son of McLoughlin—for the doctor's wife was an Ojibway woman, formerly the wife of Alexander McKay, who was lost on the *Tonquin*. Thomas McKay acquired a reputation for daring which made him the terror of the Indians. Townsend, who met him at Fort Vancouver, said he often spoke of the death of his father with the bitter animosity and love of vengeance inherited from his Indian mother; and that he declared he would yet be known on this coast as the avenger of blood. But had he been in truth so bloody-minded he could hardly have been so successful a trader. He was undoubtedly brave, and led many a trading party into the dreaded Blackfoot country; and was accustomed to amuse the clerks at Fort Vancouver with his wonderful adventures. In telling a story, says Allan, he invariably commenced, "It rained, it rained; and it blew, it blew"—often throwing in by way of climax, "and, my God, how it did snow!" quite regardless of the unities.

McKay was tall, dark, and powerful in appearance, and often strange in his deportment. Perhaps the tragical fate of his father had impressed him, as well as the recollection that in his own veins ran savage blood. His first wife was a Chinook, the mother of William McKay of Pendleton, who was brought up

[16] Ermatinger married a Miss Sinclair, a relative of Doctor McLoughlin's wife. He was rather too intimate with the doctor to suit Sir George Simpson. He went home to England on a visit, and, to annoy the doctor, Simpson prevented his return to Oregon, where he had left a young wife, and ordered him to be stationed at Red River. *Roberts' Recollections*. MS., 2.

in McLoughlin's household, and afterward sent to the east to be educated. His second wife, the mother of the famous scout, Donald McKay, half-brother of William McKay, was a half-breed daughter of Montoure, a confidential clerk of the company. They were married at Vancouver by Blanchet.[17]

Duncan Finlayson, one of the many Scotchmen in the company's service, came to Fort Vancouver in 1831, remaining there until 1837. It is believed by those who know best that the council in London were for some reason dissatisfied with McLoughlin's management, and sent out Finlayson to keep an eye on him. He had no direct charge, yet was consulted on all points by the head of the department. Matters of this kind were kept close at Fort Vancouver. By the light of subsequent events, however, it seems probable that the London council were dissatisfied with the invasion of the territory west of the Rocky Mountains by the American companies, and desired more vigorous opposition. But McLoughlin, however irritated, was too just to visit his anger upon the company's agent, who remained at Fort Vancouver on the most amicable terms with its governor.

Previous to 1833 there had been no physician at Fort Vancouver, except Doctor McLoughlin, who, through the epidemic of 1830 and the several seasons of fever that followed, suffered much fatigue from care of the sick, and much annoyance from the interruption of his business. In 1833 two young surgeons came out from Scotland, Gairdner and Tolmie. They had for their patron Sir William Hooker. Gairdner had been studying under the celebrated Ehrenberg. He was surgeon at Fort Vancouver from 1833 to 1835, but being troubled with hemorrhage of the lungs, went to the Hawaiian Islands in the autumn of the latter year, where he died. Being a young man of high attainments, his death was much de-

[17] *Or. Sketches*, MS., 21; *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 63.

plored. Dr Gairdner made a study of the salmon of the Columbia River, and his authority on their habits is still high.

William Frazer Tolmie, his associate, was from the University of Glasgow, and made botany a study. He had been at Fort Vancouver but a few months when he was assigned to the post on Millbank Sound. Returning to Fort Vancouver in 1836, he served in the medical department for several years.

Thus we see that there was no lack of good society at Fort Vancouver. Besides the residents, there were many gentlemen scattered over the country at the different posts, and in the field as traders, leading trapping parties, and carrying on commercial warfare with the American companies, and usually getting the better of them, owing to a superior organization and a better quality of goods.

Prominent among the chief clerks who had charge of posts in the interior was Pierre C. Pambrun, for several years in charge of Fort Walla Walla, where he dispensed hospitality with a free hand.[18]

Archibald McKinlay, who succeeded Pambrun at Walla Walla, was another Scotchman who had been in the service of the Northwest Company. Genial and stout-hearted,[19] he was a worthy successor of the favorite Pambrun, and the friend and ally afterward of the American missionaries in the upper country. He possessed that very necessary acquirement in an Indian country, knowledge of the native character.[20]

[18] Mr Pambrun was of French Canadian origin, and was formerly a lieutenant in the *Voltigeurs Canadiens*. His wife was a native woman, by whom he had several children. One of his daughters was married to Dr Barclay, of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1838, at the same time that her father was formally married to her mother. Pambrun died in 1840, from bruises received in a fall from his horse, occasioned by the slipping of the guiding-rope from the mouth of the animal, which thereupon became unmanageable and ran away with him. *Blanchet's Cath. Church in Or.*, 47; *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 215; *Farnham's Travels to the Rocky Mountains*, 155.

[19] He was a tall, fair, sandy-complexioned Highlander, weighing two hundred pounds, sociable, civil, clever, and a man of some intellect; a very lively, active, sharp Scotchman. *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 37.

[20] See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series, passim; *McKinlay's Narrative*, MS., 9–12; *Or. Spectator*, Aug. 5, 1847; *Victor's River of the West*, 31.

I am aware that it was a common belief among the early settlers, because the Hudson's Bay people were less frequently attacked than others, that they enjoyed immunity; but such was not the case.[21] Nothing but their uniform just treatment, and the firmness and intrepidity of the leaders and officers in charge, preserved this apparent security. Except in the vicinity of Fort Vancouver, or among the diseased and wasted tribes of the Willamette and Columbia valleys, there needed to be exercised sleepless vigilance, and a scrupulous regard to the superstitions of the different tribes.

Chief Factor Samuel Black, in charge of Fort Kamloop at the junction of Fraser and Thompson rivers, was a great favorite, and many were the stories told of him.[22] His murder by one of the fort Indians shows that, though he had been among them many years, he was no more safe from their fury or superstition than were others.[23]

William Glen Rae, a large, handsome man, educated at Edinburgh, was a native of the Orkney Islands. From 1834 to 1837 he was employed as trader at the different posts, and was then appointed head clerk at Fort Vancouver. In 1838 he married Maria Eloise, daughter of Dr McLoughlin, soon after which he was appointed chief trader, and sent to Stikeen River in 1840 to receive from the Russians their fort at that place, leased to the Hudson's Bay Company. He left the post at Stikeen in charge of John McLoughlin, son of Dr McLoughlin and brother of his wife. In 1841 he was sent to California to take charge of the

[21] Traders of interior posts were in constant danger of Indian attacks. Only a few men could be kept at each post, and the Indians at times were discontented. When in want of provisions they could not get, they would become desperate and easily excited. *Burnett's Recollections*, MS., i. 112.

[22] See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, passim, this series. Black was an oddity. He had a ring presented him at the coalition of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies, engraved, 'To the most worthy of the worthy Northwesters.' *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 9.

[23] *McKinlay's Nar.*, MS., 13, 14; *Simpson's Nar.*, i. 157; *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 10; *Tod's New Caledonia*, MS., 13–19.

company's business, which continued under his management until his death by his own hand in 1846.[24]

John McLoughlin, junior, second son of Dr McLoughlin, was but a young man to be placed in charge of a fort, and appears to have been in no way worthy of the name he bore. About a year after Mr Rae left him at Stikeen he was murdered by his own men, Canadians and kanakas. An account of the affair is given in the *History of the Northwest Coast*. One who knew him called him too young and hot-headed for such service; but there is reason to think that he brought about his own death by his debaucheries.[25] Sir George Simpson, who investigated the murder, treated it in such a way as to incur the life-long displeasure of Dr McLoughlin. This, however, was not the only cause for offence,[26] a tacit disagreement having existed for at least ten years between the resident governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and the 'emperor of the west.' Sir George was of humble though respectable origin, a Scottish family of Caithness, and his father was a school-master. He was in the possession of no personal qualities that could awe McLoughlin.

[24] Mrs Rae had three children when she returned to Oregon on the death of her husband, a son and two daughters. The son inherited a large property in the Orkney Islands, but died early. The daughters became Mrs Theodore Wygant and Mrs Joseph Myrick of Portland. Mrs Rae was married again to Daniel Harvey of Oregon City, who was in charge of McLoughlin's mills at that place, and by whom she had two sons, Daniel and James, both becoming residents of Portland. *Roberts' Rec.*, MS., 24, 57; *Harvey's Life of McLoughlin*, MS., passim.

[25] Doctor McLoughlin had three sons; the eldest, Joseph, was uneducated. He settled at the mouth of the Yamhill River, and died there. His widow, who was a daughter of Mr McMillan of the Hudson's Bay Company, in early Astoria days married Etienne Grégoire, a French settler. David McLoughlin, the younger son, was sent to Paris and London for education, and was some time at Addiscombe, where young men are trained for the East India Company. He returned to Oregon, spent his inheritance, and became a resident of Montana.

[26] 'I don't know how the feud between the doctor and Sir George originated. The doctor was "at outs," I think in 1831, and threatened to retire; and Duncan Finlayson, who afterwards married a sister of Lady Simpson, and cousin of Sir George, came to supersede him. The doctor did not leave for England till March 1838, and returned still in the employ of the company. It was said that Sir George had prepared the governor and committee to give the doctor a "whigging," but that when he came into their presence his fine manly appearance and bearing was such that they had no heart for the fight.' *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 22–3.

The fop of the Columbia district was John Lee Lewes, an old Northwester, who after having been many years at the several northern posts was placed in charge of the district of McKenzie River, and afterward at Fort Colville. He was a man of fine personal appearance, and possessed many good qualities. He had the misfortune to lose his right hand by the accidental discharge of a gun. When he retired from the service in 1846 he proceeded to Australia with the intention of remaining there; but habit was too strong upon him, and he returned and took up his abode at Red River.[27] A son of Mr Lewes was the first representative from Vancouver county when Oregon territory was organized.

John Dunn, who wrote a book on Oregon made up partly from his own observations but more largely from those of others, was in charge of Fort McLoughlin, on Milbank Sound, in 1830; but later he was at Fort George on the Columbia, where he remained till about 1840. Dunn was one of two young naval apprentices sent out in the ship *Ganymede* in 1830. George B. Roberts of Cathlamet was the other. This latter gentleman was for many years clerk at Fort Vancouver, being cognizant of a long series of interesting events. His *Recollections* in manuscript, from which I have made so many extracts, has proved very valuable to me.[28]

[27] *Anderson's Hist. Northwest Coast*, MS., 85–6.

[28] Roberts has, by request, furnished his own biographical sketch. It is, like all his writings, rich in incident and allusion, and though not written with the expectation that it would be inserted verbatim in this history, there can be no objection to the following quotation: 'I was born at Aldborough in Suffolk, east coast of England, fifty miles or so north of the Thames, 16th of December 1815, the birthplace of the poet Crabbe. Through the kind interest of Sir Edward Berry, Nelson's flag-captain at the Nile, to whom Nelson said of the French as the fleet entered Aboukir Bay, "Count 'em, Sir Ed'ard," *Southey's Life of Nelson*, I was admitted to the Greenwich Royal Naval School at the age of between eleven and twelve, on the 30th of August '27, where I remained till 3d of November 1830, and was then with several others bound apprentices for seven years to the Hudson's Bay Company's naval service, and sailed from London on the 11th of November 1830 in the bark *Ganymede*, Captain Charles Kissling. She was only 213 tons, had a crew of 30, carried 6 cannonades in the waist, and was for all Indian purposes a safe ship. The small size was owing to the difficulties and dangers of the Columbia, there being no charts, buoys, or pilots in those days. We arrived at the Columbia

Alexander Caulfield Anderson was born at Calcutta in India, in 1814, and educated in England. At about twenty years of age he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Northwest Coast, but was not so much at Fort Vancouver as north of that fort. From his manuscript *History of the Northwest Coast* much valuable and interesting matter has been obtained.

Doctor Forbes Barclay came to Oregon in the service of the company in 1839, and remained at Fort Vancouver till 1850, when he became a resident of Oregon City and a naturalized American citizen. Barclay was a native of the Shetland Islands, and was born on Christmas-day, 1812. While but a lad

after calling at the S. Islands, about August 1st. The apprentices were transferred to the *Cadboro*, for the coast—but all hands were ill with the ague (we called it). We had to go into tents in Baker's Bay. I was the last to fall ill, and was sent to Fort George when the ship sailed for the Northwest Coast. I went to Vancouver in February and assisted Douglas (Sir James), who was then a clerk on £100 a year. When the expedition to the Stikeen was fitted out in '34 I applied to join my school-mates, but on the return of the expedition, in the winter of '34–35, I had had enough of the sea, and resumed my former berth, though for one year I kept the school of some 50 Indian children—it must have been after S. H. Smith ran off with our old baker's Indian wife. I was then employed in the office and stores till Dr McLoughlin's departure for England, when Douglas assumed charge, and took me for aid instead of Mr Allan to oversee the men. We had about 100 to 150, sometimes 200, and I was the overseer. I continued in this with the exceptions of a month or two at Cowlitz farm in '39, Oregon City in '40, and Champoeg in '42. I left that season, November '42, for England, with Captain McNeill, as a passenger of course. The doctor and Douglas, then the board of management, read to me their public letter commending me to the governor and committee, and thoughtfully asking them to allow me to return if I was so disposed, breaking the rule of the service in my case—generally there was no return to the service. We reached London by way of the Islands, 10th of May '43. I was soon tired of home, where I was out of place and a nobody, and availing myself of the thoughtfulness of the doctor and Douglas, married my first cousin, Miss Martha Cable, of Aldborough, and sailed from Cowes, Isle of Wight, 5th of December, on board the bark *Brothers*, Captain Flere, a chartered ship; and arrived at the Islands in April, where we took as fellow-passenger Rev. George Gary, who was coming to settle up the Methodist Mission business after the death of Jason Lee. [Mr Gary set out before the death of Jason Lee.] We arrived safely at Vancouver in May '44. From thence on to December '46, I had charge of the company's depot, wholesale business, that is, I received and shipped all cargoes, kept separate account of each post and ship. I may say that up to that time I had a better acquaintance of all things at Vancouver than anybody else. I came young, soon learned French and Indian, knew where everything was, and everybody. I hardly think there was a book or paper that I hadn't fullest access to. I went to take charge of the Cowlitz farm in 1846. In '48 came the measles, and a scene of death; in '49 a typhoid or camp fever, of which my poor wife died in July '50. In '55 I married Miss Rose Birnie, of Aberdeen, Scotland.'

he went on a cruise with Sir John Ross to the Arctic regions, in search of a north-west passage. The vessel was wrecked, and nearly all on board were lost. Among those who escaped and were picked up by the Eskimos was young Barclay. He was taken to the island of Fisco, where he lived with the Danes for several months, finally returning to Scotland on a vessel which touched at the island. Resuming his studies, he graduated at the royal college of surgeons, in London, in July 1838, and left the following year for Oregon, where he arrived in the spring of 1840.[29]

Donald Manson was also a native of Scotland, who had received a good education, and in his seventeenth year, 1817, entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. He remained on the east side of the mountains till 1823, when he accompanied Black into the country now known as the Cassiar mining district, after which he returned to Athabasca, and in the autumn of 1824 was ordered to the Columbia River, arriving at Fort Vancouver in April 1825. In the summer of 1827 he assisted in the erection of Fort Langley, the first trading post established by the company west of the Rocky Mountains and north of Fort Vancouver. He returned to Fort Vancouver in 1828, in which year two American vessels, the brig *Owyhee*, Captain Dominus, and the schooner *Convoy*, Captain Tomson, entered the Columbia to trade. Manson was sent to occupy the deserted post at Astoria, and oppose the interlopers. He found the old fort in so ruinous a state that he lived in a tent for the season.[30]

[29] In 1842 he married Miss Maria Pambrun, daughter of Pierre C. Pambrun, by whom he had five children. The rules of the company prohibited him from leaving the fort to practise his profession. But in the early settlement of Oregon it was the custom of the Americans to go to the fort for medical advice, which was always freely given. He was seven years mayor of Oregon City, nine years a councilman, and eighteen years coroner. Ever attentive to the duties of citizenship, strictly honest, sagacious, and benevolent, he was trusted and esteemed by all. Doctor Barclay died at his home in Oregon City, May 14, 1873. *Oregon City Enterprise*, May 16, 1873; *Olympia Standard*, May 24, 1873; *Portland Oregonian*, May 17, 1873; *Portland Herald*, May 17, 1873; *S. F. Call*, May 16, 1873.

[30] It was during this year that the ship *William and Ann* was cast away when a little distance inside the bar of the Columbia, and all on board, 26

In 1829 Manson accompanied Ogden to establish Fort Simpson, north of Langley; and in 1830 a post on Milbank Sound, Fort McLoughlin, where he remained in charge until 1839, when he was granted a year's absence. Returning in 1841, he succeeded Mr Black, who had just been murdered at Kamloop; and in 1842 he succeeded John McLoughlin, murdered at Stikeen. In 1844 he was appointed to the command of the district of New Caledonia, where he remained as executive officer until 1857, when he resigned. Soon afterward he purchased a farm at Champoeg.[31]

Donald McLeod, born about 1811, in one of the western isles of the county of Ross, Scotland, came to Oregon in the company's service in 1835 by sea. He was leading trapping parties in the Snake country with Thomas McKay in 1836, and remained in this occupation ten years, when he settled on a farm in the Tualatin Plains, where he died February 26, 1873, leaving a large family.[32]

persons, lost.' This, however, was before the arrival of the American vessels or Mr Manson at the mouth of the river, and there were none but Indian witnesses. The crew gained the shore with arms wet and defenceless, and were all massacred by the Clatsops. This was avenged, and the two Clatsop chiefs killed. The *Isabella*, Captain Ryan, ran aground on Sand Island in 1830, and was abandoned by the crew, who probably dreaded the fate of those of the *William and Ann*. The vessel was lost. Had the men remained by the ship until the tide turned they might have saved her. A part only of the cargo was lost. *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 106–7; *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 15. The loss of another vessel two years later, quite as much as the occasional visits of American traders, caused the company to occupy the post at Astoria continuously after 1830.

[31] *Trans. Or. Pion. Assoc.*, 1879, 56; *Bacon's Mer. Life*, MS., 22–3; *Grim's Emigrant Anecdotes*, MS., 12; *Portland Oregonian*, March 28, 1874; *Id.*, April 8, 1876; *Id.*, Feb. 5, 1876; *Salem Farmer*, March 17, 1876. Mr Manson's wife was Felice Lucier, of French Prairie, whom he married in October 1828, at which time her father had been two years settled in the Willamette Valley.

[32] *Portland Pacific Christian Advocate*, March 6, 1873. McLeod while in the mountains suffered so severely with piles that he could neither ride nor sit, but was carried on a litter between two horses. The Indian wife of an American trapper, Ebberts, gave him a tea made from pounded roots gathered near Fort Vancouver, which cured him in a few days. He presented her with some gay dresses and other trifles; and to Ebberts, who was in need of a saw and two augers, he sent a whole chest of tools. *Ebberts' Trapper's Life*, MS., 42. James Birnie of Aberdeen, Scotland, who entered Oregon in 1818, succeeded Dunn at Fort George, and remained at that post for many years. He finally retired to Cathlamet, where he died December 21, 1864, aged 69 years. He

The lives of these men, separated by thousands of miles from the civilized world, and entirely deprived of the companionship of cultivated women, might easily have been barbarous through the lack of example and emulation which everywhere exists in the world of intellect and refinement. The highest praise that can be bestowed upon them is that under these temptations they never forgot themselves. As nearly as possible McLoughlin maintained the fashions of manor life in England, the hospitality, the courtesy, the riding, hunting, and conversation. A dinner at Fort Vancouver was a dignified and social affair, not lacking either in creature comforts or table-talk. As early as 1836 there was good living at this post; plenty of cattle, sheep, swine, salmon, game, and an ample garden. The table was set off with a display of fine English glass, and ruddy wines. No liquors were furnished. McLoughlin never drank either wine or liquor, except on great occasions, to open the festivities. He presided, and led the conversation, the

was the first white man to descend the Umpqua River to its mouth. The second wife of George B. Roberts was a sister of Mr Birnie. James Grant was in charge of Fort Hall when the first overland immigration to Oregon crossed the continent, and until quite a late period. No man in Oregon has been more remarked upon, not to say reviled, by the American immigrants, though with what justice let him who reads decide. The same might almost be said of William McBean, successor to McKinlay at Fort Walla Walla. The history of events will point to the justice or injustice of popular opinion. Archibald McDonald, for a long time in charge of Fort Colville, and who had a daughter famous for her beauty, talents, and horsemanship; Angus McDonald, in charge of Fort Hall, and afterward of Colville; Henry Maxwell, John Ballenden, and Dugald McTavish, who were the last chief factors at Fort Vancouver—were some of the yet larger number of gentlemen who graced these halls with their constant or occasional presence. In the early days the selection of officers for the service of the Hudson's Bay Company was made chiefly with regard to strength of constitution and general probity of character, family influence, of course, regulating the selection. In after years the necessities of their position, in consequence of the active rivalry of the Northwest Company, demanded the infusion of more energetic elements, and in this way a body of officers was gradually introduced who fully equalled in all respects the pushing characteristics which marked the service of the Northwest Company. *Anderson's Hist. Northwest Coast*, MS., 87. 'Connected with the Hudson's Bay Company there are also many gentlemen who would do no discredit to any circle of society. These gentlemen sustain the forms and courtesies of civilized life much more than Americans engaged in the same pursuits.' *Edwards' Sketch of Oregon Territory*, MS., 25. Take them all in all, they were a body of men who, for physical strength, courage, coolness, and general intrepidity of character, were rarely equalled, and perhaps nowhere excelled.

others being seated according to rank. No more time was consumed at table than was convenient; there was present neither gluttony nor intemperance.[33] If guests were present the chief devoted some time to them; after dinner he showed them the farm and stock, offered them horses and guns, or perhaps made up a party to escort them wherever they wished to go. Did they remain at the fort, there was the opportunity to study a whole museum of curious things from all parts of the savage and civilized world, all kinds of weapons, dresses, ornaments, mechanisms, and art. When these were exhausted there were the pipe and books, and the long-drawn tales of evening. Where were met together so many men of adventurous lives, mariners who had circumnivigated the globe, leaders of trapping parties through thousands of miles of wilderness, among tribes of hostile savages, in heat and cold, in sunshine and storm, contending always with the inhospitable whims of mother nature, there could be but little flagging in the conversation. Sometimes the story was a tragedy, sometimes a comedy; but no matter what the occasion for mirth, discipline was always preserved and propriety regarded.

Many Americans found shelter and entertainment at Vancouver, as we shall see, most of whom have made suitable acknowledgment, testifying to the generous assistance given to every enterprise not in conflict with the company's business. Whether it was a rival trapping party like Jedediah Smith's, which found itself in trouble, or an unlucky trader like Wyeth,[34] a missionary, a naturalist, or a secret

[33] 'I can see our old Vancouver dinning-hall, with the doctor at the head of the table suddenly pull the bell-tassel. "Bruce!" and in a few minutes Bruce would be on hand with an open mull, from which a pinch would be taken, without a word on either side. The doctor never smoked; chewing was out of the question; he occasionally took snuff, but seemed afraid to trust himself with any.' *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 38.

[34] When Wyeth returned home he sent out a keg of choice smoking-tobacco with a friendly letter, to the gentlemen of Bachelor's Hall. The doctor and he were great friends, and corresponded for many years afterward. *Allan's Reminiscences*, MS., 9. The tobacco sold by the company was mostly from Brazil, twisted into rope an inch in diameter, and coiled. It went by the name of trail-rope tobacco among the American settlers.

agent of the United States in disguise, one universal law of brotherhood embraced them all. Their charity sometimes went so far as to clothe as well as house and feed wandering stars of American wit, as in the case of Thomas J. Farnham, who visited Fort Vancouver in 1839.[35]

Likewise there were other resources at hand. The annual ship brought books, reviews, files of newspapers; and the mail was brought overland by express from York Factory, Red River, and Canada. With every such arrival the leading topics of the time were discussed, more closely perhaps from the length of time before the next batch of subjects could be expected. Very early in Fort Vancouver life, owing to the relative positions of the two governments, British and American institutions and ideas were compared, and defended or condemned according to the views of the disputants.[36] But after the advent of the first missionaries and settlers as an American element, these discussions became more frequent, and in fact developed a great deal of patriotism on one side, and a liberality not to be expected on the other. John Dunn relates that in those days, from 1834 to 1843, there were two parties at Fort Vancouver, patriots, and liberals, or philosophers.[37] The British, or patriots, maintained that the governor was too chivalrous, that his generosity was thrown away, and would be unrequited, that he was nourishing those who would by and by rise and question his own authority, and the British right to Fort Vancouver itself. This party cited the American free trapper, and the advocates of the border lynch-law, as specimens of American civilization. They had no faith in American

[35] 'Farnham was a jovial, jolly fellow. Douglas fitted him out from his own wardrobe so as to make him presentable at mess.' *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 17.

[36] 'The doctor was very fond of argument, especially on historical points connected with the first Napoleon, of whom he was a great admirer, and often entered into them with Captain Wyeth.' *Allan's Reminiscences*, MS., 9.

[37] Dunn was very illiberal toward the Americans, having been excited by the competition on the north coast, while stationed at Milbank Sound. *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 4.

missionaries, nor approbation for American traders. In short, the term American with them was synonymous with boorishness and dishonesty.

The liberal party, of which McLoughlin was understood to be the leader, though they admitted that Americans were not exempt from charges of trickery and tyranny, being slaveholders, and sometimes even as states repudiating honest debts; and that the half-apostolical and half-agricultural character of the missionaries was not, in their judgment, the highest example of clerical dignity; and that the American traders did domineer over and corrupt the natives; yet he thought that Americans ought not to be excluded, because they had some claims to the right of occupancy, claims really existing, though feeble, which would make it both impolitic and unjust to prevent them any possession. And as to American lynch-law and other usages repugnant to justice and humanity, they were rather exceptions to the American code than examples of American principles of legislation, which in commercial and civil matters was, generally speaking, just and humane, and from which even British legislation might derive some useful hints. They had hopes, too, that the Americans, by the influence of the gentlemen fur-traders, would become more civilized. Such sentiments amused Farnham when he was at Fort Vancouver,[38] and troubled many later comers, who felt their national dignity assaulted by British patronage of this sort.[39]

There was an Arcadian simplicity about Fort Vancouver life, in its early days, that awakens some-

[38] 'Another was a Mr Simpson, a young Scotchman of respectable family, a clerk in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. This was a fine fellow, twenty-five years of age, full of energy and good feeling, well informed on general topics, and like most other British subjects abroad, troubled with an irrepressible anxiety at the growing power of the States, and an overwhelming loyalty toward the mother country and its sovereign skirts.' *Farnham's California and Oregon*, 8.

[39] 'I often heard Dr McLoughlin say: "These Englishmen when they first come out are such rabid democrats; but in a few years they always are at least conservative."' *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 17.

thing of poetry and sentiment. It is a bit of feudal life in the wilderness. The fort is the duke's castle; the other posts the dependent baronies; the leaders of trapping parties the chiefs who sally forth to do battle for their lord. Every summer, when the season is at its height, the fortress gates are opened to receive, not the array of knights in armor, but the brigade of gay and happy trappers home from the mountains with the year's harvest of furs. It is like the return of the conquering heroes. It does not need a bugle at the gates to announce the arrival. A courier has been sent in advance to give notice. When within two miles of the fort, the song of the boatmen can be distinctly heard, keeping time to the oars bright flashing like Toledo blades. The company's flag waves proudly from the tall staff. Everybody is eager and excited, from the servants to the grand master himself, who stands at the landing with the rest. Presently the boats sweep round the last point into full view. The number depends on the success of the year's traffic; there may be twenty-five, or less; and each can carry fifteen or twenty tons. Down they come with the current, in perfect order, amidst shouting and cheering from the shore, every voyageur in gala dress, ribbons fluttering from Canadian caps, and deerskin suits ornamented with beads and fringes.

The arrival of the brigade was the great event of the year at Fort Vancouver, and as we have noticed before, the occasion when McLoughlin relaxed his abstemious rule, and drank a glass of wine to open the festivities, which were expected to last twenty-four hours, and during which everybody did as he pleased. There was in the gentlemen's dining-hall a grand dinner on such occasions, at which jollity, anecdote, and wit enlivened the table more than the red wine that was drunk.[40]

Another picturesque feature of this early Hudson's

[40] *Applegate's Views*, MS., 17.

Bay life in Oregon was that of the chief trader's caravan when it moved through the Indian country; or when the governor himself made a tour through the Willamette Valley, as occurred at rare intervals. On these occasions, Indian women were conspicuous. In addition to the trappers' wives, there was the grand dame, the wife of the bourgeois, or leader. Seated astride the finest horse, whose trappings were ornamented with colored quills, beads, and fringes to which hung tiny bells that tinkled with every motion, herself dressed in a petticoat of the finest blue broadcloth, with embroidered scarlet leggings, and moccasons stiff with the most costly beads, her black braided hair surmounted by a hat trimmed with gay ribbon, or supporting drooping feathers, she presented a picture, if not as elegant as that of a lady of the sixteenth century at a hawking party, yet quite as striking and brilliant.

When the caravan was in progress it was a panorama of gayety, as each man of the party, from the chief trader and clerk down to the last trapper in the train, filed past with his ever-present and faithful helpmate in her prettiest dress. After them came the Indian boys, driving the pack-horses, with goods and camp utensils. When the governor went on a visit, it was like a royal promenade; the camp equipage consisted of everything necessary for comfortable lodging, and a bountiful table, the cook being an important member of the numerous retinue. Here was feudalism on the western seaboard, as I before remarked. The Canadian farmers were serfs to all intents and purposes, yet with such a kindly lord that they scarcely felt their bondage; or, if they felt it, it was for their good.[41]

[41] 'It was a most remarkable condition of things. The old doctor would go down to Champoeg, and whatever he told them to do, they would do. If they were shiftless, he would not give them half what they wanted. If they were industrious, even if they were not successful, he would give them what they wanted. He kept himself constantly informed about those people, as to how they were doing. If they went around horse-racing, he would lecture them severely, and make them afraid to do so. There were no laws or rules. If

So absolute was McLoughlin's authority that previous to the settlement of Americans in the Willamette Valley no legal forms had been thought necessary, except such as by the company's grant were so made; the governor and council having power to try and punish all offenders belonging to the company or any crimes committed in any of "the said company's plantations, forts, factories, or places of trade within Hudson's Bay territory." The Canadians and other servants of the company yielded without question to the company's chartered right to judge and punish. But with the Americans it was different. The charter forbade any British subject from trespassing upon the company's territory for purposes of trade; but it could not forbid Americans or other people. The charter permitted the company to go to war, on its own account, with any unchristianized nation; but the Americans could not be styled unchristianized, though they might, if provoked, become belligerent. The Americans, though so lacking in civilized conceptions according to the ideas of the gentlemen at Fort Vancouver, were stubborn in their legal rights, and were, besides, turbulent in their habits, and might put thoughts of insubordination into the minds of the company's people.

Foreseeing the troubles that would arise on this account, McLoughlin took timely measures to provide against them, and procured, by act of parliament, the appointment of justices of the peace in different parts of the country, James Douglas filling that office at Fort Vancouver. These justices were empowered to adjudicate upon minor offences, and to impose punishment; to arrest criminals guilty of serious crimes and send them to Canada for trial; and also to try and give judgment in civil suits where the amount in dis-

there were any disputes, he settled them arbitrarily. Just what he said was the law.' *Crawford's Miss.*, MS., 10. 'He was a disciplinarian, strict and stern to those under him. He had a great many Indians and kanakas. Whatever he told them to do they had to do. He was often very violent with them.' *Bacon's Mer. Life Or.*, MS., 20.

pute did not exceed two hundred pounds; and in case of non-payment, to imprison the debtor at their own forts, or in the jails of Canada.

Dunn relates that in the discussions at Fort Vancouver the liberal party had an advantage, even in his estimation, when the neglect of the home government, and of the British and Foreign Missionary Society, touching the conversion and civilization of the natives, was brought up. The patriots were forced to admit that this state of affairs was highly censurable, and that since England had so grossly neglected the natives, they could make no proper objection to American missionaries. Even should they prove to be as bad as other Americans in the country, contact with the British residents would render them more gentlemanly, tolerant, and honest.

Sunday was observed both in the matter of religious services and suspension of labor; but the latter part of the day was allowed for amusements. After the first American missionaries came to Oregon, the doctor questioned whether it was right to be without a chaplain at Fort Vancouver, or dignified for so great a company to pay so little regard to religious forms. The American ministers might not be to his taste, but some there should be who were. These Americans, uncouth perhaps in dress and bearing, had set themselves to teach not only the children of the Canadians, but those within the fort, his children, and the sons and daughters of gentlemen high in the company's service.

Should he not have to acknowledge that they had been missionaries to him? Such an admission might never pass his lips; but in many ways he must acknowledge his approbation of the work, and his heart was full of friendliness toward them, which alas! they did not always requite with kindness. They could not be so liberal toward him as he had been with them. He followed their lead whenever he saw good in it, even when he was doubtful of its being the best

or the safest course, because he could not refuse to encourage the right.

As early as 1836 the lever was applied to the foundations of the old society that was destined to overturn it. The boasted civilization of this English company, aristocratic and cultured, could not stand before the face of one white woman. The *Nereid*, coming from England and the Sandwich Islands, brought a chaplain to Fort Vancouver—a direct result, it may reasonably be inferred, of the American Mission. The name of this new officer on the governor's staff was Rev. Herbert Beaver, an appropriate name for the service, and one which the junior clerks undoubtedly repeated among themselves with the highest satisfaction. Mr Beaver had been chaplain of a regiment at Santa Lucía, in the West Indies. He was of the fox-hunting type of English clergymen, and had been much diverted by the manners of his fellow-passenger from Honolulu, Mr Lee, whom he was constantly in the habit of quizzing. From the glimpse Dunn gives of the sentiment of Bachelor's Hall, his gibes at his Methodist brother must have provoked responsive mirth. But the inmates of the fort, grave, dignified, disciplined, and accustomed to respect, did not always escape the reverend gentleman's sallies of wit; nor, as it proved, his strictures on their immoral and uncivilized condition.

Gray, who saw him at Fort Vancouver, describes him as rather a small person, with a light complexion and feminine voice, who made pretensions to oratory, entirely unsupported by the facts. Also, his ideas of clerical dignity were such that he felt himself defiled by association with the gentlemen at Fort Vancouver. McLoughlin was uncivil, the clerks boors, the women savages. Here was a fine beginning of English missionary work! And yet the feudal lords could not deny it. There was Mrs Jane Beaver, who had accompanied her husband. They might kick the chaplain,

but the chaplain's wife had a way with her, recognized in all Christian communities, of calling such manner of living vile. These lords of the Hudson's Bay Company were compelled to chew the reflective cud, and to stifle their warmth at clerical interference, while they slowly made up their minds to take the only alternative left them, if they would associate with clergymen and clergymen's wives. It was not enough for the Beavers that the governor, the chief factor, chief traders, and clerks attended the Sunday service and observed decorum. There was an abomination within the walls of the fort that Christianity could not tolerate.

Had Beaver's objections to the domestic relations of Fort Vancouver been his sole ground of criticism, his natural flippancy and professional arrogance might have been tolerated. But he found many things that were wrong in the practices of the Hudson's Bay Company, and so reported to the Aborigines Protection Society at London, to which he complained that his attempts to introduce civilization and Christianity among one or more of the neighboring tribes had not succeeded, because his efforts had not been seconded by the company. The truth was, that Beaver was quite too nice for the task of civilizing Indians in the vicinity of Fort Vancouver. He was dissatisfied with the plain quarters assigned him, the parsonage being only a cottage built of rough lumber, uncarpeted except with Indian mats, which Mrs Beaver pronounced filthy, and unfurnished with any of the elegancies of an English parsonage. He despised and disliked the natives, and abhored the practice of the gentlemen at Fort Vancouver of cohabiting with them.

Roberts says that Beaver kept a good table, although his salary was only £200 a year; but everything was furnished him except clothes. He was kind enough to invite the young clerk to dinner frequently, but Roberts thinks the risk imposed upon his soul in

making him sponsor-general to a motley crowd of the vilest of the vile, whom the chaplain insisted on bap tizing in his character of missionary, more than offset the dinners.

While Beaver baptized reluctant heathen, white red, and mixed, in the intervals of his hunting and other amusements, Mrs Jane Beaver held herself scornfully aloof from the wickedness of private life at Fort Van couver. When she had been present about six weeks, there arrived from across the continent two other white women, wives of missionaries also, who remained as guests of the company from September to November, and who soon made themselves acquainted with its social life, not in the manner of Mrs Beaver, but in a humble, kindly way, which won for them the deference of every gentleman from the governor down.

Finally, in January 1837, Mr Beaver had the satisfaction of celebrating the church of England marriage-service at the nuptials of James Douglas and Nelia Connolly. McLoughlin too thoroughly despised Beaver to submit to remarriage at his hand, but to quiet the scandal which the chaplain so loved to scatter in Europe, he had the civil rite performed by Douglas in his capacity of justice of the peace. Whereupon, in the nostrils of Mrs Beaver the social atmosphere of Fort Vancouver became somewhat purified of its aboriginal stench, though to the pure-minded and chivalrous gentlemen of the fort the Beavers were far more obnoxious than the aboriginals.

Beaver returned to England in 1838, having been an inmate of the fort a year and a half. His departure was hastened by an unusual outburst of the doctor's disgust. It was the chaplain's duty to forward a written report to the London council, which he was required to place in McLoughlin's hands before sending. On reading one of these reports, the contents so incensed the doctor that he demanded an explanation on meeting the writer in the fort yard. The reverend gentlemen replied: "Sir, if you wish

to know why a cow's tail grows downward, I cannot tell you; I can only cite the fact."

Up went the governor's cane of its own volition, and before McLoughlin was aware of it he had bestowed a good sound blow upon the shoulders of the impudent divine. Beaver shouted to his wife for his pistols, long-barrelled flintlocks; but on reflection concluded he would not kill the doctor just then. Next day there was an auction of the effects of Captain Home, drowned in the Columbia; and while the people were gathered there, McLoughlin, by the magnanimity of his nature, was constrained to do penance. "Mr Beaver," said he, stepping up to the chaplain before them all, "I make this public apology for the indignity I laid upon you yesterday." "Sir, I will not accept your apology," exclaimed the chaplain, turning upon his heel. Beaver went back to England, and the company sent no more chaplains to Fort Vancouver.[42]

[42] Besides the authorities quoted, materials for this chapter have been gathered from *Wilkes' Nar.; Comptons' Forts and Fort Life*, MS.; *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS.; *Townsend's Nar.; Finlayson's V. I.*, MS.; *Grover's Public Life*, MS.; *Parrish's Or. Anecdotes*, MS.; *Ford's Road-makers*, MS.; *Simpson's Journal; Tolmie's Hist. Puget Sound*, MS.; *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS.; *Strong's Hist. Or.*, MS.; *Smet's Voy.; Good's British Columbia*, MS.; *Parker's Jour.*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854; *Sylvester's Olympia*, MS.; *Kane's Wanderings; Portland Oregonian*, Sept. 30, 1854; *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains; Palmer's Journal; Overland Monthly*, viii. The scene between McLoughlin and Beaver was related by an eye-witness.

CHAPTER III.

SETTLEMENT OF OREGON.

1832–1834.

THE FLATHEADS AT ST LOUIS—THEY ASK FOR MISSIONARIES—INTEREST RAISED AMONG RELIGIOUS PEOPLE—THE CHURCHES ROUSED—ACTION OF THE METHODIST BOARD—JASON AND DANIEL LEE CHOSEN MISSIONARIES—WYETH CONSULTED—JOURNEY OVERLAND FROM INDEPENDENCE—PREACHING AT FORT HALL—ARRIVAL AT FORT VANCOUVER—VISIT TO THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY — MISSION SITE CHOSEN — REASONS FOR ABANDONING THE FLATHEAD PLAN—THE FRENCH CANADIANS—CAMPEMENT DU SABLE—HALL J. KELLEY—SOMETHING ABOUT THE MEN WHO CAME WITH LEWIS AND CLARKE, THE ASTOR EXPEDITIONS, WYETH, KELLEY, AND EWING YOUNG.

ABOUT the year 1832 four native chiefs from the region round the head waters of the Columbia appeared at St Louis asking for Mr Clarke, of the Lewis and Clarke expedition, then resident Indian agent at that place. Their fathers had told them of his visit to their nation. From various sources, from the praise of pious travellers and the oaths of impious trappers, they had learned of the white man's God, and the book which he had given. And now, would the great white chief grant their prayer and send religious men to point their people the way to heaven? It was promised them according to their request. Soon after two of them sickened and died; of the other two, one met death during his return, and the other reached his people and reported.[1]

[1] Such is the story, simplified from many conflicting statements, and presented in the form of reason and probability. There is no doubt in my mind as to the truth of the matter in the main, though it has been denied by some. As to the date and general incidents, Shea, *Cath. Miss.*, 467—see also White, in *Oregon Spectator*, Nov. 12, 1846—states that since 1820 the Flat-

This incident, heralded through the press, elaborated in the pulpit, and wrought into divine and spiritual forms by fervid religionists, who saw in it the finger of God pointing westward, awakened general interest in that direction. Moved by inspiration, they said, and in obedience to the order of a council of chiefs, these messengers had come from beyond the Rocky Mountains, travelling thousands of miles, and undergoing many hardships and dangers; and in the accomplishment of this sacred work they had yielded up their lives. Among others the Missionary Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church was importuned to establish forthwith a mission among the Flatheads.

heads and Nez Percés had been Christian at heart, the result of instructions in the Catholic faith by certain educated Iroquois who found their way to them. The Flathead chiefs were in the habit of assembling every year at the Bitter Root River, whence in 1831 a deputation of five chiefs was sent to St Louis to obtain priests. None of the five reached their destination, and others were sent; but the bishop had no priests to spare. John W. York of Corvallis, in a private communication dated April 25, 1876, to J. Quinn Thornton, which is embodied in *Thornton's Hist. Or.*, MS., makes the number five, and the date of their arrival at St Louis Sept. 17, 1830. All other authorities place the number at four, and the date at about 1830 or 1831. Evans, *Hist. Or.*, MS., 209, and Atkinson, Spalding, and others, make the date 1832. The messengers were generally called Flatheads; though some say Nez Percés; and Smith, in the *Boston Missionary Herald*, Aug. 1840, intimates that they were Spokanes, and that six started, two turning back. Thornton, *Or. and Cal.*, ii. 21, states that 'two natives were permitted to pass in company with a party of Capt. Sublette's trappers, from the Rocky Mountains to the Indian agency of the late Major Pilcher, and thence to St Louis.' Pilcher himself asserts, if we may believe Kelley, *Settlements of Oregon*, 63, that 'four thoughtless and sottish Indians accompanied Capt. Sublette's party of hunters to his, Pilcher's, agency. They seemed to have no particular object in travelling. Sublette refused to let them proceed farther in his company, unless they would there obtain a passport, showing a good reason for a visit into the States. Mr Pilcher furnished the Indians with a reason and excuse for their visit to St Louis.' Whatsoever the truth of all this, the Catholics claim to have been the first teachers of the natives of that region. John W. York, himself a Methodist elder, asserts in the letter just quoted that he was summoned, in company with two brother Methodists, McAllister and Edmundson, to an interview with Clarke in relation to the Indian delegation just then arrived. York, whose statement I take with some degree of allowance, says that on that occasion Clarke assured him 'that he was a Roman Catholic, but that the Methodist travelling preachers were the most indefatigable laborers, and made the greatest sacrifices of any men in the world.' He further remarked that Catholic priests could teach the mysteries of religion, but Methodist ministers taught practical piety and husbandry, and the two united would be the best arrangement he could think of. 'From Clarke's house we went to the conference-room and reported the interview. With closed doors the conference accepted the general's proposition, and resolved, if possible, to send a missionary to Oregon.' As to the fate of their messengers some say that all died, two at St Louis and the others on their way back.

The voice of Wilbur Fisk was heard rousing the churches.[2] And to no one more than to Hall J. Kelley, the Oregon enthusiast and the religious fanatic, did this curiosity of the simple savages appear as the immediate work of the Almighty, and the incident greatly aided his efforts. His schemes multiplied; his pen worked with new vigor; he urged the preachers of the Word not to confine their efforts to the mountains, but to descend the broad River of the West to the Canaan there awaiting them, and unite earthly empire with heavenly enlightenment.[3]

In answer to the call appeared before the Methodist board two men, sometime from Stanstead, Canada, first Jason Lee, and afterward his nephew, Daniel Lee, offering themselves as laborers in this western field, and were accepted. They were formed of good material for pioneer missionary work; the former had been engaged in similar labors in the British provinces, and he presented striking characteristics, carrying them on the surface; qualities pronounced, which made the presence of the possessor felt in any society in which he happened to be placed. He was now, in 1833, made member of the Methodist conference, and ordained deacon, and later, elder.

At the time of his appointment to a position destined to be more conspicuous in Oregon's history than at that time he could have surmised, Jason Lee was about thirty years of age, tall, and powerfully built, slightly stooping, and rather slow and awkward

[2] So declared the missionaries themselves. See *Lee and Frost's Ten Years in Or.*, 109–13; *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 9. A highly wrought account appeared in March 1833, in the *New York Christian Advocate and Journal*, then the leading organ of the Methodists.

[3] Indeed, if Mr Thornton, *Or. and Cal.*, ii. 21, is correct, 'as early as the year 1831, the Methodist Board of Missions had been induced by Mr Kelley to determine upon sending Messrs Spalding and Wilson as missionaries to the Indians of Oregon, but the expedition which they proposed to accompany having been broken up, they changed their destination, and went to Liberia.' And Kelley himself says: 'In the year 1832, I published several articles in the *Zion's Herald*'—see affidavit of the editor, W. B. Brown, Jan. 30, 1843—'calling for missionaries to accompany the expedition, and two years after, Jason and Daniel Lee were sent to commence missionary labors on the Wallamet.'

in his movements; of light complexion, thin lips closely shut, prominent nose, and rather massive jaws; eyes of superlative spiritualistic blue, high, retreating forehead, carrying mind within; somewhat long hair, pushed back, and giving to the not too stern but positively marked features a slightly puritanical aspect; and withal a stomach like that of an ostrich, which would digest anything. In attainments there was the broad open pasture of possibilities rather than a well-cultivated field of orchard, grain, and vine land. He believed in the tenets of his church; indeed, whatever may become of him, howsoever he may behave under those varied and untried conditions which providence or fortune hold in store, we may be sure that at this beginning, though not devoid of worldly ambition, he was sincere and sound to the core. Strong in his possession of himself, there was nothing intrusive in his nature. Though talking was a part of his profession, his skill was exhibited as much in what he left unsaid as in his most studied utterances. Frank and affable in his intercourse with men, he inspired confidence in those with whom he had dealings, and was a general favorite. If his intellect was not as broad and bright as Burke's, there was at least no danger of the heart hardening through the head, as with Robespierre and St Just. Unquestionably he was a little outside of the ordinary minister of the period. Some would have said he lacked refinement; others that his brusque straightforwardness was but simple honesty, unalloyed with clerical cant, and stripped of university gown and sectarian straitlace. We shall find him later delighting in his manhood; and while he would not so darkly sin as to quibble over his creed, forest freedom proved a relief from the prison walls of prescribed forms.

The nephew, Daniel, was quite a different character, less missionary or man complete than supplement to the uncle. Like Boswell beside Johnson, measured beside his colleague, the form and character of Daniel

assume larger proportions than they are really entitled to; he was in truth a desiccated Dominie Sampson, that later stood as a butt before the wits of Fort Vancouver; a thin, bony form, surmounted by thin, bony features beaming in happy, good-natured unconsciousness of his lack of knowledge, particularly of knowledge of the things of this world. He was a pious Pierrot, a man in stature, but a child in mind and manners. Yet this personage had his admirers, to whom the faults of mind and body beside the more finished forms of the ungodly were but the graces of awkwardness; just as the constrained motions of the hero, who having lost a limb in battle now hobbles on crutches, appear to the worshippers of war the poetry of motion as compared with the amblings of the effeminate city fop.

Together at this outset they were well enough mated, though when they talked religion in company their discourse was as interesting and instructive as would be the witnessing of an interview between Father Tom and the Pope. Often sensitiveness is the enemy of success; bravery in brass wins where polish fails. Not that Jason lacks bravery; for as courage was needed it came to him with high resolve and all attendant sacrifice, over which there was no thick covering of ass's hide. But in both, tensely strung, were expectation, will, and conscience; and there were thousands who of each with Cicero would say, "Homo sine fuco et fallaciis."

A missionary meeting was held in New York the 10th of October, 1833, to arrange for the early departure of the volunteers; and six days after, the sum of three thousand dollars for an outfit was voted by the board. It was then further decided that two laymen should be selected to attend and assist the missionaries; and the latter were to begin their work at once by travelling and raising funds, preaching the crusade as far south as Washington, then working

west to join some company of fur-traders for the Flathead country the following spring.

Frequent and fervid meetings were thus held in every quarter, and on the 20th of November there was a farewell gathering at the Forsyth-street church, New York, Bishop Hedding presiding. Though Methodist in attendance and tone, it is well to note here, as showing the general feeling, that the meeting was addressed by Doctor McAuley of the Presbyterian church, and by others of different denominations.

At this juncture, and before the missionaries had left New York, tidings were received of the arrival at Boston of Nathaniel J. Wyeth from his first attempt to establish a trading post on the lower Columbia.[4] With him were two Indian boys from beyond the mountains, to whom now attached more than ordinary interest by reason of the leaven working in the community. By orders of the board Jason Lee at once visited Wyeth and obtained information concerning western parts, particularly in regard to fields for missionary enterprise. Lee's attention was thus directed to the natives of the Lower Columbia, as well as to those of the upper country; and since the Columbia River Company, as Wyeth and his associates styled themselves, was about sending a vessel round Cape Horn, Wyeth himself proceeding across the mountains in the spring to meet it, opportunity was thus offered the missionary men, not only to forward their supplies by water, but to secure the necessary escort for their proposed overland journey.

The two laymen finally chosen to accompany the Lees were Cyrus Shepard of Lynn, Massachusetts, thirty-five years of age, and Philip L. Edwards, a Kentuckian by birth, lately of Richmond, Missouri. Courtney M. Walker, also of the place last mentioned, was engaged for a year, for pecuniary consideration, to

[4] For full accounts of Wyeth's first and second expeditions and efforts, see *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series.

assist in establishing the mission. Edwards was a young man, not yet twenty-three, of rather more than ordinary attainments, and a lover of order and refinement. His constitution was delicate, his temperament nervous, and his disposition amiable. He loved good company, and enjoyed the ludicrous, but his good sense prevented him from becoming an example of it, like Daniel Lee. A frontier man, he knew how to conform to the crudities of pioneer life, for which by nature he was not very well adapted. While possessed of a high moral sense, he was not religiously inclined, nor did he ever consider himself in that sense a member of the mission. Cyrus Shepard, on the other hand, was devoted to religion and a missionary at heart. He was a little older than the elder Lee, tall, and fine looking, yet of a scrofulous tendency and feeble health. The other member of the mission party, Walker, was still less than Edwards a missionary, being business agent. Like Edwards, he was young, of good antecedents, but of greater physical powers; he was the only one of the party who became a permanent settler in the country.[5]

Leaving New York early in March 1834, Jason Lee proceeded west, lecturing by the way. Daniel followed him on the 19th, and was joined by Shepard at Pittsburg. As they approached St Louis Shepard hastened forward, took charge of the mountain outfit, and proceeded by boat up the river to Independence, the rendezvous. The Lees made the journey from St Louis on horseback, meeting Edwards and Walker at Independence. Wyeth was there before them, and before setting out they were joined by Sublette. There were present also two scientists, Townsend and Nuttall.

The expedition, as it filed westward the 28th of April, consisted of three distinct parties, numbering in

[5] Townsend speaks of them as 'three younger men, of respectable standing in society, who have arrayed themselves under the missionary banner chiefly for the gratification of seeing a new country, and participating in strange adventures.'

all seventy men, with two hundred and fifty horses. First were Wyeth and Sublette, with their respective retainers, and in the rear the missionaries, with their horses and horned cattle. Proceeding slowly they crossed the Kansas River, then by the forks of the Platte and the Laramie, past Independence Rock, arriving at Green River and the rendezvous at the end of two months.

On the way the elder Lee conducted himself so as to command the respect of all, religious and irreligious. The character of the man unfolded in beauty and fragrance under the stimulating prairie sun. No discipline of lecture-room, general ministration, or other experience could have been so valuable a preparation for the duties awaiting him at his destination as the rude routine of these overland days. It seemed to him as if his theological sea had suddenly become boundless, and he might sail unquestioned whithersoever the winds should carry him. It was delightful, this cutting loose from conventionalisms, for even Methodist preachers are men. Not that there was present any inclination toward a relaxation of principles, as is the case with so many on leaving home and all its healthful restraints; on the contrary, he felt himself more than ever the chosen of God, as he was thus brought nearer him in nature, where he was sustained and guarded by day, and at night infolded in his starry covering. Fires, both physical and mental, blazed brightly, and he was not one whit behind the most efficient of this company in willingness, ability, and courage.[6] Nor were his associates broad-collared, long-haired, puritanical prayer-mongers, but wide-awake, hearty, and sympathetic men, bent on saving souls and having a good time.

An incident characteristic of the man was told of

[6] 'Looks as though he were well calculated to buffet difficulties in a wild country.' The horses stampede and some one must go for them. 'This party was headed by Mr Lee, our missionary, who with his usual promptitude volunteered his services.' *Townsend's Nar.*, 24, 37.

Jason Lee by eye-witnesses: Noticing on one occasion that a cow belonging to his herd was suffering from the burden she carried, he stopped to milk her, and in so doing fell behind the company. The cry of 'Indians!' was raised. "Mr Lee! Mr Lee! They will be on you!" his men shouted. Jason turned his eyes in the direction of the rising dust which marked the approach of the savages, then slowly said, "Unless the Lord will it otherwise this cow moves not until her load is lightened," and continued his milking till the arrival of the band, which proved to be friendly Nez Percés instead of terrible Blackfoot. So all through the journey, which was pleasant and profitable, mentally, to the missionaries, Mr Lee stood ever as ready to minister to the comfort of his dumb beasts, and to the bodily necessities of his men, as to hold forth in abstract spiritual propositions, though he did not fail to preach as occasion offered.

For example, service was held at Fort Hall on Sunday, the 27th of July, which was not only attended by Wyeth's men, but by the fur-hunters of the vicinity, and notably by a body of Hudson's Bay Company people, half-breeds and Indians under Thomas McKay, who, owing to the Sunday training at the forts, were exceptionally devotional. It was a grand and solemn sight, these rough and reckless children of the forest, gathered from widely remote quarters, with varied tongues and customs, here in the heart of this mighty wilderness, the eternal hills their temple-walls, and for roof the sky, standing, kneeling, with heads uncovered, their souls bowed in adoration before their one creator and governor. What these same devout worshippers were doing an hour afterward, drinking, trafficking, swearing, and stabbing, it is needless to detail. Man is oft an irrational animal, and we are least of all to look for reason in religion.

The following Wednesday the missionaries continued their westward way, driving with them their

cattle, which must needs have time and travel leisurely, while Wyeth remained to complete the fort which he was building, that is to say, Fort Hall. With the Lees were now Stuart, an English captain travelling in the Rocky Mountains, and McKay, who sent some Indians forward with them to Walla Walla, where they were again joined by Wyeth. Leaving there the cattle, they were transported by barge to the Dalles, where they took canoes, most of which were demolished at the Cascades. The greater portion of their effects were by this time lost; and in a bedraggled condition, in advance of the others, Jason Lee presented himself at Fort Vancouver. When the remainder of his party arrived, the 16th of September, he stood at the landing beside McLoughlin to receive them.

The brig *May Dacre*, Wyeth's vessel, on which were the tools and goods of the missionaries, had fortunately arrived and was lying, as before mentioned, at Wapato Island. The immediate consideration was to locate a mission. Jason and Daniel Lee had strictly observed the upper country as they passed through it, and had conversed freely with its inhabitants. Meanwhile, among other places, they had heard much of the valley of the Willamette, and entertained a strong desire to behold it before establishing themselves. Therefore, after a brief rest, leaving the three laymen at Fort Vancouver, they proceeded thither, McLoughlin kindly furnishing them horses, provisions, and men to accompany them. The route taken was the one then common to trappers, by canoe to Thomas McKay's farm, situated a little way up a small creek that fell into the Multnomah, and from this place with horses, passing over a high ridge, several miles in extent, to the Tualatin Plains, through a series of gently rolling prairies, divided by groves of fir and oak. Beyond the plains was found what they describe as a delightful hilly tract, several miles in

extent, thinly wooded at intervals, otherwise open and covered with grass. From these hills they descended by a gentle grade into the Chehalem Valley, that stretches away east to the Willamette. On reaching the river at this place they swam their horses, and crossed to the east side, where settlement had been begun. Along the river they found about a dozen families, mostly French Canadians, who had been hunters in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, or free trappers, and had very lately left that occupation for farming, so as to obtain surer support and greater security for themselves and families. They seemed prosperous and happy, and gave the missionaries a polite and generous welcome. One night Joseph Gervais, a leading personage thereabout, set up their tent in his garden, among melons and cucumbers. It reminded them of the passage in holy writ, "a lodge in a garden of cucumbers."[7]

It was all quite different from what those might be led to expect who undertake to carry the gospel to an unknown wilderness, among unknown savage tribes. The fascinations of the place were too strong to be resisted; so without more delay, about two miles above the farm of Gervais, on the east side of the river, sixty miles from its mouth, they chose their location, upon a broad sweep of low alluvial plain, whose rich grassy meadows, bordered by oak, fir, cotton-wood, white maple, and white ash, lay invitingly ready for the plough.[8]

Returning to Fort Vancouver, the Lees proceeded to remove their men and effects to the site chosen. Again they found McLoughlin ready to tender them every assistance. A boat and crew were placed at their disposal to transport the mission goods from the *May Dacre*. Horses were given in exchange for others that had been left at Fort Walla Walla. Seven

[7] This by the missionaries themselves. *Lee and Frost, Ten Years in Or.*, 124.

[8] Daniel Lee is very enthusiastic in his description of the Willamette Valley throughout, although he calls Kelley's idea thereof extravagant.

oxen were loaned with which to haul timber for building, and eight cows with their calves were furnished, and one bull, in place of the two cows that had been driven from the Missouri to the Columbia River and left in the upper country.

The labor attending the driving of the cattle and of transporting the goods, which required carriage round the falls and reloading in the canoes, was considerable, and occupied several days; but by the 6th of October stock and effects were safely placed on the bank of the Willamette, ready for consecration and use.

The causes governing the selection of a site are obvious. Jason Lee was a man; although a servant of the Lord, he was already the master of men. How far the thought of empire had hitherto mingled with his missionary plans probably he himself could scarcely tell. He could not but see that human possibilities were broader, mightier, in the fertile valley of the Willamette, open through its Columbia avenue to the sea, than the inaccessible so-called Flathead country. Were he altogether missionary, and not man, he might have felt that, though the possibilities for man were here greater, with God all things are possible, and so have remained in the rock-bound region of mid-continent. But being full of human ambition as well as of human sympathy, it was not difficult to make the interests of God indentical with his own.[9]

[9] Daniel Lee says that in the occasion which originated the idea of the Flathead mission the claim of the Flatheads to the first missionary efforts had been overrated, and that subsequent inquiries had furnished reasons for believing they would not be justified in attempting to open their mission work among that tribe. These reasons were, the difficulties of obtaining food, and of transporting building material and implements a distance of 600 miles; the small number of the Flatheads, whose perpetual wars with the Blackfoot Indians prevented their increase; the fact that the latter were as much the enemies of white men as of the neighboring tribes, and would cherish besides additional hostility toward any who should become allied with them, either white or red; and the desire the missionaries had for a larger field of usefulness than that offered by a single tribe. They took into account, he said, the wants of the whole country, present and prospective, and hoped to meet those wants in the progress of their work. They chose the Willamette station as a starting-point and centre of a wide field of proposed

The incipient attempts of the French Canadians in the valley of the Willamette can scarcely be called the beginning of Oregon settlement, although they did so begin and effect permanent work. The object of such a movement must be considered, no less than the result; the object, and the action taken toward its consummation. The organization of a commonwealth, or the establishing of empire, was not among the purposes of the fur company's servants; they desired simply retirement, with ease and plenty. And

benevolent action, where unlimited supplies could be produced as required; hence they here struck the first blow for the Oregon missions, and here began the arduous toil of elevating the heathen. This will do very well for Daniel, though his reasoning is not all of the soundest. White, *Ten Years in Or.*, 125, says that 'Lee's object seemed principally to introduce a better state of things among the white settlers... He had originally been sent out to labor among the Flathead Indians, and passing through the country, leaving them far to the right, went on to the Willamette, intending to spend there a winter before proceeding to his destination. He found the mild equable climate, and society, though small, of whites, more congenial to his habits than anything he could expect in the section to which he had been sent. Thinking that he discovered signs of the colony becoming an extensive and valuable field of usefulness, and that, for various reasons, the Flatheads had less claim upon missionary efforts than had been supposed, he determined to assume the responsibility and commence a mission on the Willamette.' It is but fair to state in this connection that at the time this paragraph was written and printed White and Janson Lee were not on the best of terms. Gray, *Hist. Or.*, 157, finds a reason in the selfish report of the Hudson's Bay Company, which led them 'to believe that the Flathead tribe, who had sent their messengers for teachers, were not only a small, but a very distant tribe, and very disadvantageously situated for the establishment and support of a missionary,' and which induced them to turn their attention to the lower Columbia. This is only partially true. McLoughlin did advise the Lees to settle in the Willamette Valley, but not for the reason named. I shall have occasion to refer again to McLoughlin's views upon this subject in a subsequent chapter.

The fact must be taken into account that Daniel Lee wrote after nine years of Oregon life. It is easy to see that when he talks of the wants of the whole country, present and prospective, he must have had more than two or three weeks' experience of it; and it must have been better known to him than it could have been by a voyage down the Columbia and a ride of 60 miles afterward through a wilderness. It can hardly be doubted that when Jason Lee came to see, as he did in his journey across the continent, how much less interesting a being was the real Indian than the one pictured upon the warm imagination of the missionary society, his intuitions came into play, and his fund of good sense and reason made it apparent to him that the task he had undertaken was of too large proportions for even his strength to accomplish. He was on the ground, however, on Oregon territory, and he would do the best he could to fulfil the intentions of those who had sent him, without entirely sacrificing himself and his associates. There were Indians enough, not to mention half-breeds and white men, in the Willamette Valley, who needed the teachings of the gospel; and here he would remain, within reach of civilized society and the protection of the friendly fort.

by reason of continued debt and close intercourse, they were almost as much serfs of the lords paramount at Fort Vancouver when in the Valley Willamette as when on the River Columbia.[10]

On the other hand, among those who laid the foundations of Oregon's present institutions, of Oregon's present society and prosperity, I should mention first of all the Boston school-master, the enthusiast, the schemer, Hall J. Kelley, though he never was a settler in the country, though he remained there but a short time, under inauspicious circumstances, and departed without making any apparent mark. It was he who, more than any other, by gathering information since 1815 and spreading it before the people, kept alive an intelligent interest in Oregon; it was he who originated schemes of emigration, beginning with one from St Louis in 1828, which, though it failed and led

[10] According to a statement of McLoughlin, the beginning of the French settlement happened in this wise: Etienne Lucier, whose time had expired in 1828, asked McLoughlin if he believed the Willamette Valley would ever be occupied by settlers, to which the latter replied that wherever wheat grew there would be a farming community. Lucier then asked what assistance would be given him should he settle as a farmer. The Hudson's Bay Company were bound under heavy penalties not to discharge their servants in the Indian country, but to return them to the place where they were engaged. But McLoughlin offered a plan and rules for settlement to Lucier which were accepted and afterward became general. First, to avoid the penalty, the men must remain on the company's books as servants, but they might work for themselves, and no service would be required of them. Second, they must all settle together, and not scatter about amongst the Indians, with whom their half-breed children would be taught by their mothers to sympathize, making them dangerous neighbors; while by keeping their Indian wives among themselves exclusively, these women would serve as hostages for the good conduct of their relatives in the interior. Third, each settler must have fifty pounds sterling due him, to supply himself with clothing and implements, which rule was designed to make them saving and industrious, and by making their farms cost them something, attach them to their homes. Fourth, seed for sowing and wheat to feed their families would be loaned them for the first year, and two cows each for an indefinite period. These were the terms which secured only the better class of Canadians as settlers, and kept the idle and dissolute from becoming incorporated with them. The American trappers, having no credit on the company's books, were nevertheless assisted in the same way and to the same extent, as the best means of making of them good citizens instead of roving firebrands among the Indians. At the end of the first three years all the settlers, French and American, were out of debt. This interesting account was only recently discovered among the private papers of Dr McLoughlin, and by consent of Mrs Harvey, his daughter, was printed among the archives of the Oregon Pioneer Association, under the title of *Copy of a Document*, in *Or. Pioneer Association Trans. 1880*, p. 50.

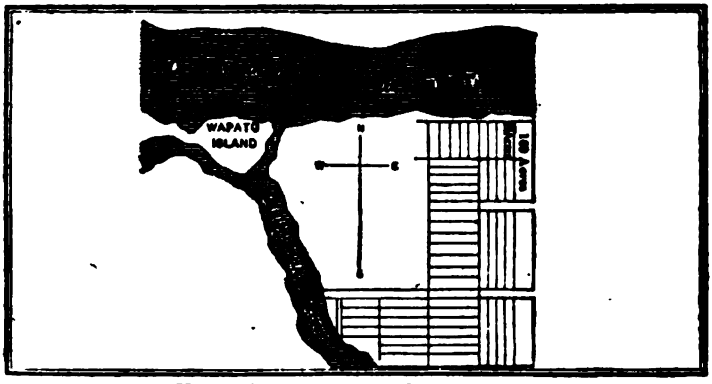
to another futile attempt by sea in 1832, was the father of several expeditions, notably that of Wyeth,[11] and was the immediate cause of the settlement of many prominent pioneers; it was he, this fanatic, who stimulated senators to speak for Oregon on the floor of congress, and even shaped the presidential policy. I am not prepared to give Mr Kelley all he claims, but I am prepared to give him his due. With regard to the missionary brothers Lee, who arrived in the country before him, he maintains that they too received their first knowledge of Oregon through him, and that he was the first person to advocate the christianizing of the natives. That he did impress upon the new commonwealth some portion of his ideas, that he did influence its destinies, there is no question, though we have on means of weighing that influence with any degree of exactness. Regarding settlement his writings contain some practical suggestions; indeed, without clear discrimination between design and necessity, and read by the light of subseqnent events, some of them might be pronounced prophetic.[12] For a sketch

[11] 'This novel expedition was not, however, the original or spontaneous motion of Mr Nathaniel J. Wyeth, nor was it entirely owing to the publications of Lewis and Clarke, or Mackenzie...They were roused to it by the writings of Mr Hall J. Kelley.' *Wyeth's Oregon*, 3.

[12] Take, for example, what he says about the designs, duties, and probabilities of settlement in his unrealized scheme, entitled, *A General Circular to all Persons of Good Character who wish to migrate to the Oregon Territory, embracing some Account of the Character and Advantages of the Country; The Right and the Means and Operations by which it is to be settled;—and all necessary directions for becoming an Emigrant.* HALL J. KELLEY, *General Agent. By Order of the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory. Instituted in Boston, A. D. 1829.* It is a plan of 'Oregon settlement, to be commenced in the spring of 1832, on the delightful and fertile banks of the Columbia River.' Among the first results of inquiry is a 'clear conviction that the time is near at hand, and advancing in the ordinary course of Providence, when the Oregon country shall be occupied by an enlightened people, skilled in the various improvements of science and art. A people, thus enlightened and skilled, and enjoying the advantages of a climate, soil, and markets as good in their kind as the earth affords; and other natural means, which mostly contribute to the comforts and convenience of life; energized and blessed by the mild and vital principles of the American republic, and the sacred ordinances of the Christain religion'—must be prosperous and happy. 'The settlement, carrying on a trade with the islands of the Pacific and with the people about the shores of that ocean commensurate with its wants, must advance in prosperity and power unexampled in the history of nations. From the plentitude of its own resources, it will soon be

of the life of this remarkable man, with an account of his visit to Oregon in 1834, and an analysis of his character, I must refer the reader to my *History of the Northwest Coast*, where also may be found an account of Wyeth's expeditions, and of those persons arriving in the Oregon territory prior to the opening

enabled to sustain its own operations, and will hasten on to its own majesty to a proud rank on the earth.' Then he goes on at length to speak of what should be done to secure these results. 'Measures will be adopted for building on Gray's Bay and at the mouth of the river commercial towns... This bay opens into the northern bank of the Columbia, about eleven miles from its mouth,' he says. Five miles square of territory at this place 'will be laid out into the necessary configuration and divisions for a seaport town.' Streets of convenient width will run from the water, bisecting other streets at right angles. At distances of two squares is to be an area of ten acres for parade or pleasure ground, which is forever to remain open and unoccupied with buildings. The centre of the main street or thoroughfare, of the width of



KELLEY'S PLAN OF AN OREGON CITY.

100 feet, is to be devoted to the purpose of a public market. The valley of the Multnomah is to be chiefly occupied for commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing operations. The metropolis of the country is designed to be at the falls. Portions of the outlands adjoining the towns will be put into lots, 40 by 160 rods, or 40 acres each; making the number of their divisions equal to the whole number of emigrants over fourteen years of age, not including married women. Next to these will be other lots of 160 acres each, making up the complement of 200 acres to each emigrant. Roads as far as practicable are to be laid out in right lines, intersecting each other at right angles. It is desirable that all topographical surveys and divisions of farming lands be made by the method which two years ago was suggested to congress, and which was examined, approved of, and recommended by General Bernard, then at the head of the corps of civil engineers.

For purposes of religion, a fund was to be set apart for proselytism, and missionaries were urged to embark in the work of general conversion. These and many other things relating to the proposed adventure were printed in pamphlet form, and the newspaper press throughout the country solicited to

date of this volume, whose names are not herein given. There was one in particular among Kelley's companions, Ewing Young, who remained, and of whom I shall have much to say. As previously shown, Wyeth's purpose was not settlement, but traffic; his occupation at Wapato Island was fishing and trade in furs with the natives. As this did not suit the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company, who were strong in the land and desired the continuance of their monopoly, but who were without the political right to drive out the people of the United States, while entertaining them hospitably, as a rule, at Fort Vancouver, they so circumscribed and defeated their business efforts in this quarter that Wyeth among others was finally forced to sell to them and retire from the field. With the subsequent affairs of this history the expeditions heretofore given have little to do, except in connection with those of their number who remained to settle.

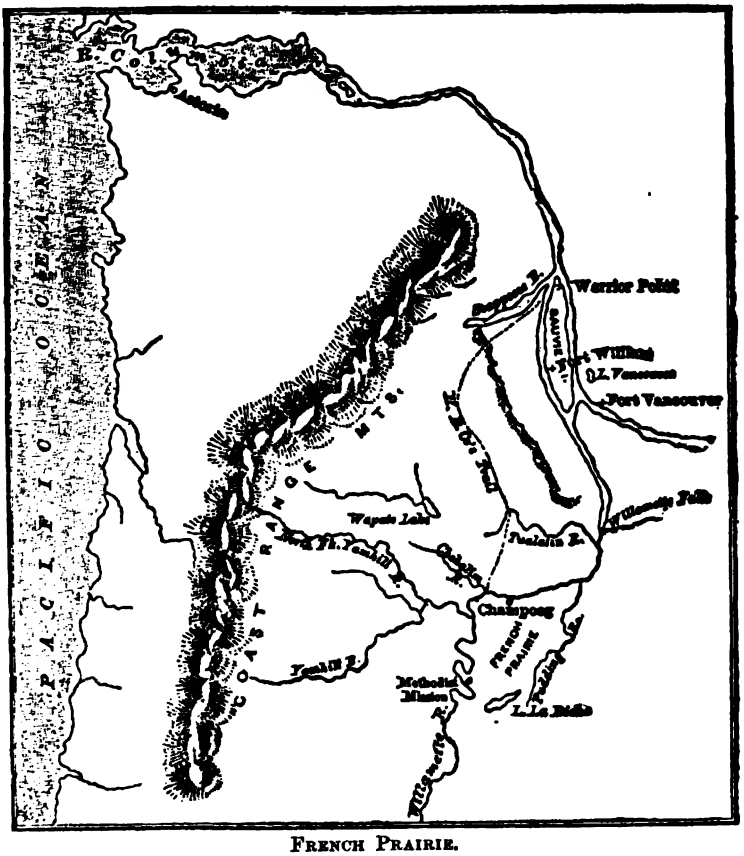
As their terms of contract expired, the Hudson's Bay Company began to retire its servants, giving them choice lands not too far removed from its benign rule. This was the origin of the French Canadian settlements in the beautiful Valley Willamette.

give the contents further circulation through their columns, to the promotion of individual happiness and the prosperity of the country.

The settlers were to carry with them their own government, as it should be formulated for them by congress. Special attention should be paid to schools, morals, and religion. No drones or vicious persons should be accepted by the society, and all proposing to emigrate must bring certificates of good character. The society would supply most of the expenses of emigration, and on arrival the emigrant was to receive town lots and land worth from $2,000 to $10,000. The person proposing to emigrate must deposit twenty dollars with the society, and swear obedience to all just regulations, which at first were to be military. The route should be from St Louis up the Platte, through South Pass, and down the Columbia, and the expedition should take its departure the last of March. The funds of the society were to consist of $200,000, subscribed stock, divided into shares of $100, each share entitling the holder to 160 acres of land, besides deposit money and such donations as should be obtained from public-spirited men and the governor.

Ten years after Kelley had left Oregon, hoping yet to returr and realize his dreams of establishing upon the shores of the Pacific a virgin state which should grow into an empire in the progress of time and events, most of the formative ideas set forth in his circular were actuall being carried out by emigrants from the United States.

And there were those continuing in the service of the company who gave their names to localities—instance Cox, the Eumæus of Fort Vancouver, and Sauvé, who kept the dairies on Wapato Island, afterward Sauvé Island.[13]



FRENCH PRAIRIE.

French Prairie, the tract where the servants of the fur company began their planting in the Willamette

[13] The curious elements out of which new countries are colonized, and the varied character of the recipients of the Hudson's Bay Company's protection, are well illustrated by this same swineherd, whose name is given to Cox Plain, two miles below Fort Vancouver, where among the oaks that skirt the Columbia he lived with his herd. Cox was a native of the Hawaiian Islands, and had witnessed the death of Captain Cook. He afterward went to

Valley, extended from the great westward bend of that river south to Lac La Biche about twenty-five miles. It had the Willamette to the west and Pudding River[14] on the east. Between it and the Willamette was a belt of low wooded land. It was beautified by groves of fir and oak at frequent intervals, and watered by numerous small streams. East of Pudding River rose the foothills of the Cascade Range, and towering beyond and over them the shaggy heights of those grand mountains, overtopped here and there by a snowy peak.

The entrance to this lovely region from the north was, as already intimated, opposite the mouth of the Chehalem, a small stream flowing into the Willamette from the west, and famous for the charming features of its little valley.[15]

The landing at the crossing of the Willamette on the east side was known as Campement du Sable, being a sandy bluff and an encampment at the point of arrival or departure for French Prairie. Two

England with the island king, and as a guard presented arms to George III., and was rather lionized in London. He came at last to be the swineherd of the chiefs at Fort Vancouver, where he lived and died amongst his oaks. *Anderson's Hist. Northwest Coast*, MS., 89–90. An Englishman named Felix Hathaway, saved from the wreck of the Hudson's Bay Company's vessel *William and Ann* in 1828, became a resident of Oregon. Another sailor who came to Oregon in 1829 was James M. Bates. He is claimed by some to be the first American settler in Oregon, as he remained in the country and cultivated a piece of land on Scappoose Bay, an estuary of the Columbia, south of and below Sauvé Island. He was still living in Oregon in 1872.

[14] The nomenclature of the various posts whose history is presented in these volumes will be given in their natural order as the work progresses. The name Willamette and its orthography are discussed in the *History of the Northwest Coast*, to which the reader is referred. Pudding River received its name from the circumstance of a trapping party which had become bewildered and out of food; there they ate a pudding made from the blood of a mule which they killed. *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 70. Lac La Biche, or Deer Lake, took its name from the abundance of game in its vicinity in the period of the early settlement of French Prairie.

[15] Chehalem is an Indian name, whose signification is not clear. Parrish, in his *Oregon Anecdotes*, MS., 15, attempts to show that the prefix *che* which occurs so frequently in the Indian dialect meant town or 'ville,' and cites *Chemeketa*, *Chenoway*, *Cheamhill*, and other names. He fails to make evident the analogy, as these were not names of villages, but rather of valleys or localities. Cheamhill, now corrupted into Yamhill, signifies a beautiful view of a range of grassy hills near the ford of the Yamhill River. *Deady's Hist. Or.*, MS., 76; *Victor's Or.*, 195

miles above this point was Champoeg,[16] the first settlement.

Among those who were living on French Prairie at the time of the arrival of the Lees were some who had come with the Astor expeditions, some who hinted at having been left behind by Lewis and Clarke; and to these were later joined the remnants of the expeditions of Wyeth and Kelley.

I will give here the names of some of those who first settled there, and such information concerning them as I have been able to obtain. Some of them we shall frequently meet in the course of this history, according as they play their several parts in the colonization of Oregon. It has been claimed by or for Francis Rivet and Philip Degie that they were with Lewis and Clarke. Roberts, in his *Recollections*, MS., states that Rivet was a confidential servant of the Hudson's Bay Company for 40 years, living most of the time at Fort Colville. Degie was born in Sorel, Canada, in 1739, and died in Oregon, February 27, 1847, at the remarkable age of 108 years. Rivet died September 15, 1852, aged 95. *Oregon City Spectator*, July 29, 1851; *San Francisco Herald*, August 14, 1851; *Placer Times and Transcript*, Nov. 30, 1851; *San Francisco Alta*, Aug. 14, 1851. Their claim becomes somewhat insecure, though not positively invalid, as we turn to the *Lewis and Clarke's Travels*, i. 178, written in April 1805, when the expedition was making its final start from the Mandan village, and read: 'The party now consisted of thirty-two persons. Besides ourselves were sergeants John Ordway, Nathaniel Pryor, and Patrick Gass; the privates were William Bratton, John Colter, John Collins, Peter Cruzatte, Robert Frazier, Reuben Fields, Joseph Fields, George Gibson, Silas Goodrich, Hugh Hall, Thomas P. Howard, Baptiste Lapage, Francis Labiche, Hugh McNeal, John Potts, John Shields, George Shannon, John B. Thompson, William Werner, Alexander Willard, Richard Windsor, Joseph Whitehouse, Peter Wiser, and Captain Clarke's black servant, York. The two interpreters were George Drewyer and Toussaint Chaboneau. The wife of Chaboneau also accompanied us, with her young child, and we hope may be useful as an interpreter among the Snake Indians. She was herself one of that tribe, but had been taken in war by the Minnetarees, by whom she was sold as a slave to Chaboneau, who brought her up and afterward married her. One of the Mandans likewise embarked with us, in order to go to the Snake Indians and obtain a peace with them for his countrymen.' In an old man at Fort Colville, Parker, *Journal*, 292, saw one of Lewis and Clarke's men.

[16] Lee and Frost spell this word *Chumpoeg*, and say that it is identical as to location with Campement du Sable. Champoeg, is said to be an Indian word, though it might have come from the French *champeaux*, or plains, without as much change as many names have undergone.

Louis Pichette left Canada in 1817, with a company of 25 trappers, and wintered on the plains, losing seven of the number, and arriving at Astoria in 1818. Pichette roamed about in California and Oregon for twelve years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1832 he settled on a farm in the Willamette Valley, where he resided for over 40 years. He died November 20, 1876, aged 78 years. *Portland Standard*, December 22, 1876; *Salem Willamette Farmer*, Dec. 22, 1876; *Salem Statesman*, Dec. 22, 1876. Other Canadians whose names appear among the early settlers are Francis Quesnel, who died in 1844, aged 65 years; Louis Shaugarette, who died in 1835; besides Payette, Bilake, Roudeau, Pournaffe, Chamberlain, and probably others. Andre La Chapelle was probably of Pichette's party. He was born in Montreal, August 14, 1781, and left Canada for Oregon in 1817, to join the service of the Northwest Company. In 1819 he was ordered to take a party up the Columbia as far as Boat Encampment, or the 'big bend' of that river, in latitude nearly 52° north, to meet the express from Canada. That year was noted for a great flood on the Columbia, and encampment could be made in few places. There was ten feet of water over the prairie where the town of Vancouver now stands. When headquarters were removed from Astoria to Vancouver, La Chapelle went to Fort Vancouver to reside, and remained in the company's service as a 'leader' until 1841, when he retired and settled with the other Canadians in the Willamette Valley. For 40 years he lived on his farm at Champoeg, and died June 11, 1881, having attained to within two months of 100 years. *Portland Oregonian*, June 21, 1881; *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 30, 1881. Francis Dupré, another of the French settlers in the Willamette Valley, died in 1858 at the age of 99 years. These quiet, obedient, simple-hearted people, Arcadians all, were remarkable for their longevity. All had Indian or half-breed wives, and numerous children. Louis Pichette had 21 offspring. I find mentioned the name of Andrew Dubois, and his wife Margaret, who were living on French Prairie in 1840, and had probably been in Oregon several years. *Sawyer's Rept. of Cases*, ii. 435.

With the overland Astor expedition under Hunt came, with others, Joseph Gervais, always prominent in the French Canadian settlement. After serving the Hudson's Bay Company, and acting for ten years as an independent trapper, he took a farm on the prairie. Another noted man was Michel La Framboise, the leader of the southern annual trapping parties to California, who was so attentive to Kelley when sick. He settled on the west side of the Willamette. Another was Louis La Bonté, who settled on the west side of the river in 1833, in what is now Yamhill. Étienne Lucier, also of Hunt's party, remained to serve the British Company, and afterward settled in the Willamette Valley, where in the autumn of 1829 he took a farm on the Willamette where East Portland now stands. He afterward removed to French Prairie. Lucier, according to McLoughlin, was the first settler. La Bonté died in 1860, aged 80 years. Lucier died in 1853, and Gervais in 1861, the age of the latter being 84 years. William Cannon, a Virginian, and a soldier from Fort Mackinaw, settled on the west side of the Willamette River, opposite the falls, and lived to the age of 99 years, dying in 1854. Still another of the arrivals of 1812 was one Montoure, who is always mentioned by his surname. He selected for a farm that rich prairie where Samuel Brown subsequently

had an extensive farming establishment, and where the town of Gervais now stands. Montoure sold his improvements to Pierre Depuis, who remained on the farm till 1850, when it was sold to Mr Brown. Simon Plumondeau is said by Dunn, in his *Oregon Territory*, 236, with another Canadian, Fancault, to have been the first Frenchman to settle in the Willamette Valley, by which he may have meant French Prairie. Plumondeau had served as cock-swain to General Cass in an expedition to the northwest territory, and was a very skilful and reliable boatman and woodsman, and served several Americans in the Oregon territory, among others Lieutenant Wilkes, in 1841. *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, iv. 338. Among the remnants of Hunt's party in Oregon were Madame Dorion and her son; the woman was still living in the Willamette Valley in 1850.

John B. Wyeth, *Oregon*, 51, names ten men who in 1832 continued their journey with his brother to the Columbia: G. Sargent, W. Breck, S. Burditt, C. Tibbets, G. Trumbull, J. Woodman Smith, John Ball, Whittier, St Clair, and Abbot. As a matter of fact, there were eleven, the other probably being Solomon H. Smith, who came to Oregon in that year. Robert Campbell of St Louis, originally of the number, does not appear to have reached western Oregon. Abbot, who remained to trap on Salmon River, was, with one of his companions, killed by the Bannack Indians. *Townsend's Nar.*, 225. Gray adds two names, for which I find no authority—Moore and Greely—the former killed by Indians, the latter not accounted for. He makes no mention of John Ball, reputed the first American farmer in the Willamette Valley. Sargent died in 1836, of dissipation. According to Gray, *Hist. Or.*, 191, Whittier was given a passage to the Sandwich Islands by the Hudson's Bay Company, and Trumbull killed himself by overeating at Fort Vancouver.

On the 1st of January, 1833, John Ball was installed as teacher of the half-breed children at Fort Vancouver. From spring till autumn he engaged in farming with Calvin Tibbets in the Willamette Valley. As no American settlers arrived, and disliking the controlling power of the Hudson's Bay Company, he embarked on a whaling vessel for South America. Ultimately he settled at Grand Rapids, Michigan. Mr Tibbets remained in Oregon, and is one of the founders of American settlement in the Willamette Valley. He removed to Clatsop, near the mouth of the Columbia River. Mr Solomon H. Smith succeeded Mr Ball as pedagogue from the 1st of March, remained long enough to fall in love with the Indian wife of the baker, ran away with her and her children, and established a school at the house of Joseph Gervais. *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 36; *Portland Herald*, March 16, 1872; *Oregon Spectator*, Nov. 1, 1849. After the missionaries arrived and began preaching, Smith met with a change of heart, according to Daniel Lee, though he never returned the baker's wife. *Lee and Frost's Ten Years in Or.*, 269. He proved a good citizen of Oregon, finally settling among his wife's relatives at Clatsop, where he became a thriving farmer, and died at an advanced age. In his worldly affairs his Clatsop wife, to whom he was formally married, was of material benefit to him. *Tolmie's Puget Sound*, MS., 2. Of those who accompanied Wyeth in 1834, about twenty reached the lower Columbia; but few of their names have been preserved. We know of James H. O'Neil, Thomas Jefferson Hubbard, Richard McCrary, Paul Richardson, Sansbury, Thornburg,

and Courtney M. Walker. Thornburg was killed by Hubbard in a quarrel about an Indian woman in 1835. Thornburg being the assailant, Hubbard was allowed to go free. *Townsend's Nar.*, 223–4. Hubbard continued to reside in Oregon, unmolested if not very respectable, settling on a farm two or three miles north of Lafayette. He was active in the affairs of the early American settlement. When the gold discovery in California drew nearly the whole adult male population from Oregon, he built a boat at Oregon City, loaded it with flour, and in it safely sailed to San Francisco, where he sold both cargo and vessel. He also built a saw-mill in the Willamette Valley, and was one of the first to export cattle to California. In 1857 he removed to eastern Oregon, and died at the Umatilla reservation April 24, 1877, aged 78 years. *Oregon City Enterprise*, May 3, 1877; *Portland Standard*, May 4, 1877. Richard McCrary, meeting with unpleasant adventures as a trapper among the Blackfoot Indians, abandoned fur-hunting, took a Nez Percé wife, and settled on a farm five miles below the mouth of the Willamette. *Hines' Hist. Or.*, 132–3.

O'Neil settled in Polk County, where he died in September 1874, aged 74 years. *Salem Record*, Sept. 16, 1874; *Salem Willamette Farmer*, Sept. 18, 1874. Paul Richardson did not remain in Oregon, having accompanied the Wyeth expedition only as guide. He was a man of note in his way. Born in Vermont about the year 1793, he removed to Pennsylvania, where he married, but unhappily, and abandoned his wife to seek forgetfulness in the wilderness beyond the Missouri, where he became a solitary and fearless explorer. In 1828, according to his own account, he reached the head waters of Fraser River. He crossed the continent a number of times and had countless adventures, which he seldom related. He died in California in 1857, poor and alone, as he had lived. *Hayes' Col. Cal. Notes*, ii. 292. Besides these few Americans whose antecedents are to some extent known, the names of J. Edmunds and Charles Roe appear in the writings of the Methodist missionaries of that date; they probably belonged to Wyeth's last expedition. These, so far as known, were the only persons in the country in the autumn of 1834 not connected with the Hudson's Bay Company. See, further, *Portland Oregonian*, March 9 and 16, 1872; May 4, 1872; July 8, 1876; *W. H. Rees*, in *Oregon Statesman*, June 20, 1879; *Trans. Or. Pioneer Asso.*, 1875, 56; *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., passim; *Blanchet's Cath. Church in Or.*, 7–8; *S. F. Alta California*, April 22, 1853; *Portland Herald*, March 5, 1872; *Salem Statesman*, June 20, 1879; *S. F. Bulletin*, July 25, 1877.

The party accompanying Kelley and Young, on arriving at the Columbia River, consisted of the following persons: John McCarty, Webley John Hauxhurst, Joseph Gale, John Howard, Lawrence Carmichael, Brandywine, Kilborn, and George Winslow (colored). *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 191. This number corresponds with McLoughlin's account, and is probably correct as to names, though Daniel Lee thought there were 'about a dozen,' and gives the name of Elisha Ezekiel, found only in one other place, namely, in *U. S. Gov. Doc., 3d Sess., 25th Cong., H. Rept., No. 101.* Ezekiel was employed at the mission, which explains the omission from the count at Fort Vancouver. Let Ezekiel have praise for something; he made the first cart-wheel in the Willamette Valley. See *Lee and Frost's Ten Years in Or.*, 129. Joseph Gale was a man

of education, but had spent many years in the mountains with the fur companies. He settled in Oregon, and took active part in affairs until the American element acquired ascendency. He farmed, went to California as master of the first vessel built in Oregon by American settlers, mined in California, returned to Oregon, and subsequently settled east of the Cascade Mountains, first in the Walla Walla Valley, and afterward in Eagle Creek Valley, on the eastern confines of the state of Oregon, where he died December 23, 1881, aged 92 years. Fond of exploring, he joined several expeditions in search of new mines during the excitement of 1862–7, but finally engaged in farming. A few months before his death he sold $2,000 worth of produce raised on sixteen acres of ground on Eagle Creek. Through all his life in Oregon he enjoyed the respect of his neighbors.

Hauxhurst, a native of Long Island, also stood well in the territory, especially with the missionaries, by whom he was converted in 1837. He built the first grist-mill in the Willamette Valley. McCarty and Carmichael were strongly opposed to the Hudson's Bay Company. None of the others appear to have been conspicuous in any direction, except George Winslow, the negro, who took an Indian wife and settled with her in a cabin on Clackamas Prairie, six miles below Oregon City, and raised a family of black red-skins. George assumed to be a doctor, and complained to subsequent emigrants to Oregon that the advent of Doctor Barclay of the Hudson's Bay Company had 'bust out' his business. He also sometimes repudiated his antecedents, and related how he came to Oregon in 1811 as cook to John Jacob Astor! *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 13–16. Truth was never a conspicuous ingredient of his character, and in his large stories he sometimes seemed almost to forget his name; as ten years after his arrival in Oregon I find a negro calling himself Winslow Anderson living near Oregon City, and having some trouble with the Indians. Jean Baptiste Deportes McKay came with Astor's company, and settled at Champoeg in 1831.

CHAPTER IV.

METHODIST OCCUPATION

1834–1838.

REMOVAL OF EFFECTS—FENCING, BUILDING, AND PLANTING—THE SORROWFUL WORK OF CONVERSION — MISSIONARY FAILURES — DANIEL LEE VISITS THE ISLANDS—ARRIVAL OF KELLEY AND YOUNG—FIGUEROA'S LETTER—ESTRANGEMENT OF EWING YOUNG—ATTACK ON AN INCOMING PARTY BY THE NATIVES OF ROGUE RIVER—THE AFFAIR OF THE DISTILLERY—ARRIVAL OF A GOVERNMENT AGENT.

WE left the missionaries with their effects upon the landing at French Prairie. The labor of removal to the spot selected had given the well-trained muscles of Daniel Lee and Edwards ample exercise. Lee relates how they missed the trail in going to the farm of Thomas McKay for horses, soon after landing, and floundered through quagmires and wet tide-land grass, and how they were welcomed, on finally reaching their destination, by Monsieur La Bonté, whose son Louis assisted in driving the animals. Taking the fur-traders' path over the mountains that border the Columbia and lower Willamette, through the Tualatin[1] plains, and the valley of the Chehalem, they met at Campement du Sable the canoe party with the goods, and together they soon concluded their journey.

The little company who here pitched their tent, during these last days of the Oregon summer, found before them much to be done. All around prairie, river, and sky; mountain, beast, and man stood innocent of contact with human intelligence. Their business now was to apply this mind-culture of theirs to

[1] That is to say, 'lazy man,' from its sluggish movements. *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 22.

reclaiming for civilized man this wilderness, and to wage war upon primeval nature. And by so-called humble ways this mighty achievement must be begun. There was the grindstone to be hung, and tools had to be sharpened; before proceeding to build for themselves a habitation, rails must be split to make an enclosure for the half-wild oxen, and yokes and ox-bows must be made. The task of yoking and driving the refractory brutes was one to try the patience, courage, and ingenuity of the missionaries, whose united efforts could scarcely reduce them to submission. The cows, too, lately driven off the pastures, were intractable, and had to be tied by the head, and hobbled, before they could be milked. "Men never worked harder and performed less," says Daniel Lee. The trees being felled, cut into the proper lengths, and squared,[2] a building twenty feet by thirty was in the course of erection when the first autumn storm of rain and wind came on, drenching some of the goods, to which a tent proved only a partial protection. By the 1st of November they had a roof over their heads, and a puncheon floor beneath their feet, while a bright fire blazed under a chimney constructed of sticks and clay. The doors of this primitive mansion were hewn out of fir logs, and hung on wooden hinges; a partition divided the house into two apartments, and four small windows, whose sashes were whittled out with a pocket-knife by Jason Lee, admitted the dull light of a cloudy winter. Little by little tables, stools, and chairs were in like manner added. Of bedsteads there is no mention in the writings of the only one of their number who has left any record. A blanket and a plank served for a couch. As to the food of the family, it was as simple as their lodgings. They had shipped nothing from Boston except some salt pork, which was boiled with barley or pease purchased

[2] The broadaxe which hewed those logs is now kept as carefully as was the bow of Ulysses. It came round Cape Horn in Wyeth's ship, and was exhibited at the meeting of the Pioneer Association near Salem in 1878. *Parrish's Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 13.

of the French settlers. Unleavened bread made from flour brought from Fort Vancouver, and a little milk, to which was sometimes added a haunch of venison obtained from the natives, completed their list of eatables.

To Cyrus Shepard, unable to endure the hardships, McLoughlin gave charge of the school at Fort Vancouver, previously taught by Solomon H. Smith, who had taken up his residence with Joseph Gervais, and whose children, among others, he instructed.[3] Shepard rejoined the mission probably soon after the house was made comfortable, about which time C. M. Walker, having fulfilled his engagement with the Lees, entered the service of Wyeth as clerk.

Then came the labor of beginning a farm; and the winter being mild, a field of thirty acres was ploughed and enclosed by a rail-fence, and in the spring was planted and sown in wheat, corn, oats, and garden vegetables. For the security of the prospective crops a barn was erected thirty by forty feet, of logs cut by the Lees and Edwards, assisted by Rora, a Hawaiian, and a Calapooya boy called John, the Canadians of the vicinity helping to lay up the logs. Later, two of the men who came with Kelley and Young were hired to saw logs into planks and boards for flooring and doors, the barn being in some respects an improvement on the house. Shingles were split from four-foot sections of fir logs, and were kept in place by heavy poles, the buts of the second course resting against the pole on the first, and so forth. In this manner a good roof was obtained without nails.[4]

Such were their secular pursuits. But it must not be forgotten that missionaries had other labors to per-

[3] Smith was from N. H., and fairly educated. He was a large, well-formed man, with a ruddy complexion and clear gray eye, intelligent and pleasing in conversation. See appendix, chap. iii., this volume.

[4] This method of making a roof was not original with the missionaries, but common to the frontier of Missouri and the settlements of Oregon. The shingles were called 'clapboards,' and were often used for siding a cabin, being put on perpendicularly.

form. The first sermon in this quarter was delivered by Jason Lee on Sunday, the 28th of September, before a mixed congregation of officers and servants of the fur company at Fort Vancouver. On the 14th of December religious services were again held at the same place, when Lee baptized four adults and seventeen children, and received from the gentlemen of the fort a contribution to the Mission of twenty dollars.[5] And now on every Sunday since their arrival at the station, a meeting of the settlers was held at Gervais' house, and a sermon preached on the duties of godliness and sobriety, an occasional meeting being appointed for the Champoeg settlement. A sabbath-school also was soon begun at Gervais for the benefit of the children in that neighborhood. But these hebdomadal efforts could hardly be regarded as regular missionary work. Three native children only were received at the Mission house the first winter, namely, two orphans, John, already mentioned, his sister Lucy, who was called Hedding after the Methodist bishop of that name, and another lad, all Calapooyas. John, being a healthy boy, was required to fell trees and perform other outdoor labor. This was directly opposed to the aboriginal idea of dignity, and contrary to taste and habit; so John soon returned to his former ways, leaving sick and scrofulous Lucy to be cared for and converted by the men-missionaries.

Alas for the wily wickedness of the savage heart! No sooner did genial spring begin to warm his blood than the other lordly young aboriginal, who had come hither naked and starving in the cold wet winter for comfort and consolation, peremptorily declined all labor, whether of the hand or mind, and marched away to his purple-glowing mountains.

Certain Umpquas in planting-time left a boy with the missionaries, to be taught farming and religion; but in the midsummer the lad died of consumption, which circumstance Hines says came near bringing

[5] *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 13.

destruction on Daniel Lee and Cyrus Shepard;[6] but this Lee denies. The Killamooks brought a lad of their tribe to the Mission for instruction, who would neither work nor learn to read; all day long he would sit on the bank of the Willamette gazing tearfully toward the coast, where he was born, exhibiting all the anguish of an exile; hence on the first visit of his people he was permitted to depart. In the midst of the harvest the effect of noxious exhalations from the freshly ploughed earth, which had for a long time been poisoning their blood while unsubstantial diet thinned it, became distressingly manifest in fierce attacks of intermittent fever, each member of the Mission family being in turn prostrated. Fortunately the disease yielded to medicine, and all recovered.

About the beginning of September Louis Shangaratte, of the French settlement, suddenly died from the bursting of a blood-vessel, leaving three half-breed orphans and five Indian slaves without a home. McLoughlin, zealous for the Mission and the children, desired Jason Lee to take charge of this family, and of whatever property Shangaratte might have left them. The proposition was accepted on condition that the slaves be emancipated. These eight persons proved a burden on the establishment, which was partially relieved by the elopement of two of the natives.[7] Soon three of the others, including one of Shangaratte's children, died of syphilis, a disease by which

[6] *Hines' Oregon History*, 14. Soon 'after his death his brother came to the Mission, determined to seek revenge for the death of Kenoteesh, by taking the life of Daniel Lee and Cyrus Shepard. He remained overnight, and was prevented from accomplishing his design only by the interposition of an Indian who accompanied him. Bent upon glutting his vengeance on somebody, he crossed the river, and fell upon a band of unarmed Indians, and savagely murdered several of them.' Lee affirms of the lad's death that 'a messenger had been sent to notify his relations of his danger, that they might come and see him before his death, and that they might have no occasion for jealousy in case of his decease. However, some days before they came he was dead. They gathered around his grave, and remained some time wailing aloud; but they appeared to be satisfied that everything had been done well on our part on his behalf; and after a friendly parting, they returned again to their own country.' *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 130.

[7] Daniel Lee himself says it was a relief 'in a case where there was so little to hope.' *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 133.

more than half the native children in the Willamette and Columbia valleys were infected. A fourth lingered in a scrofulous condition for two years, and then died, leaving but two of these Mission wards remaining. During the autumn the Calapooyas brought a young child, the daughter of a chief who was dying of consumption, to be cared for by the missionaries, but she soon followed her father to the grave. Of the fourteen children received the first year, five died before winter and five ran away; of the remaining four two died during the next two years, leaving two for secular and sacred ministrations.[8] This was brave work indeed for champions of the cross. To the poor missionaries, about this time, the place seemed as profitless as that of dentist to King Stanislaus, obtained by L'Eclure the day upon which the king lost his last tooth; and Jason and Daniel talked about it, and wondered if hitherto heaven's light had come to them colored as through a painted window, for it was as clearly apparent to them now, as the mark of the avalanche on the mountain side, that their efforts were a failure. And later Daniel Lee was called upon to satisfy public inquiry by giving the reasons which caused his uncle to abandon the Flatheads and settle among Canadians and half-breeds.[9]

[8] During the winter of 1835 a singular complaint attacked the Indian children. The first symptom was a violent pain in the ear, which rapidly spread through the head, the pulse being feeble and not very frequent. The extremities soon became cold, and a general torpor spread over the system. Unconsciousness and death shortly followed. *Parker's Jour.*, 165.

[9] See chap. iii., this volume. In the *Or. Pioneer Assoc. Trans.*, 1880, is given a paper under title of 'Copy of a document,' wherein McLoughlin speaks plainly upon this subject. He admits that he used all his influence to induce the missionaries to settle where they did, giving among others the reasons afterward furnished by Lee. He told them that to do good to the Indians they must station themselves where the Indians could be collected about an agricultural establishment, taught to cultivate the ground and live without hunting, while receiving religious instruction. He assured them that the Willamette afforded a suitable situation for this purpose, and promised the same aid in beginning farming which the Canadian settlers received, all of which engagements were generously kept. In giving advice, however kindly intended, the great fur magnate did not lose sight of what he deemed to be the best interests of his company. He could not know how missionaries would be received among the warlike tribes of eastern Oregon. Should there be hostility, war would follow; the company must punish any shedding of white man's blood. War tended to diminution of profits. By inducing the mis-

Besides harvesting a plentiful crop,[10] an addition was made to the house more than equal in size to the original structure, and fifteen acres of land additional were ploughed for sowing, the labor being performed by the Lees and Edwards, Shepard acting as housekeeper and nurse. With his own hands Jason Lee salted six barrels of salmon, then the chief food of the country.

By the time this was accomplished the Mission was approaching a state of dissolution. Edwards had joined the Lees in the first instance from love of adventure, and to benefit his health, which being accomplished, he was desirous of returning home. The fur company's vessel, the *Ganymede*, Eales commander, was about to sail for the Hawaiian Islands, and Edwards bade farewell to the Mission superintendent. He was accompanied to Fort Vancouver by the younger Lee, who was in need of medical advice for a disease of the throat which threatened consumption.

But on arriving at Fort Vancouver Edwards' plan of returning to Missouri was changed by the verdict of McLoughlin upon the case of Daniel Lee, who he

sionaries to establish themselves on the Willamette, in the vicinity of the former servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, this danger would be avoided, the lives of the missionaries would be rendered secure, and at the same time those tribes most frequently brought in contact with white men, and least liable to resent innovations upon their customs, or to yield to the temptations of their savage natures, might gradually be taught foreign arts and a foreign religion. It could not be expected that when the rules of the corporation imposed upon the manager the duty of sending the company's own servants, of whatever class, out of the country as soon as their terms of service had expired, lest peaceful relations with the natives should be disturbed, the head of the company should encourage wide-spread settlement by other nationalities. But by placing the missionaries beside the Canadians, whose names on the company's books gave them a right to be there, the unpleasant necessity was avoided of objecting to any choice they might otherwise make, and the ends of fur-trading and mission work thus became happily adjusted. But Jason Lee, with a few months' experience, such as has been described, began to entertain serious doubts of the rapid evangelization of the natives of western Oregon. This I gather from his nephew's account; but that he did not so inform the board of the missionary society in New York is evident from succeeding events.

[10] It consisted of 150 bushels of wheat, 35 bushels of oats, 56 bushels of barley, and 87 bushels of pease, not to mention potatoes and other vegetables. In 1836, 500 bushels of wheat were raised from 27 on the mission farm, 200 bushels of pease, 40 bushels of oats, 4½ bushels of corn, 3½ bushels of beans, 319 bushels of potatoes, and plenty of other vegetables.

said should go immediately to the Islands for his health, and to whom he offered free passage by the *Ganymede*. To leave the elder Lee with only the half-invalid Shepard was to leave him virtually alone, which Edwards was too generous to do. Overcome by Lee's persuasions, he went back to the Mission disappointed, and Daniel Lee proceeded to the Islands. On this ship was Nuttall, the botanist, who had spent a year in studying the flora of the Pacific coast. The previous winter both Nuttall and Townsend had visited the Hawaiian group in Wyeth's ship, the *May Dacre*. The naturalists were now separating, Townsend to remain another year in Oregon, and his friend to go to California by way of the Islands. All these people travelled freely on the fur company's vessels without charge.[11]

[11] Townsend left Oregon in November 1835 in the company's bark *Columbia*, Captain Royal, bound to England by way of the Islands. He expresses regret at leaving Vancouver. 'I took leave,' he says, 'of Dr McLoughlin with feelings akin to those with which I should bid adieu to an affectionate parent; and to his fervent "God bless you, sir, and may you have a happy meeting with your friends," I could only reply by a look of the sincerest gratitude. Words are inadequate to express my deep sense of the obligations I feel under to this truly generous and excellent man.' *Nar.*, 263. Townsend was a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. The idea of joining Wyeth's expedition across the continent being suggested to him by Nuttall, who had determined to do so, was eagerly seized upon, the thought of visiting unexplored regions being irresistible. Townsend seems to have been very industrious, and was assisted frequently by the scholarly gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company. He gives a list of the quadrupeds and birds of the Oregon territory, many of which were new to science. Among the former are the dusky wolf, *Canus nubilus;* two species of hare, *Lepus, Townsendii* and *Lepus artemesia;* a third new species is called Nuttall's little hare, *Lepus Nuttallii*. Two new species of marmot, *Spermophilus Townsendii*, and a small pouched marmot not named; also two of the meadow-mouse species, *Arvicola Townsendii* and *Arvicola Oregonii*. Several new species of squirrel are named; downy squirrel, *Sciurus lanuginosus* and *Sciurus Richardsonii;* little ground-squirrel, *Tamias minimus* and *Tamias Townsendii;* and Oregon flying-squirrel, *Pteromys Oregonensis*. Of moles there is *Scalops Townsendii*, given as new; and a new shrew-mouse undescribed; besides two species of bats, *Plecotus Townsendii*, or great-eared bat, and a small bat undescribed. Townsend's list of birds found in Oregon is long, and many of the species were new to naturalists. They were the chestnut-backed titmouse, *Parus rufescens;* brown-headed titmouse, *Parus Minimus;* mountain mocking-bird, *Orpheus montanus;* white-tailed thrush, not described; Townsend's thrush, *Ptiliogonys Townsendii;* Morton's water-ouzel, *Cinclus Mortonii;* Columbian water-ouzel, *Cinclus Townsendii;* Tolmie's warbler, *Sylvia Tolmei*, named in compliment to Dr Tolmie of the Hudson's Bay Company; hermit warbler, *Sylvia occidentalis;* black-throated gray warbler, *Sylvia nigrescens;* Audubon's warbler, *Sylvia Audubonii;* Townsend's warbler, *Sylvia Townsendii;* ash-headed warbler, not described; western bluebird, *Sialia occidentalis;*

Daniel Lee remained away nearly a year, that is to say, till August 1836, when he returned in the Hudson's Bay Company's bark *Nereid*, Captain Royal, with renewed health, and contributions to the Oregon Mission from christianized Hawaiians. Among his fellow-passengers were the Reverend Herbert Beaver, newly appointed chaplain of the fur company, and his wife, who took up their residence at Fort Vancouver, and of whom mention has already been made.

Meanwhile the winter of 1835–6 had passed quietly at the Mission. Edwards had taught a small school near Champoeg. The following summer some twenty-five children were brought in from the settlers of French Prairie, and from the natives on either side of the Cascade Mountains, increasing the number of persons at the Mission to thirty. Though in a lovely wilderness, in midsummer, the folly of breathing foul air was permitted. All the people there must be crowded into one small house; all of them were unaccustomed to such confinement; many of them were diseased; many became ill from change of diet, so that in the malarious atmosphere there came an epidemic, bearing in its diagnosis a near resemblance to diphtheria.[12]

brown longspur, *Plectrophanes Townsendii;* Oregon snow-finch, *Fringilla Oregona;* green-tailed finch, not described; black, white-banded woodpecker; and black, red-backed woodpecker, not described; Harris' woodpecker, *Picus Harrisi;* Vaux's chimney swallow, *Cypselus Vauxi;* long-tailed black pheasant, not described. Of water-birds there were added to the catalogue the white-legged oyster-catcher, *Hæmatopus Bachmani;* Rocky Mountain plover, *Charadrius montanus;* Townsend's sand-piper, *Frinca Townsendii;* violet-green cormorant, *Phalacrocorax splendens;* Townsend's cormorant, *Phalacrocorax Townsendii;* and slender-billed guillemot, *Uria Townsendii.* Of these birds a half-dozen are credited to Audubon, who was exploring in the region of the Rocky Mountains; and one, Townsend's warbler, to Nuttall. From Townsend I learn all that I have to tell of the scientific labors of Nuttall. 'Throughout the whole of our long journey,' he says, 'I have had constantly to admire the order and perfect indefatigability with which he has devoted himself to the grand object of his tour. No difficulty, no danger, no fatigue has ever daunted him, and he finds his rich reward in the addition of nearly a thousand new species of American plants.' This was certainly reward enough. One of the most beautiful trees of Oregon bears his name, *Cornus Nuttallii,* a tall and full blossoming dogwood, equal in the splendor of its silvery flowers to the magnolia of the gulf states. The Oregon alder, *Alnus Oregona,* a handsome tree, and *Fraxinus Oregona,* the Oregon ash, were first described by this botanist.

[12] Daniel Lee says of it: 'Some of the symptoms were alarming, resembling the croup'—membranous croup is probably meant, as in both diseases a mem-

Besides this, there were frequent cases of intermittent fever. Soon the house became a hospital, in which sixteen children were lying ill in one small room. No physician being at hand, the younger Lee applied his poor skill, assisted by the ever-patient and truly devoted Shepard, whose part in the Mission labors was most trying. Jason Lee himself had not escaped the prevailing sickness. It is not always the virtuous that the oak shrub will not poison, nor the fair whom the mosquitoes refuse to bite. He was at Fort Vancouver for medical aid when his nephew arrived. Lucy Hedding, the Calapooya girl, was also there, though past relief, for she died on the 5th of October. Edwards afterward took another patient to Fort Vancouver; and in November Jason Lee, suffering from his third attack, once more resorted to the superior practice of Doctor McLoughlin, remaining with him five weeks.

The fact that only two had died and one deserted greatly encouraged the Mission superintendent this year. The sum of spiritual benefits received as an offset to the physical penalties paid for religious instruction appears to have been this: Joseph Pournaffe, a half-breed, seventeen years of age, of gentle and obedient temper, gave evidence to his teachers that their labors were not lost, by dying with the same docility that he had shown during life.[13] Probably there never was formulated a creed which might be adapted to the purpose with less friction than that of the Methodists. No expounding of dogmas is necessary; sufficient is the simple statement that sin is present, and that Christ's blood will wash it away. To the Indian, who had some idea of atonement, the

brane either forms or is sloughed off. Lee's own throat was affected with that sloughing off when he went to the Islands. There would seem to be evidence that this character of throat disease is due to malaria, or miasmatic conditions of the atmosphere; and it is a fact that the scourge of diphtheria is even now more dreaded, because more fatal, than any other in the rich valley lands of Oregon, and also that it breaks out in newly ploughed districts where it was never known before, as, for example, where pasture-lands are turned into grain-fields.

[13] *Lee and Frosts' Or.*, 142; *Hines' Or. Hist.*, 18.

doctrine requires but little elucidation. Happy indeed is the poor, sickly, degraded being here, who can be brought to look forward to riches, health, pleasures, and a glorious existence hereafter. It is the ideality of religion, the poetry of everlasting life.

But though the Mission seemed for a short time to promise some fruit, the expectation was lessened by a return in the first months of 1837 of the former disorders in a more threatening and fatal form. A chief of the Cayuses, having removed in the autumn with his family to the Willamete Valley in order that his children may attend the Mission school, lost two of them in quick succession, and a third became extremely ill. In his alarm he fled to Fort Vancouver with his family, but at the moment the canoe touched the landing the child expired. An incident like this, together with the continued sickness of the inmates of the Mission, produced a dread of the place in the minds of the Indians, and their parents refused the risk of earthly loss even for heavenly gain. At no time were there more than thirty-five or forty pupils in attendance, and of all that were received to the close of 1838, one third died, and the remainder were sickly.[14] When will men learn that in the affairs of the savages the benevolence of civilization curdles into

[14] *Hines' Or. Hist.*, 35. These details are gathered from the writings of the missionaries themselves; but I find in a report made to the United States government by its agent, Mr Slacum, a more flattering account. According to this report, made it must be assumed from information furnished by the Lees, there were within fence 150 acres of land in the winter of 1836. The Mission family consisted of 3 adults and 23 Indian and half-breed children, ten of whom were orphans. There were, besides, 22 Indians and 8 half-breeds who attended the day-school. All were taught to speak English, and several could read. The larger boys worked on the farm in fine weather, earning, at the lowest pay of the Hudson's Bay Company, their board, clothing, and tuition. The school and family, it was said, could be increased, but the missionaries did not wish to add to their number until they had further assistance; and nothing whatever was stated showing any of the discouragements under which they labored. Mr Slacum's report was much like other similar documents furnished the government, that is, made to suit the occasion. Of the faithfulness and zeal of the Lees and their assistants up to the period of Slacum's visit, no doubt could be entertained. We have McLoughlin's testimony that no men 'could exert themselves more zealously.' *Copy of a Document*, in *Trans. Or. Pioneer*, 1880, 50. For Slacum's account, see *25th Cong. 3d Sess., House Rept. 101.*

a curse, and missionary efforts are like a burst peat-bog sowing its black mud over the land!

While the missionaries were building, ploughing, and harvesting, teaching, preaching, and enduring, and becoming somewhat incorporated with the French settlers, a new element, and one in some respects less tractable, introduced itself in an unexpected manner. It was the party of Hall J. Kelley and Ewing Young, which arrived in the Willamette Valley late in October 1834. Something has been said of Kelley in the *History of the Northwest Coast*, but his appearance in Oregon at this time was a feature in the early history of the country demanding more than a passing notice here.

Kelley's object was to found an American settlement, and assert the rights of the United States government to the sovereignty of the country. Disappointed in his scheme of colonization, he set out with a few persons in 1833 to visit Oregon, travelling by a circuitous route through Mexico. At New Orleans he separated from or was deserted by his party, and proceeded alone to Vera Cruz. He was robbed, and suffered many hardships, but was not deterred from prosecuting his design.

Reaching California, he fell in with a number of American adventurers, chief among whom was Ewing Young, a native of Knox County, Tennessee, a cabinet-maker by trade, a man of fine intelligence and nerve united to a grand physique, and too restless and fond of new experiences to remain beside a turning-lathe all his life. As early as 1828–9, Young had visited California with a trapping party, hunting on Tulare Lake and San Joaquin River.[15] Returning to New Mexico, he married a Taos woman, and was soon back in California with another party of trappers, which in 1831 broke up at Los Angeles, leaving Young to follow his bent among the friars and native Californians.

[15] *Los Angeles Hist.*, 18–19.

He and Kelley first met at San Diego; subsequently at Monterey the acquaintance ripened. On one side were the thrilling tales of wild life which Young loved to tell; on the other, the romantic scheme of colonizing Oregon. These were always themes of mutual interest. Kelley recognized in Young the bold and enterprising spirit he needed to accompany him to the yet far away Columbia, and being possessed of superior attainments as well as extraordinary enthusiasm, he was able to gain him over to his plan of laying the foundations of American empire beside the River of the West.

The party which left California for the north in the summer of 1834 consisted of sixteen men, picked up at Monterey and San José, some with a character not of the best. They had among them nearly a hundred horses and mules designed for use and sale. Several parted from the expedition before it reached the northern limits of California, but they had remained long enough to stamp upon the company their own thieving reputation, as we shall presently see.

While toiling among the mountains of southern Oregon, Kelley was stricken with fever, which rendered him helpless, from which condition he was rescued by Michel La Framboise, who nursed him back to life, while continuing his way to Fort Vancouver with the season's return of furs. The only other incident of the journey worth mentioning was a difficulty with the Indians on Rogue River, a rapid and beautiful stream which derived its name from the rascally character of the natives in its vicinity.[16]

[16] 'It was sometimes called Rascal River by early explorers.' *Williams' S. W. Or.*, MS., 2. 'Hence the name *Les Coquins* (the Rogues) and *La Rivière aux Coquins* (the Rogue River), given to the country by the men of the brigade.' *Blanchet's Cath. Ch. in Or.*, 94. Townsend calls them the Potámeos, but says that they are called the 'rascally Indians,' from their uniformly evil disposition, and hostility to white people. *Nar.*, 228. This is the true origin of the name, though several other theories have been advanced. In Ellicott's *Puget Sound*, MS., 20, he makes the mistake of confounding it with *Rio San Roque* or the Columbia. Grover, in *Pub. Life*, MS., 13–15, 18–19, mentions a map of French origin and some antiquity, whereon the Klamath and Rogue rivers are united and called 'Rouge Clamet,' or Red Klamath. The author of the

In passing through the valley of the Willamette, Young's party paused at the Mission station, one of his men remaining to assist the Lees in constructing a cart. Daniel Lee says some of them had been sailors, some hunters in the mountains and in southern Oregon, and "one Mr Kelley was a traveller, a New England man, who entertained some very extravagant notions in regard to Oregon, which he published on his return," and with this notice he dismisses the party of "about a dozen persons." [17]

Proceeding to Fort Vancouver, a somewhat peculiar reception awaited them. The Hudson's Bay Company's schooner *Cadboro*, which arrived there before them from the bay of Monterey, had brought a communication from Figueroa, governor of California, to Chief Factor McLoughlin, denouncing Young and Kelley as horse-thieves, and cautioning the fur company to have nothing to do with the party, as they were banditti, and dangerous persons—an accusation all the more significant because Young had between seventy and eighty horses in his possession.

This letter of Figueroa's closed the gates of Fort Vancouver against both Young and Kelley, though on account of Kelley's health, the fever having returned, he was given a hut such as was occupied by the servants of the company outside the fort, with an attendant, medical aid, and all necessary comforts for the winter.[18] In return he vigorously plied his pen, setting forth the abuses practised on American citizens by the British company in Oregon.

Meanwhile Young returned to French Prairie to

map could hardly have called the Rogue River red had he ever seen it, as it is of a beautiful blue color. See also *Cram's Top. Mem.*, 33.

[17] Kelley resents this ignoring of himself and his efforts to establish missions in Oregon, which was a part of his plan, and says that Daniel Lee in his book, and Jason Lee in his lectures delivered subsequently in the east, assigned untrue causes for the Oregon mission, 'insinuating that they themselves were its originators.' See *Kelley's Settlement of Oregon*, 62–3.

[18] While Kelley in his numerous pamphlets complains bitterly of the indignities put upon him at Fort Vancouver by reason of Figueroa's letter, he admits the charity of McLoughlin in providing for his wants, and acknowledges that he was presented with a small sum of money on leaving for the Islands.

find himself posted bandit and horse-thief. Strangers were cautioned to receive none of the vagabond party into their houses. Young was furious. He tore down the notices, hurled maledictions on the California governor, and warned the Canadians against accepting such lies. Though the haughty temper and indignant denial of Young were not without effect on McLoughlin, yet official information to an official could not be disregarded.

On one occasion, being in need of clothing, Young sent some beaver-skins to Fort Vancouver with which to purchase the desired articles. McLoughlin refused the skins, but sent the goods, with some food, as a present. Thereupon Young's rage broke out afresh, and he returned every article. Then he went to Fort Vancouver and poured forth his displeasure in person, the interview ending in rather strong words between the autocrat of Oregon and the Tennessee cabinet-maker.[19] The former modified his opinion somewhat; and when the *Cadboro* returned to Monterey in the spring of 1835 McLoughlin inquired of Figueroa the foundation of his charges against Young and party. A letter also went from Young demanding why he had been so maligned. But as no answer could be expected to these inquires for several months, affairs remained *in statu quo*, Young meanwhile locating himself in the Chehalem Valley, opposite Champoeg, where he tended his mustangs, and traded when he had aught to sell. He had some dealings with C. M. Walker, late of the Mission, but now at Fort William, as agent of Wyeth, who had returned to Fort Hall.[20]

[19] At the same time Kelley says that Young called on him, and threatened his life for having persuaded him to undertake the settlement of Oregon. *Kelley's Colonization of Oregon*, 5–.

[20] C. M. Walker, who knew Young well in the times referred to, in January 1881, at his home in Tillamook, furnished a *Sketch of Ewing Young*, from which I have drawn some of these facts. See *Or. Pioneer Assoc. Trans.* for 1880, 56–8. Walker states that Young was the first settler on the west side of the Willamette River. He calls him industrious and enterprising, and a man of great determination. See also *White's Emigration to Or.*, MS., 3; *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 205; *Los Angeles Co. Hist.*, 34.

There is no doubt that by forbidding the Canadian farmers to trade with Young, and himself refusing to sell to him, McLoughlin expected to drive from the country what he had been assured was a band of thieves, and so save trouble with the natives and injury to the settlers. But Young and Kelly gave to McLoughlin's conduct a different interpretation. Kelley said to Young, and all others who visited him outside the fort,[21] that it was opposition to American settlement upon political and pecuniary grounds. He so placed the matter before Jason Lee, who, he says, often clandestinely left the fort that he might converse freely with him on his plans; but Lee had obligated himself to retard immigration to the country by accepting a loan from McLoughlin for the purpose of opening a farm which should be a supply establishment for other missionary stations yet to be erected.[22]

[21] These were not many. Kelley dwells with proud sensitiveness upon his own countrymen's neglect of him. That Wyeth, whose name was on the catalogue of the 'American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory,' founded by Kelley, should not have bestowed some attention upon a man of his antecedents, even at the risk of opposing himself to McLoughlin, is significant. Kelley also reviles Townsend and Nuttall, who, he says, were the recipients of the company's civilities and liberal hospitality, and were receiving their 'good things,' while he was only receiving their 'evil things.' 'One of them,' he says, 'had resided in Cambridge, Massachusetts, for many years, within a mile of my place of abode, and had read my books, seen my works, and learnt more or less about the spirit which moved me. He was not ignorant of the fact that the only path leading to the country of pretty flowers west of the Rocky Mountains had been opened wholly at my expense, and his journey thither had been made easy and pleasurable through my means.' Cyrus Shepard was the only person from the fort in the habit of visiting Kelley. *Kelley's Colonization of Oregon*, 56, 58.

[22] *Kelley's Settlement of Oregon*, 59. While Kelley exhibits much excitement and jealousy in his remarks on Jason and Daniel Lee, we must admit that there was some foundation for the assertion that the Lees were 'opposed to persons coming to settle' in the Oregon territory, except such as should become members of the Mission, and aid in its purposes; and that his views were identical with those of McLoughlin, though their motives may have been different. Kelley blames the Lees for claiming to have begun the settlement of Oregon without respect to his previous efforts, and his simultaneous appearance in the country with a party of settlers; for their avoiding him while there; for disparaging remarks concerning him made in the east, which he construed to be an effort to deprive him of any credit as a pioneer of colonization; and for the small notice of him in Daniel Lee's book, where he is dismissed with three lines. This work, to which I must often refer as the earliest authority on this period of the history of Oregon, if the manuscripts of McLoughlin are excepted, is unfortunately divided in the authorship with a Mr Frost, who came to the country some years later than Lee, and is so arranged that without an intimate knowledge of the subject the reader is at a

With a scheme of an exclusively Methodist colony, a sort of religious republic in his own mind Jason Lee was not likely to listen with favor to the plans of a man who, however religious in his own sentiments, had come to the country in company with horse-thieves and banditti; and Kelley, with a sore heart and half-crazed brain, was left to dwell in solitude on the failure of his magnificent scheme of an ideal American settlement devoted to liberty, virtue, order, education, the enlightenment of the savage tribes of the north-west, and the promotion of individual happiness.[23] So little sympathy and so much blame did he receive from those he had unwittingly involved in his misfortunes, that he did not venture during his stay in the country to visit the Willamette Valley, being deterred therefrom by threats of vengeance.[24] In the spring, accepting passage on the company's ship *Dryad*, Captain Keplin, he departed from the country upon which his grandest hopes had been so centred, sailing for the Hawaiian Islands.

But if Kelley was forced by untoward circumstances to leave the country, he did not fail solemnly to affirm in a communication to McLoughlin, that while he was not a public agent, acting by authority from the United States government, but only a private individual, he was yet a freeborn son of American independence, moved by the spirit of liberty, and animated with the hope of being useful to his fellow-men.[25] That those who had come with him were not idle or profligate, in such degree as to threaten the peace of the community,

loss to know what portion of it to attribute to either writer. It is only that part of the book which relates to events happening previous to 1840 that we can feel sure was furnished by Lee, unless it be where he speaks of himself by name. Lee writes fairly, and with less of the usual religious cant than might be expected of a Methodist missionary of nearly fifty years ago. He simply puts down events, leaving the reader to make his own comments. His truthfulness, compared with other authorities, is nearly absolute. Like his uncle, he could refrain from mentioning a subject; but if he mentioned it, what he said was likely to be correct. The title of his book is *Ten Years in Oregon*, and it was published in 1844 in New York. It is quoted in this work as *Lee and Frost's Or.*

[23] *Kelley's General Circular*, 13-27.

[24] *Kelley's Colonization of Or.*, 56.

[25] *Kelley's Colonization of Or.*, 57.

is evident from the rarity of offences. They were indeed useful in their way.[26]

One of Young's men, Webley J. Hauxhurst, erected a grist-mill at Champoeg in the summer of 1834, adding greatly to the convenience and comfort of the inhabitants of French Prairie, including the missionaries, who had previously pounded their barley in a large wooden mortar, and ground their wheat in a small cast-iron mill called a corn-cracker. Hauxhurst, who was a native of Long Island, subsequently joined the Methodist church, being the first fruit of missionary work among the settlers. His conversion took place in January 1837, and he was ever after a faithful adherent to the organization; nor were there any of this so-called band of horse-thieves who seemed indisposed to earn an honest living.

Another party of eight, coming in the summer of 1835 to join in the colonization of Oregon,[27] on reaching Rogue River were attacked by the savages, and four of the number slain, the others with difficulty escaping.[28]

[26] Mention is made, in chapter iii. of this volume, of the killing of Thornburg by Hubbard at Fort William. But these were Wyeth's men. Captain Lambert and Mr Townsend held an inquest, and after hearing the evidence, returned a verdict of justifiable homicide. *Townsend's Nar.*, 224. Gray, in *Hist. Or.*, 197, tells Hubbard's story as happening several years later, when there was a magistrate in the country, before whom he was tried. No such trial ever took place. Hubbard was given a certificate by the coroner's jury to show that the killing was in self-defence and to clear him in case of arrest. Lee contributes the fact that the desire for strong drink, that article being obtainable at Fort William, led to the stealing of a pig, and the selling of it for liquor which the thief 'barbarously compelled the owner to drink; and now, poor man, he has no pork to eat in harvest!' *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 140.

[27] *Townsend's Nar.*, 228. Gray with his usual inaccurracy says there was no arrival of settlers in 1835.

[28] The same who later caused the bloody wars of 1853 and 1855–6. Kelley relates that while he and Young were *en route* for Oregon, some of those men who had joined and left them, and who were formerly trappers under the famous leader, Joe Walker, of the American fur company in the Rocky Mountains, wantonly slew the California Indians on several occasions where they hung upon their rear, and that Young approved of the murders, saying they were 'damned villains, and ought to be shot.' But no mention is made of any encounter with the natives after entering the Oregon territory, not even on Rogue River, a probable consequence of their having fallen in with the Hudson's Bay Company trapping party, returning from California under Michel La Framboise. The policy pursued by the British company made the presence of one of their parties in the neighborhood a safeguard to all white men alike, though even La Framboise was sometimes compelled to in-

The names of three were William J. Bailey, George Gay, and John Turner. The last-named, with his native wife, was the first to reach the Mission, where he landed from a raft, induced by the welcome sight of cattle. They were kindly cared for by the missionaries, while all waited with painful anxiety for the appearance of any others who might have escaped. After the lapse of several days Gay and Bailey were discovered standing on the bank across the river from the Mission. Perceiving signs of civilization, Bailey plunged in and struck for the opposite shore; but the current being strong, and the swimmer having been badly wounded and without food, save roots, for fifteen days, he would have perished had not his companion saved him. While the two were battling with the water, a canoe was sent to their rescue. Bailey was afterward placed in a hospital at Fort Vancouver. The fourth man failed to discover the settlements, and struggled on the whole distance to the Multnomah River, arriving at Fort William more dead than alive.[29]

flict a salutary punishment upon the Rogue River people, as Wilkes was told by him. 'I questioned him relative to the stories respecting the shooting of Indians on the route to and from California, and he told me they had no battles, but said it was necessary to keep them always at a distance. On my repeating the question, whether the report we had heard of several being killed during the late expedition were true, he, Frenchman-like, shrugged his shoulders, and answered: "Ah, Monsieur, ils sont des mauvais gens; il faut en prendre garde et tirer sur eux quelquefois."' *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explr. Ex.*, v. 152.

[29] Townsend, who was at Fort Vancouver when Bailey arrived, describes his appearance as frightful, and his sufferings as excruciating. He was literally covered with wounds. One upon the lower part of the face entered the upper lip just below the nose, cutting entirely through both the upper and the lower jaws and chin, and passing deep into the side of the neck, narrowly missing the jugular vein. Not being able, in his extreme anguish, to adjust the parts, but only to bind them with a handkerchief, in healing the face was left badly distorted. *Nar.*, 229; *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 131-2. Bailey was an English surgeon of good parentage, but had led a life of dissipation, to break him off from which his mother removed to the United States. Leaving his new home, his mother and sisters, he shipped as a common sailor, coming in that capacity to California, where for several years he led a roving life. On recovering from his wounds he joined the Willamette settlement, and his medical and surgical acquirements coming to the notice of the missionaries, he was encouraged in his practice. He thus became an *attaché* of the Mission, married an estimable lady who came to Oregon as a teacher—Miss Margaret Smith—settled on a farm, and became one of the foremost men of Oregon colonial times. See *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 111-15; *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explr. Ex.*, iv. 387. Bailey died at Champoeg, February 5, 1876, aged about 70. *Salem*

This murderous attack upon travellers caused no small excitement at Fort Vancouver. An expedition was proposed to destroy the savages, but the scheme was not undertaken, and it was left for American settlers, miners, and United States troops to consummate the destruction of this tribe at a later date.

If John McLoughlin for political or commercial reasons, or Jason Lee for other cause, had thought to discourage the settlement of the Willamette Valley by independent parties from California or elsewhere, they must ere now have been convinced of the hopelessness of such an effort. McLoughlin, at least, was wise enough gracefully to accept the situation, and extend a helping hand—a conciliatory course for a time imitated by Lee with good results. As to Ewing Young, though Governor Figueroa in due time returned a letter of exculpation, explaining that the real thieves had attached themselves to Young's party, but on finding themselves suspected had deserted it; and though McLoughlin was willing to make amends, Young chose to remain sullen and unyielding, and employed his time in disseminating those anti-British monopoly sentiments which Kelley had so strongly expressed in their stormy interviews at Fort Vancouver. In this spirit, and rendered desperate by the social outlawry to which he was subjected on the part of both the fur company and the Mission,

Mercury, Feb. 11, 1876. George Gay was also an Englishman who left home in 1830 on a whaling voyage to the North Pacific. In 1832 he deserted with a whole boat's crew, in a California harbor, and after various adventures determined to join Kelley and Young's Oregon settlement. He took a farm in the Willamette, becoming a notable personage in his way, or as Wilkes calls him, 'a useful member of society,' but not at all an ornamental one. For a lengthy description of the man and his manners, see *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explr. Ex.*, iv. 382. John Turner was with Jedediah Smith when attacked by the Umpquas. At that time Turner had defended himself with a firebrand successfully, and on this occasion he resorted to the same means, laying about him like a madman, and being a large and powerful person, with equal success. He too became a resident of the Willamette Valley, though living in seclusion at some distance from the other settlers. *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 114. The name of the fourth man who escaped to the settlements is not mentioned, though his arrival at Fort William is recorded in *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 132.

Young resolved to erect a distillery for the manufacture of ardent spirits at his settlement on the Chehalem.

In the beginning of 1836, when Wyeth broke up his establishment at Fort William, Young secured one of the caldrons used in pickling salmon, and set about the accomplishment of his purpose, aided by Lawrence Carmichael, another of the aggrieved colonizers. Now this was a well-aimed blow, and it struck both fur company and Mission in a most sensitive point, their commercial as well as moral conscience. During the year in which trade was carried on at Fort William, intoxicating drink was sold to the natives and settlers, in consequence of which some brawls and petty offences disturbed the good order otherwise maintained in the country.

On hearing of the design of Young and Carmichael, McLoughlin showed them how drink would ruin the farming interests, and destroy the colony he proposed to plant, and offered Young pecuniary aid, and agreed to establish him in some honorable enterprise. The missionaries took alarm. The Oregon Temperance Society was organized, and a meeting convened to consider the steps necessary to prevent the threatened evil. The conclusion reached was that Young and Carmichael should be addressed by letter, and requested to abandon their enterprise. And for the following reasons: the prosperity of the settlement, temporal and spiritual, would be retarded, and the already wretched condition of the natives rendered worse. Nor did they fail to appeal to Young's loyalty to American ideas, reminding him that selling intoxicating drink to aborigines was contrary to law.

To those who can discover it, there is an avenue to every heart. Young pompously professed allegiance to the United States government as the best and purest the sun ever shone upon, whose citizens—among whom he was by no means the least—were the rightful owners of all that region, though on what

ground it would have puzzled him to tell. And how was he to be at once champion and law-breaker? The missionaries said further: "You do not pretend to justify yourself; you plead the want of money. We are very sure you will not find it profitable, and we will reimburse you for your expenditures thus far."

This communication was signed by nine Americans and fifteen Canadians,[80] who subscribed in all sixty dollars toward purchasing the obnoxious distillery, and promised to furnish whatever further amount was required. Yet another influence, to be mentioned presently, was brought to curb the purposes of the obstreperous Yankee.

Young arrogantly rejected the advances of McLoughlin, and refused reimbursement at the hand of the missionaries, but he promised to abandon his scheme for the present.[81] He would withhold his hand from sowing drunkenness broadcast over the land, but he could not deny himself the pleasure of railing at the fur company. In his reply to the temperance society, Young declared that McLoughlin's tyrannizing oppression and disdain were "more than the feelings of any American citizen could support;" and declared that the innumerable difficulties placed in his way by the company under McLoughlin's authority were the occasion of his being driven to consider so objectionable a means of obtaining a livelihood.

On arriving at Boston, Kelley hastened to publish a pamphlet setting forth in strong terms the fact that the American settlers in Oregon were suffering great

[80] *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 20. This author seems inclined unfairly to ignore the efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company in the matter. The fifteen Frenchmen were still on the books of the fur company, and Daniel Lee more correctly affirms that 'McLoughlin seconded the efforts of the missionaries and friends of temperance, and that the course he has taken in regard to spirituous liquors has done much to preserve the general order and harmony of the mixed community of which the settlement is composed.' *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 140.

[81] Walker, in his sketch of Ewing Young, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc. Trans.*, 1880, 58, says that 'upon this appeal and offer he abandoned the distillery, and then was planning for a saw and grist mill.'

hardships through the exclusiveness of the British fur company, which, while pretending to occupy the country jointly with the Americans, maintained a policy which practically reduced to servitude all persons in the country. It did not hesitate to put in force the most cruel and arbitrary measures to drive away such as would not submit.[82] Thereupon John Forsyth, secretary of state, by direction of the president, addressed a letter to William A. Slacum, a gentleman connected with the United States naval service, instructing him to proceed to the Northwest Coast of America and to the River Oregon, by such means as he should find best, and there ascertain the truth of Kelley's story. He was to visit the different settlements on the "coast of the United States" and on the banks of the Oregon River, and learn the relative numbers of white men and Indians, the nativity of the latter, the jurisdiction they acknowledged, the sentiments entertained by all in respect to the United States and the powers of Great Britain and Russia, and to collect all information, political, physical, and geographical, which could prove useful or interesting to the government.

Slacum soon entered upon his duties, proceeding to Baja California, where, being unable to procure passage to the Columbia River, he took a vessel to the Sandwich Islands, and there chartered the American brig *Loriot*, Captain Bancroft, in which he sailed for his destination. He crossed the bar of the Columbia December 22, 1836, taking shelter from a high wind in Baker Bay, but advancing as far as Fort George the following day. Here he was politely received by James Birnie, the gentleman in charge, who at once despatched an express to Fort Vancouver, with infor-

[82] *25th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rept. 101*, 60. McLoughlin says: 'He published a narrative of his voyage, in which, instead of being grateful for the kindness shown to him, he abused me, and falsely stated that I had been so alarmed with the dread that he would destroy the Hudson's Bay Company's trade that I had kept a constant watch over him, and which was published in the report of the United States congress.' *Private Papers*, MS., 2d and 4th series.

mation of the arrival of an American vessel on an unknown errand. The same express carried a request from Slacum to Finlayson of the latter station, to send a pilot to bring the *Loriot* up the river, which was done Slacum was also invited to visit Fort Vancouver. Further, Douglas, being on an errand to Fort George, took Slacum in his canoe and landed him at Fort Vancouver the 2d of January, 1837.

As the *Loriot* had no cargo, the object of her visit was politely asked. In terms equally courteous, the fur magnates were told that it was a private expedition for the purpose of gaining knowledge, and to meet an expedition overland from the United States.

But McLoughlin was not to be so easily deceived. He plainly saw the spy in the private gentleman travelling for information,[33] and further, that the visitor was a government agent of the United States. All he saw and heard would in due time be reported to his government. As a matter of course, McLoughlin need not answer impertinent inquiries, but would it not be better for the fur company to make its own statement fully and freely in regard to all matters at issue, and so have them placed upon the record? And this was done.[34]

Slacum remained several days at Fort Vancouver, departing on the 10th of January for the Willamette

[33] *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser. 5.

[34] Slacum's report, after relating briefly the incidents of his journey and reception at Fort Vancouver, gives an abstract of the history of the Hudson's Bay Company from the date of its charter, with the extent and rules of trade of the company in Oregon, a description of Fort Vancouver, an account of the American vessels that had visited the Columbia River since the restoration of Astoria in 1818, remarks upon Indian slavery, with other statistical information about the Indians, an elaborate account of the mission, and some brief observations upon the physical features of the country. In addition to Slacum's report, the same document contains one by Kelley, giving a brief account of his expedition to California and Oregon, with many valuable remarks upon the geography, topography, and natural history of those countries, ending with an account of the profits of the fur company, its monopoly of trade, and arbitrary rule over all persons in the country, with reminiscences of his own unpleasant experiences. The document contains other memorials, to which I shall have occasion to refer in a future chapter. The whole constitutes the *Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was referred a Message from the President of the United States, with a resolution of the House, in relation to the territory of the United States beyond the Rocky Mountains.* February 16, 1839.

settlements, in a canoe furnished by McLoughlin, with a crew and every comfortable provision for the journey. At Champoeg he was met by Jason Lee, to whom the same ever-courteous autocrat had sent an express to make announcement of the arrival in the country of a distinguished stranger, and of his intended visit. By this unbounded liberality and unremitting attention two objects were gained: a favorable impression of the *personnel* of the fur company was established, and a perfect knowledge of the movements of all strangers was acquired. By politely assuming that every individual who came to the country was dependent on Fort Vancouver for the conveniences of living, a perfect system of surveillance was maintained without offence being given.

In company with Lee, Slacum called on all the settlers of French Prairie at their homes, after which he spent a few days at the Mission, rendering himself thoroughly conversant with the affairs of the American settlement.

The case of Ewing Young had been stated to Slacum at Fort Vancouver, and he found it a subject of anxiety, both at the fort and the Mission, that a distillery was to be put in operation in the Willamette Valley. At the fort he was authorized to say to Young that if he would abandon his enterprise of making whiskey, he would be permitted to get his necessary supplies from Fort Vancouver on the same terms as other men,[35] and to this proposition Slacum counselled him to accede, saying that in his opinion his point with the fur company was gained by this concession.

Young, however, continued obdurate. Slacum then proposed to furnish him a loan of one hundred and fifty dollars with which to procure for himself and Carmichael a supply of proper clothing from Fort Vancouver, to be purchased in Slacum's name; and to give both a passage to California, where Young desired

[35] *24th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rept. 101*, 38; *Sen. Doc. 24*, 1836–7; *Kelley's Settlement of Or.*, 56.

to go, being still very much incensed with Governor Figueroa. To so generous an offer no reasonable objection could be made, and Young promised a reply on the following day. It was while entertaining this proposal that he sent his answer to the appeal of the temperance society, in which he alluded to some favorable circumstances which had governed him in relinquishing the design of manufacturing ardent spirits.

Slacum remained but a short time in Oregon, taking his departure from the Willamette on the 23d of January, and his final leave of the country on the 10th of February. The further results of his mission are reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER V.

COMING OF THE PRESBYTERIANS

1834–1836.

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS—PARKER AND WHITMAN SENT TO CHOOSE MISSION SITES—WHITMAN RETURNS EAST FOR TEACHERS—PARKER'S ADVENTURES—HIS FAVORABLE OPINION OF THE INDIANS—THEIR DESIRE FOR TEACHERS AND RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES—PARKER SELECTS A SITE AT WAIILATPU—RELIGIOUS SERVICES ESTABLISHED AT FORT VANCOUVER—PARKER RETURNS HOME—WHITMAN AND SPALDING AND THEIR WIVES—THEIR OVERLAND JOURNEY—WHITMAN'S WAGON ROUTE—STUART AND PILCHER—THE WELCOME AT FORT VANCOUVER—RETURN OF GRAY FOR MORE TEACHERS—LATER MISSIONARIES, WALKER, EELS, AND SMITH.

IT is not to be supposed that of all the Protestant denominations the Methodists alone responded to the demand of the Flatheads for teachers. The farewell meeting of the church in Forsyth street, which blessed the departure of Jason and Daniel Lee for the almost unknown wilds of Oregon, was attended by pastors of other religious creeds, notably the Presbyterians, whose sympathy led them to take part in the addresses on this occasion.[1] But the Presbyterian church, more careful and conservative, did not plunge into an unknown country and work as did their Methodist brethren. In a history of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, published in 1840, appears a mention that the Dutch Reformed church of Ithaca, New York, resolved to sustain a mission to the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains, under the direction of the board. Rev. Samuel Parker, Rev. John Dunbar, and Samuel Allis were

[1] *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 112.

accordingly appointed to explore the country for a mission site. They left Ithaca in May 1834, arriving at St Louis too late to join the annual caravan of the American Fur Company, as they had intended. Parker returned home, while Dunbar and Allis remained in the region of the Missouri, and in the autumn joined a band of the Grande Pawnees and Pawnee Loups, travelled with them, and endeavored to teach them sacred things. In the following spring Parker repeated his effort, and this time with success.

The Rev. Samuel Parker of Ithaca was a minister no longer young, of good education and manners, rather precise in address, but of intelligence, close observation, and sincere devotion, shown at the call of duty in leaving the comforts of home and polite usage which his nicety of taste and habits made more than usually dear. He seems to have impressed people generally as a specimen of the studious, sedentary preacher, whose solemnity of deportment was by no means as acceptable as the overflowing spirits of the circuit-riders with whom they were more familiar, and which to common minds obscured his real courage and singleness of heart. On the 14th of March, 1835, Parker left his pleasant home for Oregon. His route was from Ithaca to Buffalo, Pittsburg, Wheeling, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St Louis, staying with pious families when convenient, distributing tracts, and holding religious services in the ladies' cabin of the steamers, to the dissatisfaction of irreligious passengers. He reached St Louis by the 4th of April, where he found awaiting him Marcus Whitman, M. D., whom the board had appointed his associate.

Dr Whitman was altogether a different person, younger, being then thirty-two years of age, outspoken, with easy manners and a *bonhomie* which recommended him to western men; yet prompt, energetic, determined, and helpful as he was brave; not careful of appearances, quick to take upon himself the work for which others were too weak, scorning

that refinement which unfitted him for any necessary task, and ready to endure the severest privations. His appearance was an index to the vigor of his character, a spare, sinewy frame, strong features, deep blue eyes, and hair already iron-gray, a man made for responsibility, for overcoming obstacles, and equally by his great energy and kindness fitted to be the leader of a new mission. He was from Rushville, New York, and had reached St Louis by way of central Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, several days in advance of Parker.

As it was not possible to travel through the Indian country, even with a guide, except in parties of considerable size, the two missionaries must seek an escort. Fontenelle, a trader of the American Fur Company, was preparing to set out for the Rocky Mountains with sixty men and a caravan of pack-animals and wagons loaded with Indian goods. He courteously offered his protection, and they at once took steamer for Liberty, Missouri, the frontier town from which the caravan was to start. Here, as they were delayed three weeks until the preparations for the long march was completed, Parker occupied himself in visiting a small Mormon settlement near by, and riding to Cantonment Leavenworth, "twenty miles out of the United States," where he preached three times on Sunday to the garrison.

On the 15th of May the caravan left Liberty for Council Bluffs, Parker making note that this was his last day's lodging with a civilized family for a long time to come, but declaring shortly afterward that he preferred sleeping out of doors to lodging in untidy houses—an opinion most well-bred persons will share with him. His fastidiousness in this and other matters, however, was the jest of his less refined travelling companions. It was not until the 22d of June that the final start was made from the trading post of Bellevue, on the west side of the Missouri, a few miles below the present city of Omaha, the delay

giving Parker an opportunity of visiting Allis and Dunbar, the missionaries to the Pawnees,[2] and of studying the tribes in the vicinity, in whom he took much interest. While at Bellevue the cholera broke out among the men, three of whom died almost immediately. Doctor Whitman, with characteristic kindness, devoted himself to the care of the sufferers, and the disease was arrested by removing the sick from the riverside to the higher prairie, after which no new cases appeared. Besides winning the gratitude of the men whose lives he had saved, and of Fontenelle, whose company was kept from breaking up, the doctor's reputation was established among the Rocky Mountain hunters and trappers, to whom the fame of his skill and goodness was spread by the newcomers at the summer rendezvous.

The journey was marked only by the usual incidents of travel across the plains: the early morning start; the long march before breakfast, which with supper constituted the only meals; the frequent thunder-storms, in which everybody became drenched and chilled; crossing rivers in a wagon-bed for a boat, made water-tight by a covering of undressed skins;[3] the occasional visits of Indians, with now and then a buffalo chase or a rare accident. The Black Hills were reached by the 26th of July, and Fontenelle remained at Fort Laramie, a post of the American Fur Company, while Fitzpatrick, another partner, took charge of the caravan to the rendezvous.

On approaching Laramie, an exhibition of mountain manners rather tried the nerve of Parker, who, leaving the road with a single attendant to examine a singular elevation called Chimney Rock, about three miles from the caravan, was alarmed by a company

[2] In 1856 Mr Allis was still living at his home on the east side of the Missouri, nearly opposite to the old Bellevue trading post.

[3] The green hides are sewed together, and tightly stretched over the boxes, flesh side out, and fastened with strong tacks to the wood, when they are placed in the sun to dry. Repeated stretching and drying prepares the skin to keep out the water. These are called bull-hide boats, being usually made of buffalo-skins. *Burnett's Rec. of a Pioneer*, MS., 112.

of mounted men, seemingly natives, riding full tilt in his direction. Fontenelle, at the hurried flight of Parker, hastened to his relief with a squad of armed men; but when the wild cavalcade came near enough for recognition, they proved to be a party of trappers, dressed in Indian finery, coming out to welcome the St Louis partner with the year's supplies. Then all was merriment, questionings, and mutual rejoicings.

On the 1st of August, the wagons being left at Fort Laramie, which Parker called the Fort of the Black Hills, and the goods all packed upon mules, the caravan resumed its journey to the rendezvous on Green River, where it arrived on the 12th, and where Parker remained until the 21st, waiting for an escort to pursue his explorations westward. While at the rendezvous Dr Whitman gave surgical and medical aid to a number of persons, among other operations extracting an iron arrow three inches long from the back of Captain Bridger, who afterward built Fort Bridger on the Black branch of Green River, and an arrow from the shoulder of a hunter who had carried it in his flesh for more than two years. The exhibition of his skill excited the wonder of the Flatheads and Nez Percés there present, and roused their desires to have teachers come among them who could do so much to relieve suffering.[4]

The evident anxiety of the natives to secure the benefits of the white man's superior knowledge, through the instrumentality of "a man near to God," as they called Parker, led to a consultation between the missionaries upon the propriety of bringing out teachers without delay. With his usual impetuosity, Whitman proposed to return with the caravan to St Louis, obtain assistants, and join the same escort to the mountains the next spring. To this Parker readily consented, having confidence that God would go with and protect him as surely without as in the company

[4] *Parker's Jour., Ex. Tour*, 77.

of his associate.[5] The Flatheads and Nez Percés offered to escort him to the Columbia River.

According to the new plan of operations, Parker on the 21st joined the company of Captain Bridger, consisting of about sixty men who were going eight days' journey upon the same route as the savages, to Pierre Hole, an extensive mountain valley on the head waters of the Snake River. Here the company of Bridger took a course toward the Blackfoot country, the main body of natives and their guest travelling north-west in the direction of Salmon River. Becoming better acquainted as they proceeded, Parker taught them the commandments, which he found they readily understood and obeyed; and further than this, they gave up their polygamous practices, and went back to their first wives, whom they had put away.

In all respects Parker found himself treated with the utmost kindness and consideration by his escort, and so far was he from fear, that he rejected an invitation by letter from Wyeth's agent at Fort Hall, Mr Baker, to pass the winter with him, preferriug to proceed to Fort Vancouver at once. No better opportunity could offer of studying the character and customs of the people he desired to christianize than he at present enjoyed; though somewhat misleading, the savages were in their best mood, and displayed their best behavior. But the hardships of the journey, with the sudden changes of temperature in the mountains, cost Parker an illness, the serious consequences of which he averted by free use of the lancet and medicines. One cannot but feel an interest in the elderly clergyman, accustomed to the order and comfort of his family, in a land of plenty and peace, now left

[5] That is what Parker himself said. In *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 108, it is stated that Whitman went back because he and his superior could not agree; that Parker could not abide the slovenly habits of the doctor; but that 'their sense of moral obligation was such, that a reason must be given why Dr Whitman returns to the States, and Mr Parker proceeds alone on his perilous journey.' It is most probable that the want of congeniality made it acceptable to both, when their best usefulness to their mission allowed them to separate without any such double dealing as the extract would indicate.

alone with a few wandering bands of Indians, starving one day and feasting the next, watchful for an encounter with the dreaded Blackfoot hunters on their common buffalo-grounds, and startled frequently by false alarms.

On the 18th, anxious to reach some post of the Hudson's Bay Company, Parker took ten Nez Percés and went forward, making twice the distance in a day that could be made with the main body, and pushing on over the rough and precipitous Salmon River and Kooskooskie ranges, reached the Nez Percé country on the 28th, his health rapidly improving as he emerged from the "wild, cold mountains," as he pathetically styled them. The Nez Percés received their friends and their reverend guest with the usual noisy demonstrations, firing salutes, and feasting them with dried salmon. On the following day the journey was continued to the confluence of the Kooskooskie with Lewis River, whence, after crossing the former river, the little party hastened, by a well-worn trail, to Fort Walla Walla.

On reaching this post, the 6th of October, Parker was kindly received by Pambrun, the agent in charge, who set before him roasted duck, bread, butter, milk, and sugar, spread upon a table, with a chair to sit upon, unwonted luxuries which excited the warmest thanks. Here Parker rested for two days only, but long enough to note the difference between the conduct of the servants of the British fur company and the boisterous and reckless behavior of the American hunters and trappers in the mountains. Instead of boasting of the number of Indians they had killed, as the latter often did in his presence, he found the British company commendably kind in their treatment of the Indians, whose friendship they strove to gain, and whom they sometimes even instructed in religion and morality.[6]

[6] *Parker's Jour.*, 124.

On the 8th, three muscular Walla Wallas, with a canoe furnished with provisions by Pambrun, took the hopeful traveller in charge for a voyage to Fort Vancouver. The first day's experience of the Columbia rapids so alarmed him that he begged the natives to put him ashore, but he yielded to their assurance that there was no danger. He visited the Cayuse tribe on the south side of the river, and some savages, whom he called Nez Percés, on the north bank. The Cayuses were curious to know what had brought a white man who was not a trader amongst them; and being told that he had come to instruct them how to worship God, they gave him a salute, as the Nez Percés had done, every man, woman, and child shaking hands with him, and expressing their satisfaction. Not being able to converse freely, and having no interpreter, he promised to meet them in the spring at Walla Walla, and bade them farewell.

Arriving at the Dalles on the 12th, the Walla Wallas were dismissed. Here he met Captain Wyeth, on his way to Fort Hall, who furnished him a short vocabulary of Chinook words for the necessary business of a traveller among the natives below the Dalles. After this he engaged a canoe and crew of Wascos, and again set out with a few strange savages. Being near the middle of October, the season of storms was at hand, as he was informed by the strong south wind which obliged him to encamp. On the second and third days from the Dalles it rained, and the portage at the cascades compelled a toilsome walk of several miles.

About noon of the 16th, he was surprised by seeing on the north bank of the river two white men and a yoke of oxen drawing logs for sawing, and soon after a large mill, around which were piles of lumber and a group of cottages. Cheered with the sight, he landed, and was offered a breakfast of pease and fish by the Orkney laborers. Reëmbarking, he landed at Fort Vancouver at two o'clock in the afternoon, and was wel-

comed by McLoughlin, who invited him to take up his residence in the fort as long as suited his convenience, an invitation most gratefully accepted; "and never," says the explorer, weary with more than six months' travel, "did I feel more joyful to set my feet on shore."

After a single night's rest, the *May Dacre* being about to sail for the Sandwich Islands, Parker determined to avail himself of the opportunity of visiting the mouth of the river and the sea-coast before winter set in. Going down the river, he had frequent opportunities of studying the character of the natives who inhabited the shores, as they often came on board to trade,[7] and he soon discovered the difference between those and the mountain tribes, the latter loading the stranger with favors, while the others never ceased begging for them. Nevertheless he summed up his observations of natives by declaring that in his opinion the character of unabused and uncontaminated Indians would not suffer by comparison with any other nation that can be named; the only material difference between man and man being that produced by the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion.[8]

Returning in an express canoe from the mouth of the Columbia, where several days had been spent examining the coast, Mr Parker went into winter quarters at Fort Vancouver October 30th, having half of a new house assigned him, well furnished, with all the attendance he could wish, with books and horses at command, "and in addition to all these, and still more valuable, the society of gentlemen, enlightened, polished, and sociable."

[7] As an example of the traits of the Skilloots, Parker gives this: A chief with a few of his people came on board, being very talkative and sportive. 'He asked that, as they were about to part, Captain Lambert should give him a shirt, which having received, he put it on, saying, "How much better would a new pair of pantaloons look with this shirt." The pants being given him, he said, "A vest would become me, and increase my influence with my people." This gift being added to the others, he then said, "Well, tyee [chief or gentleman], I suppose we shall not see each other again; can you see me depart without a clean blanket?"' Failing to obtain the blanket, he begged some trifling present for his little son, and went away well satisfied. *Parker's Jour., Ex. Tour*, 144.

[8] *Parker's Jour., Ex. Tour*, 155.

Late in November, the weather being pleasant, Parker set out for an exploration of the Willamette Valley, having for a guide Étienne Lucier, and being provided by McLoughlin with provisions and conveniences for the journey. He went to Champoeg by canoe, and thence on horseback to the Methodist Mission, making observations upon the country and its advantages for settlement. At the Mission he was joined by Jason Lee, who accompanied him several miles south, showing him the excellence of the soil, grass, and timber, and the pleasing variety of wood and prairie in that part of the Willamette Valley.

On his return journey to Fort Vancouver he preached at Champoeg, to a congregation of nearly all the inhabitants, and visited Mr Edwards, who was then teaching a school at this place. A call at Fort William, and return to Fort Vancouver on the 2d of December, finished his explorations west of the Cascade Mountains.

During Parker's stay at Fort Vancouver, he received a visit from the chief of a village at the Cascades, who wished to talk with him about the white man's God. This chief appeared intelligent and serious, putting questions to his teacher which it would have troubled him to answer, had the darkness of the Indian mind, the barrenness of the Indian language, and Parker's ignorance of it been less than they were. He wished Mr Parker to instruct his children, both in material and spiritual matters, and was grieved when it was explained to him that the man had not come as a teacher. "How many sleeps," asked the chief, "before teachers can come?" "A great number," was the reply. "Will it be moons?" "Yes, at least two snows." With a sorrowful countenance the chief arose and departed.

About the middle of February some natives from the Dalles visited Fort Vancouver, asking to be present at the usual Sunday services, conducting them-

selves soberly, and taking part in the exercises. Having prayed with them, Parker tried to convey to these people some idea of the principles of Christianity. When he had concluded, the head chief desired to be heard. He told Parker that he had many times prayed to the great spirit without finding his heart better, but rather worse. He had before listened to the teachings of a white man, who had told him to observe the sabbath by raising a flag which he gave him, on that day, by praying, singing, and dancing around the flag-staff; and that he observed these instructions for a long time without benefit. He wished to know if it was right. On being told that it was all right but the dancing, he promised to give that up, and to teach his people the right way. Parker told this benighted being, who humbly acknowledged his ignorance, that he needed a teacher, but did not promise him one, though he felt like weeping over him; nor did he propose to send him one, having learned very early in his experience that an Indian cannot discriminate between a proposal and a promise.[9] A month afterward a party of the same natives visited Fort Vancouver, and related that since they had left off dancing on the sabbath their prayers had been answered; that when they were hungry and prayed for deer their hunting was successful. They again appealed, unsuccessfully. for a teacher.

Winter over, on the 14th of April Parker bade farewell to the inmates of Fort Vancouver with a lively sense of the obligations under which they had placed him. They had even declined to accept any return for Indian goods, or interpreter's services furnished him on his several excursions, where according to custom payment was made to his native crew in shirts and blankets. His design was to go back to the Nez Percés, to whom he felt bound by their services

[9] *Parker's Jour., Ex. Tour*, 79.

of the previous year, and by his promises made to them at that time. To the Cayuses, also, he had given his word to return and meet them in the spring at Fort Walla Walla. Further, his intention was to explore the country as far as possible in the region of the Upper Columbia with reference to mission stations, and then to return to Green River to meet Whitman and his associates.

Embarking in a canoe belonging to a chief from the Dalles, he set out with a chance company of Indians, half-breeds, and white men, on the second day out meeting with Captain Wyeth returning from his fort on Snake River, with whom he exchanged a few words as their canoes passed. At the Dalles horses were hired from the natives to take him above the narrows, where was a bateau which conveyed him to Walla Walla, where he arrived on the 26th, finding a number of Nez Percés and Cayuses awaiting him. He remained two weeks instructing them, being treated with such kindness as to inspire a hope that their disposition to learn was more than the mere love of novelty. The only opposition to his teachings was made by a Cayuse chief, who would not accept the doctrine of monogamous marriage with the readiness of the Nez Percés, declaring he would not part with any of his wives, but as he was old and had always lived in sin, it was too late for him to change his practices, and he preferred to go to the place of burning.

On the 9th of May Parker set out on his return to the rendezvous at Green River, in company with several Nez Percés, spending a night at an encampment of this tribe, and witnessing the burial of a child,[10] at the head of whose grave the Indians prepared to place a cross, when he interrupted them, and broke the symbol in pieces, telling them that they should place a stone instead, to which they readily consented.[11] Parker excuses himself for this by saying

[10] For manners and customs of the Nez Percés, Cayuses, and Walla Wallas, see *Native Races*, i. 316.

[11] *Smet's Letters*, 212.

that the Indians were more likely to make the cross a stepping-stone to idolatry than to understand its spiritual significance; not appearing to perceive that he was dealing with savages who were already imbued with the principles of the Roman Catholic religion.[12]

After travelling several days to the Kooskooskie River, Parker, dreading the terrible Salmon River Mountains, where he narrowly escaped death the year before, tried to persuade the Nez Percés to take the Grande Ronde and Snake River route usually travelled by the Hudson's Bay Company's parties. As the Indians, however, preferred the Salmon River route, which avoided the hostile Blackfoot warriors, he changed his design, and after sending letters by

[12] As this mistake of Parker's afterward assumed serious import, some explanation should be made of the religious ideas of the natives selected by him as most hopeful and teachable. It will be remembered that the Dalles people observed Sunday as a holiday, in the manner of the Catholic church. Parker himself explains in a note, p. 254, that the reason assigned to him for dancing being included in their ceremonials was the fear that if it were forbidden they could not be interested in pure worship; obviously this reason was not furnished him by the natives themselves. Again, in relating the circumstance of the burial cross, he remarks that they had probably been told by some Iroquois, a few of whom he had seen west of the Rocky Mountains, to place a cross at the head of a grave, again showing he was not wholly ignorant of Indian theology in this quarter. Shea, in his *History of the Catholic Missions*, 467, says that some Iroquois formerly of the Coughnawaga Catholic mission, joined the Flatheads previous to 1820, the tribe becoming christianized about that time, through their example; and that their desire for teachers led to the pilgrimage to St Louis before mentioned. They continued in the ceremonials and practices of the church, daily offering up prayers to God, and keeping the sabbath. This agrees with the observations of Bonneville in 1834, who says the Flatheads, Nez Percés, and Cayuses had a strong devotional feeling, but speaks of it as successfully cultivated by some of the Hudson's Bay Company's people. So far as Mr Pambrun of Walla Walla is concerned, this I believe to be the truth, but not of the company's servants generally, as Dunn in his *History of the Oregon Territory*, 181, informs us, they having occasion to blame themselves for their neglect. So well advanced in the Christian religion were the tribes mentioned, according to Bonneville, that they would not raise their camps on Sunday, nor fish, hunt, or trade on that day except in cases of severe necessity, but passed a portion of the day in religious ceremonies, the chiefs leading the devotions, and afterward giving a sort of sermon upon abstaining from lying, stealing, cheating, and quarrelling, and the duty of being hospitable to strangers. Prayers and exhortations were also made in the morning on week days, often by the chief on horseback, moving slowly about the camp, and giving his instructions in a loud voice, the people listening with attention, and at the end of every sentence responding one word in unison, apparently equivalent to amen. While these ceremonials were going on every employment was suspended. If an Indian was riding by, he dismounted, and attended with reverence until the conclusion. When the chief had finished, he said, 'I have done,' upon which there was an exclamation in unison. 'With

the Indians to Dr Whitman to be forwarded to the United States, he turned back to the Columbia River, determined to take the sea route home.

No longer lacking for time, he decided to make further explorations for mission stations, and noted with favor the upper part of the Walla Walla Valley as a site for an establishment, the only objection to it, in his mind, being that it was not central for the Nez Percés, Cayuses, and Walla Wallas, to whom he had promised a mission. "How easily," he says, "might the plough go through these valleys, and what rich and abundant harvests might be gathered by the hand of industry. But even now the spontaneous growth of these vast plains, including millions of acres, yields

these religious services,' says Bonneville, 'probably derived from the white men, the tribes above mentioned mingle some of their old Indian ceremonials; such as dancing to the cadence of a song or ballad, which is generally done in a large lodge provided for the purpose. Besides Sundays, they likewise observe the cardinal holidays of the Roman Catholic church.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adventures*, 389–90. Says John Wyeth, who also gives these savages a good character: 'I know not what to say of their religion. I saw nothing like images, or any objects of worship whatever, and yet they appeared to keep a sabbath, for there is a day on which they do not hunt nor gamble, but sit moping all day, and look like fools. There certainly appeared among them an honor, or conscience, and sense of justice. They would do what they promised, and return our strayed horses and lost articles.' *Oregon*, 54. Townsend was equally struck with the religious character of the Nez Percés and Cayuses, and after describing their family worship, concludes by saying: 'I never was more gratified by any exhibition in my life. The humble, subdued, and beseeching looks of the poor untutored beings who were calling upon their heavenly father to forgive their sins, and continue his mercies to them, and the evident and heart-felt sincerity which characterized the whole scene, was truly affecting, and very impressive.' *Nar.*, 107. Elijah White, in a letter to the *Oregon Spectator* of November 12, 1846, says: 'Indeed, the red men of that region would almost seem to be of a different order from those with whom we have been in more familiar intercourse.' Parker himself often remarked upon the reverence and attention with which the Flatheads and Nez Percés listened to his devotional exercises, in which they joined with an intelligence that surprised him. The effect of the teaching they had some time had was apparent in the exhibition of that hospitality, care for others, and general good conduct to which he often referred. On one of his journeys with these people he says: 'One sabbath day about eight in the morning, some of the chiefs came to me and asked where they should assemble. I asked them if they could not be accommodated in the willows which skirted the stream of water on which we were encamped. They thought not. I then inquired if they could not take the poles of some of their lodges and construct a shade. They thought they could; and without any other directions went and made preparation, and about eleven o'clock came and said they were ready for worship. I found them all assembled, men, women, and children, between four and five hundred, in what I would call a sanctuary of God, constructed with their lodges, nearly one hundred feet long, and about twenty feet wide; and all were arranged

in such profusion, that not the fiftieth part becomes the food of organic life."[13]

A mission located in this valley he believed would draw to itself a settlement of the Indians, who would cultivate the soil, while at the same time they were taught sacred things. Accordingly, he selected for a mission station a spot on the north bank of the Walla Walla River, near the mouth of a small stream now known as Mill Creek, where there was a small valley covered luxuriantly with rye grass, from which the Indians called it Waiilatpa, or Waiilatpu.[14] It was not the most cheerful of sites for a homestead, being surrounded almost entirely by high rolling hills covered with coarse bunch-grass; but it furnished water and wood, and presented a certain picturesqueness which its very isolation enhanced. It was but twenty-two miles from Fort Walla Walla, which was by no means an unimportant recommendation to a solitary white family.[15]

in rows, through the length of the building, upon their knees, with a narrow space in the middle, lengthwise, resembling an aisle. The whole area within was carpeted with their dressed skins, and they were all attired in their best. The chiefs were arranged in a semicircle at the end which I was to occupy. I could not have believed they had the means, or could have known how to have constructed so convenient and so decent a place for worship, and especially as it was the first time they had had public worship. The whole sight taken together sensibly affected me, and filled me with astonishment; and I felt as though it was the house of God and the gate of heaven. They all continued in their kneeling position during singing and prayer, and when I closed prayer with amen, they all said what was equivalent in their language to amen. And when I commenced the sermon, they sunk back upon their heels.' *Parker's Jour., Ex. Tour*, 97–8. Nothing could be more evident than that at some time some influential and competent teacher had laid the foundations of religion and morality with conscientious care. Who he was, whence he came, or whither he went, is almost purely conjectural. The explanation given by Shea is repeated in *Strickland's Missions*, 120.

[13] Notwithstanding this early recognition by Parker of the north of the Walla Walla Valley for settlement, it was thirty years before it began to be esteemed for farming purposes; and another decade had passed ere the fact was accepted that this was one of the most productive wheat-fields of the world.

[14] 'Place of Rye Grass.' This word is commonly spelled with a terminal *u* instead of *a*, which some say changes its signification, affirming that *a* is the proper termination for the word with the above meaning.

[15] Undoubtedly, this spot was the choice of Parker, though in *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 165–6, the reader is made to believe that the choice was left to Whitman. Parker says that after encamping for a night on the 'upper part of the Walla Walla River,' he rode twenty-two miles and arrived at Walla Walla. Whitman may have selected a spot, not the identical one, in the same vicinity.

At the time Parker made his selection of Waiilatpu he was alone, except so far as he was surrounded by Indians, who overtook him and his Nez Percé guide, and continued with him out of curiosity or interest. To these he undoubtedly communicated his intention of founding a mission at this spot, and probably obtained their sanction, as they were eager to have a mission established among them. There is nothing, however, in his account of his journey, which indicates that he offered the Cayuses, whose country it was, anything in payment for the land, or that the subject was discussed. On the contrary, having no interpreter with him, he mentions a difficulty in communicating with the Indians; and there is no evidence that at this time the Cayuses set any value on land required for an individual farm. It seems to have been taken for granted that there was to be a mission for the benefit of the Indians, and not of the missionaries.[16]

[16] In Brouillet's *Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr Whitman*, 23, is a statement by John Toupin, which must be taken with allowance. Toupin, who was interpreter at Fort Walla Walla from 1824 to 1841, first avers that Mr Parker made the selection of the mission station in 1835, which is not possible, as during this journey he proceeded to Fort Vancouver with the delay of only one day to arrange for his passage down the river. This might have been simply an error in date, did not Toupin go on to say that Mr Parker, in company with Mr Pambrun, an American, and himself as interpreter, went first to Waiilatpu, a place belonging to three chiefs of the Cayuses, where he met them by appointment to select a site for a mission for Whitman, who, he told them, would come in the 'following spring'—whereas, if the error was in date, it would have been the following autumn that he promised them that they would see Whitman. From the Cayuses, says Toupin, Parker went to the Nez Percés, about one hundred and twenty-five miles distant, on a small creek emptying into the Kooskooskie, or Clearwater, seven or eight miles from the place afterwards chosen for the Nez Percé mission, where he made the same promises. 'Next spring there will come a missionary to establish himself here and take a piece of land; but he will not take it for nothing; you shall be paid every year; this is the American fashion.' The facts as given by Parker show that the only occasions when he could have been at Waiilatpu were those when he was alone with a chance company of Indians, and without an interpreter. So important a circumstance as a formal meeting of himself with the chiefs and interpreter, witnessed by Pambrun, and an American, would not have gone unmentioned, when so slight a fact as a ride with Pambrun to the confluence of the Snake and Columbia rivers is carefully recorded; therefore it would seem that the story of Toupin was invented to serve a purpose; and that Parker, who was so careful of his word, did not promise the Cayuses payment or annual rent for their land.

Returning to Walla Walla, Parker made arrangements for a tour up the north branch of the Columbia to Fort Colville, the most northern post of the Hudson's Bay Company on that river, in the course of which he expected to meet other tribes than those he had seen, and to gain much interesting information.

PARKER'S TRAVELS.

In this design he was encouraged by Pambrun, who procured for him Indian guides, and chose two French voyageurs to be his assistants, one of whom spoke the English language, though imperfectly. In order to see more of the country and the natives, it was decided to travel with horses, rather than by boat

in going up the river, and to pass by way of the Spokane country, leaving the great bend of the Columbia a long distance to the left.

The 23d of May being fixed upon for beginning his journey, the first day's travel brought him opposite the mouth of the Pavilion or Palouse River, up which lay his course to the head of the Spokane River. At this first encampment he made the acquaintance of the Palouses, an inferior branch of the Nez Percé nation, whom he paid for assisting him to cross to the north side of Snake River. Passing over hills and valleys destitute of trees, and meeting with several villages of Nez Percés and Spokanes, he encamped the close of the second day at one of the latter, his guides explaining to them the object of his visit to their country, at which they expressed their satisfaction.

On the third day the guides missed the trail, and the traveller was nearly lost on the trackless prairie; but they fortunately fell in with a party of Spokanes, one of whom consented to show them the way to the Spokane River, leading the party to within sight of a lake, and telling them that on the east side of it was the main trail leading to their destination.

What struck Parker with astonishment was the conduct of his new guide in refusing to go with him to the river, though he offered a large reward for the service. "I have shown the way; you cannot miss it; why should I allow you to pay me for unnecessary labor?" inquired this punctilious savage; nor could he be persuaded from his determination. This conscientiousness, as it appeared to him, and which would have been extraordinary in a man of civilized habits, so moved the missionary that he not only paid him well on the spot, but afterward sent him a present of powder and ball.

Crossing the Spokane River on the 27th, his ferryman guided him to the principal village, where there was a small field of flourishing potatoes, pease, beans,

and other vegetables, the first instance of native agriculture Parker had seen west of the Rocky Mountains, although the Hudson's Bay Company would at any time have encouraged the Indians in planting in the neighborhood of their forts, had they cared to cultivate the soil. The Indians about Puget Sound, more than any others, seem to have taken to the cultivation of the potato for food,

Encamping for the night, sixty miles from Colville, he found many Spokanes and Nez Percés gathered, who had heard from others that a teacher of religion was passing through the country, and they were anxious to see and listen to so great a personage. They brought with them, with wise forethought, an interpreter of their own, a young Spokane, who had attended school at the Red River settlement, and who understood English fairly. There was present also a Nez Percé chief who knew the Spokane tongue. For their edification religious services were held in the evening, and as the interpreter rendered the sermon into Spokane, the Nez Percé translated it into his language, which was done without disturbance, and was entirely the idea of the Indians themselves. So wonderfully interesting did the preacher find these people, that he regarded it as a special providence that he had suffered several detentions which prevented his passing them; and as he rode next day through a very fertile but narrow valley extending north and south for fifty miles, he settled in his mind that here too should be a mission, from which the tribes of the Spokanes, Cœurs d'Alêne, Pends d'Oreille, and Shuyelpi, or Kettle Falls, could all be reached.

Reaching Fort Colville after a hard ride, on the evening of the 28th, in an almost starving condition, having exhausted his supplies, he found himself just too late to see McDonald, the gentleman in charge, who had a few days before gone with the annual brigade to Fort Vancouver. Every attention was

paid toward making him comfortable by the people at the fort, but his visit extended only over the sabbath, which he spent as usual in preaching, and teaching the Indians. On the 30th he journeyed to the Grande Coulée, in whose deep chasm a night was passed. He was again lost for a few hours on the great plain of the Columbia; but more by his own judgment than the knowledge of the Indian guides he made his way safely to Fort Okanagan.

At this place he made no stay, but obtaining a bateau and two natives to assist the voyageurs, set out on his return by river, sending his guides with the horses to Walla Walla, where he arrived the 3d of June, having been eleven days, Sundays excepted, in the saddle or bateau. After a rest of two days he left for Fort Vancouver, where he arrived in safety on the evening of the 9th, and took passage in one of the fur company's vessels to the Sandwich Islands.

It is worthy of note, in connection with Parker's residence of several months at Fort Vancouver, that thence originated the practice of assembling the Canadians twice every Sunday, and reading to them in French a portion of the scriptures and a sermon; which practice was kept up until the arrival of Mr Beaver.

Before leaving Oregon Parker witnessed the introduction of a steam-vessel into the coasting service of the company. This was the *Beaver*, which arrived in the Columbia River in the spring of 1836, and on which Parker with a party of gentlemen from the fort took an excursion on the 14th of June around Wapato Island, indulging during their enjoyment in "a train of prospective reflections upon the probable changes which would take place in these remote regions in a very few years," and in the dream "a new empire be added to the kingdoms of the earth."[17]

[17] *Parker's Jour., Ex. Tour*, 310–11. This pioneer steamboat on the Pacific Ocean was commanded by Captain David Home, her consort being the *Nereid*, Royal, master. She was a low-pressure, side-wheel steamer, 110 tons register,

On the 18th of June Parker took final leave of Fort Vancouver, and sailed for Honolulu, where he was compelled to wait until the middle of December for a vessel to the United States, reaching his home in Ithaca the 23d of May, 1837,[18] having travelled 28,000 miles.

We have now to deal with the results of the exploration ordered by the American Board. When Mr Parker decided to proceed alone, Dr Whitman turned back with the caravan to St Louis for the next year's supplies, reaching the Missouri frontier late in the autumn of 1835. The business in hand was something requiring all his superabundant energy, for before spring he must bring into the service of the Presbyterian missions in Oregon persons enough to set up at least two stations, one among the Flatheads and one among the Nez Percés.

To enlist the sympathy of Christians, he took with him two Indian lads, as did Columbus, Pizarro, and Wyeth, and as do others, down to the Indian agents and military men of the present day, when wishing to interest the public in alien and savage races. With these he went directly to the missionary board, and reported the field of mission work west of the Rocky

built at Blackwell, England. Her paddle-wheels were small and well forward. She carried a crew of thirty men, armament 4 six-pounders, with a large supply of small-arms. The decks were protected by boarding-netting, the natives being restricted to the gangways for access. After leaving the Columbia in 1837 she never afterward entered it, but was engaged in coasting the northern seas, collecting furs, and supplying the northern forts. This steamer entered the harbors of Esquimalt and Victoria in 1836. She was in 1881 a tug in the latter harbor. *Seattle Intelligencer*, Jan. 1, 1881; *Finlayson's V. I. and N. W. Coast*, MS., 6.

[18] With the departure of Mr Parker from Oregon ends his relation to its history. He published in 1838 at Ithaca, N. Y., a *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains*, the first actual report of the country and the Indain tribes since the expedition of Lewis and Clarke, if we except the partial accounts of Kelley. William Strong of Portland remarks in his *Hist. Or.*, MS., 23, that he was a proof-reader on Parker's book, 'the first book in regard to the country by an American.' Parker's remarks upon the geography, geology, climate, productions, and possibilities of the then unsettled Oregon territory show close observation, and supplementing his own discoveries with information contributed by the gentlemen at Fort Vancouver, formed a faithful and valuable account of the country.

Mountains as ripe and waiting for the harvesters. Yet he seemed unable to awaken sufficient enthusiasm in individual members of the church to draw them from their comfortable firesides into the storms of March, which they must face to join a caravan for the summer journey over a homeless wilderness. For it was families, not single men, whom Whitman wished to establish as missionaries among the Indians. In his difficulty, and fully determined to return himself as a missionary, he appealed successfully to Miss Narcissa Prentiss, daughter of Judge Prentiss of Prattsburg, New York, and in February 1836 they were married. Mrs Whitman was a bright, fresh-looking woman, with blue eyes and fair hair, good figure and pleasant voice, more than commonly attractive in person and manner, besides being well educated, and something of a contrast to her husband in her careful habits and regard for small refinements. But one man and woman could not go alone into this new world, as did the primal pair, and Whitman sought some other husband and wife to accompany them. He had, however, started on his westward journey in March, before he found at Pittsburg, on his route, the Rev. H. H. Spalding and wife, newly married, graduated only a short time before from Lane Theological Seminary and the female college near it in the suburbs of Cincinnati, and who were already on their way to the Osages as missionaries.

Mr Spalding was considered a man of plain, practical talents, more esteemed for his sincerity and faithfulness than for his gifts, yet honored as a zealous and comparatively successful missionary. Mrs Eliza Spalding, daughter of a farmer named Hart, of Oneida County, New York, had been taught to spin, weave, and make clothing, as well as to cook. These were excellent attainments for a new country; added to which she was an apt linguist, and something of an artist in water-colors, both of which acquirements proved of use in the missionary work, the first in catching the

native tongues, the second in teaching by rude but vigorous pictures what could not be conveyed with force in language. The tall, slender, plain, dark woman, with few charms of voice or feature, sagacious, decided, sympathizing, and faithful, won the confidence of all about her. What she lacked in personal charms she made up in the excellences of her character, taking for her own standard that of the highest in pious life. She was fitted by nature for the work of a missionary, and found the reward of self-sacrifice in elevation of spirit.[19]

Nothing could have been more opportune for Whitman's purpose than meeting these people, to whom he immediately proposed to change their destination, and join him in his mission beyond the Rocky Mountains. Spalding hesitated on account of his wife's delicate health, and as too hazardous an adventure for women, but Mrs Spalding asked twenty-four hours for prayerful consideration, which ended in their undertaking the mission. Immediate preparations were made for the more extended journey, and Mrs Spalding, without returning to the home of her parents, set her face toward the far-off Oregon.

The company of four, with a reënforcement for the Pawnee mission of Dunbar and Allis, now proceeded to Liberty, Missouri, where they were joined by the fifth Oregon missionary, William H. Gray of Utica, New York, who had been engaged as a mechanic, and secular aid to the mission.[20] He was a good-looking young fellow, tall of stature, with fine black eyes, without special education, but having pronounced natural abilities, of quick feelings, and a good hater where his jealousy was aroused.

The Indian boys, John and Richard, were of the party, and before leaving the frontier, a boy of six-

[19] *Private Letter of Mr Spalding.* Lecture of Mr Spalding, in *Albany States Rights Democrat*, Jan. 11, 1838.

[20] *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 112; *U. S. Ex., H. B. Co. Claims*, 159-60.

teen years, named Miles Goodyear, from Iowa, asked the privilege of joining the company as servant and herder. He performed his duties satisfactorily until he arrived at Wyeth's Fort, on Snake River, where he left them to follow a fur-hunting expedition.

Enough has already been said of the mode of travel with the fur company's caravans, but since this was the first attempt of white women to cross the great plains, put down on the maps of that day as a desert country, let me recapitulate so far as to show the outfit of these two women, celebrated by Presbyterian writers as the real pioneers of civilization in the Oregon Territory.

Dr Whitman was furnished by the American Board with the necessary material and implements for beginning a settlement, blacksmith's tools, a plough, grain, and seeds to commence farming, and clothing for two years, with many other articles thought indispensable to moderate comfort. At Liberty he bought wagons, with teams, also some pack-animals, riding-horses, and sixteen cows. Additional teams were hired, making quite a train, which was placed in charge of Spalding and Gray, assisted by the Indian boys and Miles Goodyear. At Council Bluffs the additional teamsters were dismissed, and after crossing the Missouri the mission goods were readjusted, and as much as possible reduced in bulk. The journey from Liberty to this point was full of accidents and delays of the march, occurring often through the inexperience of the men in charge; there were broken axles, and general repairing to be done, and the caravan began to move before the missionary train was ready. By great exertion, however, Whitman was able to overtake Fitzpatrick's company at the Pawnee village on the Loup branch of the Platte River, a few days' travel west of the Missouri. The train now consisted of nineteen carts drawn by two mules tandem; a light wagon, and two wagons and teams belonging to the

same Captain Stuart who had travelled in company with the Lees to the Rocky Mountains in 1834.[21]

Stuart had for a companion a young English gentleman, and a few servants. Another, not belonging to either the fur company or missionary party, was a gentleman called Major Pilcher, of St Louis, Indian agent to the Yankton Sioux, whom Parker, having met him the year before, calls intelligent and candid, and well disposed toward mission enterprises, but who by his foppish dress excited the remarks of at least one of the mission party, who perhaps fancied that he occupied too much of the attention of the two ladies, whom he was good-naturedly desirous of amusing. According to Gray, he wore a suit of fine buckskin trimmed with red cloth and porcupine quills, fine scarlet shirt, and elaborately ornamented moccasons; and he must have made a conspicuous figure in any company. Major Pilcher was one day showing the ladies some singular salt clay-pits, when going too near the edge it gave way, immersing his fine white mule, himself, and his elegant Indian costume in a bath of sticky liquid clay. It was with difficulty he was extricated, when he joined heartily in the merriment his predicament occasioned.

Aside from the occasional storms to which the travellers were exposed, and the meat diet to which in a short time all were restricted, a summer's journey under the protection of so varied a company was most interesting to the two untravelled women from central New York. Fifty years at Prattsburg, or at the Osage Mission, would not have afforded the opportunities for expansion of thought, or the accumula-

[21] From the frequent mention made of him by travellers, Stuart seems to have haunted the Rocky Mountains for more than ten years. Gray asserts that he was 'Sir William Drummond, K. B., who had come to the United States to allow his fortune to recuperate during his absence,' and describes him as a tall figure with face worn by dissipation, and says that he spent his winters in New Orleans. In *Niles' Register*, lxv. 70–1, 214, 1843, there are references to a party from New Orleans under the leadership of this gentleman, one of whom was Mr Field of the *N. O. Picayune*. Lee calls him Captain Stuart, 'an English half-pay officer, who had then, in 1834, been for some time roaming the mountains. *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 122.

tion of experiences, which so long a stretch of travel through novel and wonderful scenes, in the society of men of cultivation and wide observation, offered to these missionary ladies. This episode in their lives may be regarded as not only a kindly, but as a most useful introduction to the duties before them.

Mrs Whitman's lively temperment and perfect health enabled her to enjoy and benefit by these experiences; but Mrs Spalding's strength seemed inadequate to the strain. Her health so rapidly declined that fears were felt that she would not be able to finish the journey.

According to custom, the fur company left their carts at Laramie and packed their goods on mules to the rendezvous. But on Mrs Spalding's account Whitman decided to keep the lighter of his two wagons, and the fur company also decided to take one of theirs to Green River. Loaded wagons had as early as 1829 been driven to Wind River,[22] and at different times to various mountain posts, but there was no beaten track as from Fort Laramie eastward. The doctor, who drove his wagon, had, however, little trouble in following the natural highway which leads through the mountains by the Sweetwater or South Pass, and Mrs Spalding was thus carried safely and comfortably to the great camp of the fur company.

Two days before reaching the rendezvous, great consternation was created for a moment by the appearance of a party of ten Nez Percés and Flatheads, who with a few American trappers constituted a self-delegated committee of welcome. Their approach was like the rush of a tornado down a mountain side, the cracking of their rifles and their terrifying yells like the snapping off of the branches of trees before the wind, and the fierce howlings of a tempest. As soon as the white flag carried by the advancing cavalcade was discerned, all fears of the Blackfoot gave

[22] *Hines' Or. Hist.*, 408–9.

way, and as the wild hunters swooped down the line a salute was returned as hearty as their own.

The appearance of the natives she had come to teach interested Mrs Spalding more than the antics of the mountain men, who were eager to get a glimpse of white women, many of them having been years in the wilderness without seeing one. To Mrs Whitman the novelty and excitement of the meeting were exhilarating; and when a mountain man with an attempt at deferential courtesy made a military salute and addressed some words to her of respectful compliment, she answered him with gracious and cordial bearing. While Mrs Whitman was receiving this attention from gentlemen and trappers, the natives gathered about Mrs Spalding, who, anxious to acquire the Nez Percé language, tried hard to converse with them.

Arriving at the rendezvous, a second grand display was planned and executed by the Flatheads and Nez Percés in honor of the missionary party. The general camp on Green River was in several divisions: the camp of the fur company, surrounding a rude hut which answered for a trading-house; and near by, those of the hunters and trappers, between one hundred and two hundred in number; the missionary encampment; the camp of the English travellers; and those of the several tribes of Indians who travelled with the American Fur Company—Bannacks, Snakes, Flatheads, and Nez Percés, forming altogether no inconsiderable village, with a vigilant police.

A grand reception was planned in honor of the missionaries, and on the day selected a procession of all the Indians in gala dress was formed at one end of the plain, each tribe having a company of warriors in fighting costume, which was a breech-clout and plenty of paint and feathers. All were mounted, and the fighting men carried their weapons, drums, rattles, and other noisy instruments. When everything was in readiness a terrifying yell burst forth, and to

a barbarous chorus the cavalcade charged through the valley at frantic speed, and returning in the same manner, performed their skilful evolutions in front of the missionary tent, the whole being conducted in the order of a preconcerted military movement, the force of several hundred warriors obeying the signal of its leaders as an orchestra obeys the conductor's baton. But although perfect order was maintained, such was the impetuosity of the savages, who gave themselves up to the excitement of this mimic charge, that the women's nerves were sorely tried. When all was over, having done so much to entertain their white friends, the red men began to crowd about the missionaries to satisfy their curiosity.

While the company remained at Green River, Captain Wyeth arrived from Fort Vancouver, having sold his forts and goods to the British company, to the great dissatisfaction of the American traders and trappers, who had not, however, offered less opposition to him than had the Hudson's Bay traders. He was accompanied by Thomas McKay and John McLeod, a chief trader of the British company, who, after receiving Fort Hall from Wyeth, intended to return to Fort Vancouver, and kindly offered his escort to the missionary party. McLeod told Whitman that he thought, instead of encouraging the American mountain men to follow him and settle in Oregon, it would be more profitable to send a missionary to travel with the camps of the hunters.

Gray, who probably knew of the prejudice created by the publications of Kelley, was prepared to see in this advice opposition to American settlement in the country, and to resent it with his natural warmth; although he had ample opportunities of learning that the character of many of these countrymen of his made them a dangerous element among the Indians, as Parker could have informed him.[23] McLeod

[23] 'Their demoralizing influence,' says Parker, 'with the Indians has been lamentable, and they have imposed upon them in all the ways that sinful pro-

went so far, we are told, as to say that if the missionaries needed assistance in erecting buildings, or making other improvements, the company he served would prefer furnishing it to having these reckless men introduced into the Oregon settlements, all of which advice Captain Wyeth indorsed, though Gray believed it was because he felt the uselessness of opposing the autocrat of Fort Vancouver, whose fixed policy toward unprincipled men, whether American or French, was to keep them as much as possible at a distance.

There is no evidence that Dr Whitman shared the feelings of his subordinate; his letters to the American Board refer in polite terms to the assistance rendered him by the British fur company, and not to any opposition to his plans. Arrangements were immediately made to proceed to Fort Vancouver, where the missionaries were assured they could replace the farming and blacksmithing tools and other articles which they were advised to leave at Green River as too heavy to be transported on their flagging horses over the difficult route to the Columbia River.

Two or three weeks of rest, with a change of diet, and the favorable effect of the climate on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, made a decided improvement in the health of Mrs Spalding. But Whitman still hesitated to give up his wagon, which if possible he wished to take to the Columbia River; and lightened of all unnecessary things, he conveyed it with little difficulty as far as Fort Hall, receiving some assistance from the Indians.[24]

pensities dictate. It is said they have sold them packs of cards at high prices, calling them the bible; and have told them if they should refuse to give white men wives, God would be angry with them, and punish them eternally, etc. *Parker's Jour., Ex. Tour*, 80–1. Gray himself relates that one whom he met at Green River, and who afterward settled in the Willamette Valley, amused himself teaching his little half-breed son to utter profane sentences. *Hist. Or.*, 125. Says Wyeth: 'The preponderance of bad character is already so great amongst traders and their people, that crime carries with it little or no shame.' *25th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rept. 101.*

[24] Concerning the Flatheads and Nez Percés, and the correspondence of Parker with Whitman, something should be said in this place. According to

At Fort Hall one pair of wheels was taken off and the wagon reduced to a cart.[25] Not wishing to be detained by the possible accidents and hinderances of road-making, McLeod advised Whitman to abandon his idea of getting the cart through to the Columbia, time and provisions being of the greatest value from this point westward. But the doctor insisted on driving his carriage to Fort Boisé, keeping up with the pack-train all the way, the worst obstacles to be overcome being sand and sage-brush. At the crossing of Snake River he was in danger of losing his life, the current being too strong for the horses; but by the coolness and dexterity of Thomas McKay, the threatened disaster was averted. Mrs Whitman and Mrs Spalding were ferried over on bulrush rafts, the goods being carried on the backs of the largest horses.

At Fort Boisé, the horses were so worn out that he was forced to relinquish his idea, and the cart was left at this post, where three years later another American traveller found it, and was told that a route had recently been discovered by which wagons could easily pass to the Columbia.

Gray, Parker found it prudent to send no instructions to Whitman at Green River, but only a short note, all of which Wyeth explained as dictated by caution, knowing the efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company to destroy American influence in the country. As Parker had not then reached his destination, there could not have been much to say. In the following spring, when he turned back from the Nez Percé country, leaving the Indians to proceed without him to the rendezvous, he mentions writing several letters to be forwarded to the United States from Green River, but does not mention writing to Whitman especially. His final directions and advice may have awaited Whitman at Fort Walla Walla, or even at Fort Vancouver, where he undoubtedly expected Whitman to consult with McLoughlin; and from the fact that missions were established at the identical places chosen by him, this theory would seem to be established. Parker calls the principal chief of the Nez Percés *Taiquinwatish;* Gray calls him *Takkensuitas.* Parker does not name the second chief of the Nez Percés; Gray calls him *Ishholholhoatshoats,* or more frequently 'Lawyer,' a *sobriquet* applied to him by the mountain men on account of his argumentative powers and general shrewdness, by which he obtained great influence both with his people and with white men. He was son of the chief who took charge of the horses of Lewis and Clarke while those explorers visited the lower Columbia, and was about thirty-six years of age. Both Gray and Parker praise the kindness of these chiefs, and Lawyer became a great favorite with the missionaries, with what reason we shall see hereafter.

[25] This cart is historical as the first wheeled vehicle to pass beyond Fort Hall.

Some of the cattle were also left at Fort Boisé, being too weak to travel farther; and Whitman received from the agent in charge an order on Fort Walla Walla for others to supply their places. The women were here presented with "eight quarts of dried corn," all there was at the post, and a precious gift in that country.

On the 1st of September the missionary party arrived at Fort Walla Walla, McLeod having preceded them by a few hours to prepare a suitable reception, which, says Gray, must have been witnessed to be fully realized, every demonstration of joy and respect being manifested. The best apartments were placed at the service of the women, and the men were relieved of all care of their horses and cattle; the table was furnished with luxuries in the way of potatoes, green corn, and melons, and it was like a homecoming to all. Yet in the midst of this enjoyment Gray was warned by Townsend against interfering with the trade of the British company,[26] as if the missionaries were indeed a company of traders.

On the 3d the missionary party continued on their way, as it was most important that they should present at once their letters from the secretary of war, and should consult with McLoughlin on matters connected with the establishing of the missions, the procuring of mechanics, and the prospect for obtaining supplies. They were accompanied to Fort Vancouver by Pambrun, who was in charge of the furs brought by McLeod. Townsend and McLeod preceded them one day.

Portages were made at all the principal rapids, where the savages were astonished at seeing the white

[26] *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 142. This is Townsend's report of the single interview he had with Whitman's party. 'I have had this evening some interesting conversation with our guests, the missionaries. They appear admirably qualified for the arduous duty to which they have devoted themselves, their minds being fully alive to the mortifications and trials incident to a residence among wild Indians; but they do not shrink from the task, believing it to be their religious duty to engage in this work.' *Nar.*, 249.

women treated with so much respect; they did not even carry the goods around the falls, as their own women were compelled to do. In the heart of the mountains a storm of wind detained them in camp three days; after which all went well, the company reaching the saw-milll on the 11th, where the last encampment was made to give opportunity for those changes in dress which even the French voyageurs never neglected on approaching Fort Vancouver. On the forenoon of the 12th, as to the music of the French boat-songs the bateau rounded the point where stood the fort, the passengers saw two ships lying there gayly decked in flags, while the company's colors waved from the fort. At the landing waited two magnificent-looking men, John McLoughlin and James Douglas, who greeted the missionaries, and escorted the ladies with stately courtesy within the walls of the fort. There they were again made welcome, and assigned to convenient quarters according to rank. Here they met Jason Lee, and Herbert Beaver and his wife,[27] as we have seen before.

A few days of delightful repose were enjoyed. In matters of business the missionaries found McLoughlin willing to render them such assistance as the ample means of the company allowed, upon condition that men should not be employed at wages higher than the company's regular rates, or any other rules of the company's trade infringed upon.[28]

Having left at various points along the overland route nearly everything they had started with except their clothing, they were obliged to purchase with their winter's supply of provisions goods enough to load two bateaux, with which, at the end of the week, Whit-

[27] Mr and Mrs Beaver remained in the country until the spring of 1838, when they went to England, having done little to advance the cause of religion. The natural antagonism of McLoughlin and Beaver is mentioned in my *History of the Northwest Coast.* Mr Beaver evidently had some right on his side; but his manners were not suited either to the society at Fort Vancouver or the American settlement.

[28] Deposition of W. H. Gray, in *U. S. Ev., H. B. Co. Claims*, 160-1.

man, Spalding, and Gray returned to Fort Walla Walla, leaving the women at Fort Vancouver until such time as a dwelling should be prepared for them.

The first stake was set at Waiilatpu, at the place first chosen by Parker among the Cayuses. With the assistance of the Indians and a man or two from the fort at Walla Walla, the first house was rapidly built out of such materials as were at hand. Another was hastily put up in the small valley of Lapwai, about a dozen miles above the mouth of the Kooskooskie, and before Christmas Dr and Mrs Whitman were settled at the first station, and Mr Spalding and his wife at the other.

It was now apparent that if Parker's engagements with the Flatheads or plans about the Spokanes were to be carried out, more missionaries must be brought into the field; and that no time might be lost, Gray was directed to return to the east the following spring to procure reënforcements.[29] This he did, travelling with Ermatinger, a trader of the British fur company, to the Flathead nation, whence he accompanied the Indians to the summer rendezvous of the Hudson's Bay traders on the Jefferson branch of the Missouri. At the rendezvous, several of the Flatheads offered or were induced to escort him; and he was joined by two young American adventurers who were to go with him to the Missouri River. At Ash Hollow, since famous in the history of Indian wars, his Flathead escort was attacked by a band of Sioux, and every one murdered, including a young chief called 'The Hat,' who had been partially educated at Red River. Gray with his companions was saved by the intervention of a French trader, and succeeded, by travelling at night, in reaching the friendly tribes to the east, and finally in arriving at his destination.[30]

[29] *Annual Report, A. B. C. F. M.*, 1848, 239; a document of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

[30] *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 168–74; *Newell's Strictures on Gray's Hist. Or.*, in *Portland Democratic Herald*, Oct. 1866.

Gray was successful in enlisting for the mission three clergymen with their newly married wives, a young unmarried man, and a young woman who became his own wife. In a private letter written after her death in 1881, he says that it was an instance of love at first sight, which continued as long as her life. He met Miss Mary Augusta Dix, a handsome, stately brunette, on the evening of the 19th of February, 1838, and became engaged to her the same evening. Six days after, they were married, and on the morning of the 26th started westward to join the caravan of the American Fur Company.

On account of the feeling among the Flatheads over the loss of five of their people and the young chief, in Gray's company, his destination as missionary to them was changed, and he remained alternately at Lapwai and Waiilatpu, visiting several tribes both in eastern and western Oregon, and going back to secular pursuits after three or four years. A mission was begun at Kamiah, sixty miles up the Clearwater, above Lapwai, by Rev. Asa B. Smith, in May 1839, and abandoned in 1841 on account of the hostility of the upper Nez Percés, who were in sympathy with the Flatheads. Thus, after all the expressed desire of this tribe for teachers, no Protestant missionary was allowed to establish himself among them.

Elkinah Walker and Cushing C. Eells, with their wives, established a permanent mission on the Chemakane[31] branch of the Spokane River, within easy distance of Fort Colville. Cornelius Rogers became a teacher, first at Lapwai, and then at Waiilatpu.[32]

[31] Chemakane, according to Wilkes, means 'the plain of springs,' from the fact that the streams sink in the earth, and passing underground a few miles, burst forth again in springs. *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explr. Ex.*, iv. 483.

[32] Rev. Elkinah Walker, thirty years of age, tall, spare, and light complexioned, was from North Yarmouth, Me, and was educated at Kimball Academy, Meriden, N. H., from which he went into the Bangor Theological Seminary, where he studied for three years. He was a diffident and amiable man without strong traits. He intended to go as a missionary to Zululand, South Africa, but being prevented by a fierce tribal war, was ready to respond to the first call elsewhere, which came from Oregon. He was married on the 5th of March, 1838, and next day started for St Louis to join Gray. Ten years afterward

he settled on the Tualatin Plains in the Willamette Valley, where he became a leading citizen, and one of the founders of the school which is now the Pacific University. His family consisted of six sons and one daughter. One of his sons went as a missionary to China. The father died Nov. 21, 1877. *Trans. Or. Pion. Assoc.*, 1877, 68–72; *Oakland Transcript*, Dec. 1, 1877; *Seattle Pacific Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1877; *Ashland, Or., Tidings*, Nov. 30, 1877; *Salem Willamette Farmer*, Nov. 30, 1877. For many years Mrs Walker lived at Forest Grove, near the Pacific University, having devoted her life to the duties of missionary, wife, and mother, and enjoying the reward of a peaceful and prosperous old age. Cushing C. Eells was of Massachusetts birth, and was one of a succession of clergymen. In Cromwell's time one of his ancestors was an officer in the usurper's army. Mrs Myra Eells Fairbanks was descended from a line of Presbyterian deacons. She was born in Holden, Massachusetts, May 26, 1805; and died at Skokomish, Washington Territory, August 9, 1878, her funeral services being celebrated at that place and at Seattle; and there was a memorial pamphlet published, from which the above facts are drawn. Like Mr Walker, Mr Eells settled at Forest Grove in 1848, and helped to build up the Pacific University. He was also mainly instrumental in establishing Whitman Seminary at Walla Walla, at a later date. In 1875 he returned to his first work as a missionary to the Spokanes. His youngest son, Myron Eells, became a missionary to the Skokomish. *Seattle Intelligencer*, May 29, 1875; *Portland Oregonian*, June 5, 1875; *S. I. Friend*, vii. 57. Rev. Asa B. Smith is described as a man of fine literary attainments, who constructed a vocabulary and grammar of the Nez Percé language, assisted by Mr Rogers and the Nez Percé, Lawyer, who knew a little English. Smith's wife was a delicate woman, unfitted for the trials of missionary life; and the chief of the upper Nez Percés proving very overbearing, and as Smith thought, dangerous, he quitted the Kamiah Mission for the Sandwich Islands after three years among the Indians. Cornelius Rogers was a native of Utica, New York; but at the time of his joining Gray's missionary party was living at Cincinnati, Ohio. He remained as teacher at the different missions until 1842, when he went to the Willamette Valley to settle, soon after which he died. *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 135–6; *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 198–9; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 270–1.

Dr Samuel J. Parker, son of Rev. Samuel Parker, in a manuscript called *The Northwest and Pacific Coast of the United States*, gives a treatise on the early history of the Oregon territory, and defends his father from the slurs contained in *Gray's Hist. Or.* The manuscript lacks only a personal knowledge of the subject by the author to be valuable. It is written in a fair and manly spirit, though not without some errors.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WILLAMETTE CATTLE COMPANY.

1836-1837.

NEED OF CATTLE IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY—THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY REFUSE TO SELL—MCLOUGHLIN'S VIEWS ON THE QUESTION—MEETING AT CHAMPOEG—FORMATION OF THE CATTLE COMPANY—EWING YOUNG AND PARTY SENT TO CALIFORNIA FOR STOCK—SOLEMN AND MOMENTOUS NEGOTIATIONS—THE CROSSING OF THE SAN JOAQUIN—HERDS DRAWN ACROSS BY ROPES AND RAFTS—AN INDIAN AMBUSH—PLOT TO SHOOT EDWARDS AND YOUNG—DIVISION OF THE STOCK AND ITS INCREASE IN OREGON—WHAT BECAME OF EWING YOUNG'S PROPERTY.

CIVILIZATION needs certain things to make it respectable. The followers of Confucius may feed on rice, but it is not seemly that Christianity should have to eat only bear meat and salmon-berries. It was quite necessary that the missionaries of Oregon should have cows and horses before they could take rank among the foremost nations of the world. Ewing Young saw this, for he was a thoughtful, practical man, ready to assist progress and minister to the wants of the race; and as his proposal to supply the settlers with that fiery adjunct of civilization, whiskey, had met with poor encouragement, he concluded to do what he could toward stocking the valley with those gentle beasts which men make their companions, not to say masters. Young's distillery speculation had been like the labor of Cleanthes, who supported himself by drawing water at night in order that he might indulge in plucking the flowers of philosophy during the day; it was not appreciated by the Willamette Areopagus, and his judges were delighted over the prospect of such a

useful and perhaps dangerous occupation for so restless a settler. If Young would help civilization and the settlers in this matter, perhaps the settlers and civilization might help Young.

"I found," observes Slacum, "that nothing was wanting to insure comfort, wealth, and every happiness to the people of this most beautiful country, but the possession of neat-cattle, all of those in the country being owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, who refused to sell them under any circumstances whatever."[1] This oft-repeated charge, in the tone of sufferers from tyranny and injustice, it may be as well to explain. McLoughlin asserts that in 1825 the company had but twenty-seven head of cattle of any age or size. So precious were these that they were allowed to multiply without the slaughter of a single animal. As late as 1839 the company declined to furnish with beef the surveying squadron of Sir Edward Belcher, who complained of this refusal on his return to England.[2] The policy of the fur magnates could not therefore be called an anti-American restriction. McLoughlin reasoned that if he sold cattle to the settlers they would be entitled to the increase, and he would be deprived of the means of assisting new-comers, and the interests of the coast retarded. If two hundred dollars, which was offered, were paid for a cow, the purchaser would put such a price on the increase that the settlers could not buy. He therefore thought it better, while cattle were still few in the country, to lend to every settler cows and oxen to make him comfortable, though he was not made rich, and all to share alike, while the herds suffered no diminution.[3]

Jason Lee, Ewing Young, and others so represented the benefits of cattle to them that Slacum made a proposition to carry to California in the brig *Loriot*

[1] *Slacum's Report*, in *Supp. to H. Rept. 101, 25th Cong., 3d Sess.*
[2] *Belcher's Voyage*, i. 296; *Applegate's Views of Hist.*, MS., 28.
[3] *Copy of a Document*, in *Trans. Or. Pioneer Assoc.*, 1880, 51.

all persons wishing to go thither, where cattle could be bought for three dollars a head. A meeting was called for those so inclined to convene at Champoeg to form a cattle company. The object being one of interest to the Canadian as well as to the American settlers, there was a general attendance, and the Willamette Cattle Company was organized, with Ewing Young as leader and P. L. Edwards as treasurer. Mr Slacum at his own option advanced Jason Lee $500, and to this sum was added by the settlers, who had money due them at Fort Vancouver, enough to make the amount $1,600, to which was added nearly $900 by McLoughlin for the Hudson's Bay Company. The collection was purposely made as large as possible, for by purchasing a great number the cost of each would be less, and the expense of driving a large herd was little more than that of driving a small one. But McLoughlin is never mentioned by the missionaries as having thus contributed to the success of the Willamette Cattle Company.[4]

On the contrary, from the moment of the appearance of Slacum in Oregon, and his championship of the ostracized party of Ewing Young, the former acquiescence of the missionaries in the Willamette Valley in the rules and regulations of the fur company was changed to an opposition as determined, if not so open, as that of either Kelley or Young. That Slacum encouraged this course is true, for he came as the agent of the United States to offer protection to Americans from the despotism of a British corporation, assuming that Oregon was United States territory, and the fur company had no rights, south of the

[4] It is stated in *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 23, that the organization of a cattle company was indirectly opposed by the authorities at Fort Vancouver; but this can hardly be true. Slacum says in his *Report*, already quoted, that $1,600, or enough to purchase 500 cattle, was raised in the Willamette Valley by his advancing $500. Daniel Lee states in his account, *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 144–6, that 800 were purchased at $3 a head, and 40 horses at $12 a head, making the whole outlay $2,880. If it were not for the explanation given by McLoughlin himself, in *A Copy of a Document, Trans. Or. Pioneer Assoc.*, 1880, 51, we should be left as much in the dark by the missionary statements as by Slacum himself, concerning the source from which the $880 additional was obtained.

Columbia at least, except such as Great Britain could give it under the convention of 1818.

In Slacum's report to the secretary of war, he says that at the public meeting held at Champoeg for the organization of the cattle company, he told the Canadians that, although they were located within the territorial limits of the United States, the title to their farms would doubtless be secured to them when that government took possession of the country. He cheered them also, he says, with the hope that erelong measures would be adopted for opening trade with the Oregon Territory, when, instead of getting fifty cents a bushel for their wheat delivered at Fort Vancouver, they might receive the dollar and a half which the Russians paid in California.[5] So much interest was he able to create by this suggestion, that a petition was drawn up praying the congress of the United States "to recognize them in their helpless and defenceless state, and to extend to them the protection of its laws, as being, or desiring to become, its citizens," and signed by both Americans and Canadians.

Little time was consumed by Slacum in executing his mission in Oregon. On the 17th of January, four days after he was met at Champoeg by Jason Lee, who had been on business to Fort Vancouver, eleven members of the Willamette Cattle Company[6] left in a canoe for the anchorage of the *Loriot*, a mile and a half below Wapato Island, to embark for California. On the 21st they went on board, and the following morning Jason Lee took leave of them, first gathering the company on the quarter-deck, and praying for the success of their undertaking.

[5] In another part of his report he says that a cargo of 5,000 bushels could at that time be obtained from the settlers on the Willamette, and also that the Russians required 25,000 bushels annually. This was, of course, a great inducement to the settlers to strive for independence in trade, and to oppose the monopoly of the fur company.

[6] Their names were P. L. Edwards, Ewing Young, Lawrence Carmichael, James O'Neil, George Gay, Calvin Tibbets, John Turner, W. J. Bailey, Webley Hauxhurst, and two Canadians. De Puis and Ergnette.

Two days were spent in descending the river, and when Baker Bay was reached it was found that the *Nereid* and *Llama*, two of the fur company's vessels, had been detained there since the 22d of December. The sea being still rough, on the morning of the 30th of January the *Loriot* parted her cables and was driven on shore, but, being assisted by the other vessels, escaped unharmed. It rendered it necessary, however, for Captain Bancroft to return to Fort Vancouver to procure a chain-cable and anchors, so that it was not until the 10th of February that the *Loriot* was able to go to sea. Nine days were occupied in the voyage to Fort Ross, where permission was obtained to land the cattle company at Bodega, and horses and guides were furnished to take Slacum to San Francisco.

On the 28th the *Loriot*, with Edwards and Young on board, resumed her voyage to San Francisco Bay, while the eight men left at Fort Ross found employment and good wages at Cooper's mills, until their services should be needed by Young. The *Loriot*, after some dangerous coast navigation, arrived at San Francisco on the 1st of March, and taking on board Mr Slacum, proceeded to Monterey, where was the residence of General Vallejo, whom Young wished to consult about driving out cattle, to which measure the Mexican government was averse. Edwards remained behind, occupying his time in excursions about the bay, and in studying the customs of the country.[7]

On the 10th Young returned from Monterey with the tidings that Vallejo declined giving permission to drive cattle out of the country, saying it was the prerogative of the civil government, which was at Santa Bárbara. Thither Young had proceeded, while Edwards continued to increase his knowledge of Califor-

[7] Among other scraps of knowledge, he remarks in his *Diary*, MS., 13, of the expedition, that on the stock-ranches 'spotted mares are generally broken in, and much esteemed on the following account: all the horses of a band follow her, attracted by her peculiarity of color, and are not so likely to stray abroad.'

nia customs, and the affairs of Americans whom he found about San Francisco Bay, visiting, in company with Birnie, Leese, and McNeil of the *Llama*, the mission of San Rafael, Sonoma, Martinez, Cooper's mills, and the farms of several of his countrymen. On the 8th of May he took passage in the ship *Sarah and Caroline*, Captain Steel, for Monterey, where on the 12th he met Young, who, after going from San Francisco to Monterey, from Monterey to Santa Bárbara, and from Santa Bárbara to Santa Cruz, and back again to Monterey, where the matter was laid before the deputation then in session, had at length obtained consent to drive from the country seven hundred head of cattle, on condition that they were purchased of the government, and not of the missions to which they belonged.[8] The sale of cows was only brought about after much exertion on the part of Vallejo, who on second thought lent his influence to assist the Oregon company, and won to the purpose Alvarado and the president of the missions.

Permission being thus obtained, the next step, and one quite as difficult, was to get the cattle and horses into safe possession. There were forty horses purchased near Santa Cruz and driven to San Francisco. Young was then obliged to go to Sonoma to obtain the order of Vallejo, who had been appointed government agent in the sale of the cattle. The order was given for two hundred head from the mission of San Francisco, one hundred and seventy cows and thirty bulls; but the administrator at the mission used every means to evade the order, and insisted on inverting the ratio and only furnishing thirty cows. Thereupon Young was obliged to return to Yerba Buena to have the order translated, that he might be sure it was correct.

This being at length explained, and part of the men having joined them, Edwards and Young proceeded

[8] 'And all this rumpus,' says Edwards, 'on account of an old colonial law which forbids the exportation of male and female animals from the colonies.' *Diary*, MS., 16.

toward the San José mission with their first purchase, there to obtain the remaining five hundred. The administrator of San Francisco, for collecting and guarding the cattle as far as Martinez, exacted presents for his Indians, as he pretended, to the value of over fifty dollars, and Young had a sharp altercation with the authorities there on account of these exactions. The whole number of cattle purchased was not delivered until the 22d of June, three weeks having been occupied in going from San Francisco to the mission of San José. Some of the animals escaped on the way; and of those at the mission, some were found to have been kept seven days in a corral with little or nothing to eat. The wildest were starved or beaten until sufficiently subdued to drive; but then they were too weak to travel, and many dropped to the ground the first day. Complaint being made to the administrator, he agreed to furnish others for those that were lost, from a place beyond, but on reaching the spot designated no cattle were there. Then another order was given, to be filled from a rancho still farther on; nevertheless when they reached the San Joaquin River, the 25th of June, eighty animals were missing.

To cross the river was next in order, and at the same time to train these wild snorting brutes to cross rivers, for there were more of them beyond. The company were nearly all together again, and their number was here augmented by Henry Wood, B. Williams, Moore, and two others. First, a strong corral was put upon the river bank, and the cattle driven into it. Then on the 12th of July a few cows were induced to swim over after their calves, which were towed across by men in a canoe. Next day all present, some on foot and some mounted, lent their aid to induce the cattle to take to the water. Most of them were driven in; but when half-way across a panic seized them and they turned back, with a loss of seventeen drowned. To lasso and tow each animal over singly was next attempted, for the accomplishment of

which rafts of bulrushes were made, and on them men seated themselves, some to pull the raft over by a rope stretched across the river, and others to drag each an animal through the water by a rope about the horns. In this tedious labor the company engaged till the 20th; the work of herding and guarding at night being increased by the division of both men and cattle on the opposite side of the river. Edwards, who was on the north side, was obliged to be on horseback sometimes the greater part of the night, after toiling, as he says, "in sweat, water, and great danger" through the day, with myriads of mosquitoes which maddened the animals beyond bounds. There had been little opportunity to rest since the first of June, and this last trial taxed strength and patience to the utmost. But the climax came on the same afternoon that the crossing was finally effected. While driving to a new encampment, the horse on which the ammunition was packed ran into a small tule lake or pond, and all the powder became wet.

All day long Edwards had ridden hard, and far into the night he had labored to induce his charge to cross a slough, albeit but knee-deep; and now before he could sleep he must return to Yerba Buena for powder. If he had ever rebelled at the wild ways of the half-broken oxen of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon, he now remembered those days with regret. "The last month, what has it been!" he exclaims. "Little sleep, much fatigue, hardly time to eat, mosquitoes, cattle breaking like so many evil spirits, and scattering to the four winds, men ill natured and quarrelling; another month like the past, God avert! Who can describe it?"[9] And yet he was only sixty miles on his way, with five hundred miles still between him and the Willamette Mission. Again at Mission San José he exchanged two horses for cattle, to replace some which were lost; but when he brought the purchaser to Livermore's, where one of the horses had

[9] *Diary*, MS., 24.

been left, he found it had been stolen. By dint of bargain and exchange, however, he secured twenty head, which with considerable assistance were driven to camp. With these, and others he was able to purchase on the road, notwithstanding losses, he had seven hundred and twenty-nine when he encamped on the San Joaquin August 14th.

On the 20th the company reached the mountains at the head of the Sacramento Valley, fording the Sacramento River without difficulty, following the trail of Michel La Framboise and his trapping party. As they proceeded north the mountains were higher and harder to ascend, being stony, with a close growth of bushes, into which some of the cattle escaped. On the afternoon of the 26th a high and rugged mountain seemed to close the way. Riding up the steep, Young declared that there was another mountain above it. "Now," said he to Edwards, "if you are a philosopher, show yourself one!" But alas! no man is a philosopher longer than his bodily frame can be made to support his resolution. The patience of the company was nearly at an end. The men, tired of eating dried meat, and irritable with toil and privation, insisted that a beef should be killed that night, which Young refused, on account of having to carry the meat over the mountain. A quarrel ensued, in which they defied authority. "Kill at your peril!" said Young; and the storm blew over. The mind of the leader was stronger than the muscles of the men; still it was evident that the courage of the company was declining.

It was not until the 12th of September that the Rogue River Valley [10] was gained. Threats had been made by Turner, Gay, and Bailey that after Rogue River was passed there would be Indians killed in revenge for the attack on their party in 1835. Their purpose was kept hidden from Young, who for the safety of the property would have forbidden retaliation.

[10] Edwards in his diary calls this place Chasta valley and river.

On the 14th, having crossed the river, camp was made about five miles beyond. A few natives approached, and one of them, accompanied by a boy ten years of age, entered the camp in a friendly manner. Gay deliberately raised his gun and fired, and as the Indian attempted flight, Bailey also fired, and the man fell. The cry then arose, "Shoot the boy! shoot the boy!" but he escaped behind a point of rock. This dastardly act could not be excused on the ground of revenge, as the spot where these men were attacked two years before was yet four days distant. The folly of inciting a conflict with the natives, under the circumstances, was indefensible.

The men had become so excited by past wrongs and present sufferings, aggravated now by bloodshed, that on the following day, after a toilsome march through dust and heat, their insubordination culminated in a quarrel with guns and knives, which continued for fifteen minutes, while threats and curses emphasized their acts. Then once more the firmness of their leader prevailed, and peace was restored.

For several days and nights Young was on the alert for the expected retaliation of the natives; he doubled the guard, and used extreme caution in passing through the frequent defiles, where the enemy might lurk in ambush. The first night Edwards fired on a party of five Indians stealing through the woods, and frightened them off. The next day there were arrows shot from each side of the road, and several of the cattle wounded, but only one killed.

On the morning of the 18th, when the company entered that part of the country where Turner, Gay, and Bailey had been attacked, Indians were discovered running along the mountain side as if to intercept them in some defile. It was nearly noon, and they were passing between the banks of the Rogue River, when suddenly from the thickly wooded mountains yells were heard, and arrows showered upon those in advance. Young, apprehending such an attack, was

making a reconnoissance with three of his men some distance in advance in the pass, but had discoverd nothing until the cattle came within range of the arrows, when the savages were found to be on both sides of the trail. Young ordered the men in charge of the cattle to remain where they were, while he undertook to repel the enemy. The Indians were driven off after Gay had been wounded and Young's horse shot with two arrows. That night strict guard was kept, and no further trouble was experienced.

From this point onward, though the road was still rough and over toilsome mountains, the condition of the cattle improved, as there was an abundance of grass and water. With prospects more favorable, a better state of feeling was restored, and they reached the settlement in good spirits about the middle of October, nine months from the time of their departure.[11] Edwards' unpublished diary of the expedition is the only reliable account extant of the experiences of the cattle company on the road. It is evident that to him this journey was a prolonged horror. In one place he remarks: "Short-sighted man! happy that his knowledge is not prospective, else he would not adventure upon some of his most ennobling enterprises. Few of our party, perhaps none, would have ventured on the enterprise could they have foreseen all its difficulties. It boots little to reflect that the future gains will amply compensate for present suffering. Most of the party cursed the day on which they engaged, and would hardly have exchanged a draught of cool water for their share of the profits."[12]

[11] *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 146.

[12] *Edwards' Diary*, MS., 30–1. In the *Nevada Gazette* of June 5, 1869, is an article by an anonymous writer which refers to this expedition. It represents Young as overbearing, and disliked by the men; also saying that in the Siskiyou Mountains five of them had conspired to kill him and others on a certain night, and to divide the stock among themselves, the murder to be committed as Young and Edwards returned from looking for lost cattle, Turner being the one elected to shoot Young. On coming into camp and seeing by the looks of the men that something was wrong, Young questioned them, and one of the conspirators commenced cursing Turner for his cowardice, and the plot was revealed. An altercation took place, and the company

The great object of the Willamette settlers was accomplished, and an era opened in colonial history which rendered them in no small measure independent of the fur company. The precedent thus established of bringing cattle into Oregon was followed three years later by the Hudson's Bay Company, which obtained a permit in Mexico to drive out from California four thousand sheep and two thousand horned cattle, Scotch shepherds being sent to select the sheep, and the company's trappers in California being employed as drivers.

The number of cattle that survived the first expedition was six hundred and thirty, two hundred having been lost by the way. The expenses of the expedition, and the losses, brought the price up from three to nearly eight dollars each. They were divided in the manner agreed upon when the company was formed, the subscribers taking all that could be purchased with their money at seven dollars and sixty-seven cents a head; while the earnings of the men who went as drivers at one dollar a day were paid to them in cattle at the same rate. The stock obtained were of the wildest, the administrators taking good care that it should be so, and their value was lessened in consequence. But the settlers were allowed to keep the oxen borrowed from McLoughlin in exchange for wild cattle, and calves were accepted in place of full-sized animals, as they were wanted for beef later.[13]

There is some difference of opinion as to whom the credit of this enterprise is due. Mr Hines[14] thinks that it was Jason Lee's energy and perseverance which laid this foundation of rapidly accumulating wealth for the settlers. Perhaps it might more justly have been attributed to Edwards; but as a matter of fact,

being pretty evenly divided, an armistice was agreed upon, the division being continued to the end of the journey, and the guard at night being made up of equal numbers of both parties for fear of treachery. This I take to be a sensational story, as Edwards makes no mention of it in his *Diary*, where less important quarrels are described minutely.

[13] *Copy of a Document in Trans. Or. Pioneer Assoc.*, 1880, 50–2.

[14] *Hines' Oregon History*, 23.

it was Ewing Young, as Walker says, who "put in motion the introduction of Spanish cattle in Oregon." [15] He was the only man among the settlers who knew enough of California and its customs to intelligently propose such a plan, and to overcome the almost insuperable difficulties of its execution.[16] He, too, it was who resented the restrictions of the fur company, and determined upon the independence of American settlers. No longer under a cloud, after his return Young rose to an important position in the colony. He built a saw-mill on the Chehalem at considerable expense, which was kept in operation until the winter of 1840–1, when it was carried away by high water. Soon after this misfortune Young died.[17] The provisional government of 1841 was organized to take charge of Young's estate, and the jail was built with it, the government pledging its faith to restore it or its value to his heirs. It was restored in part to his heirs years afterward when Oregon had become a state.

In 1854, while Oregon was still a territory, there appeared Joaquin Young, a son of Ewing Young by a Mexican mother, who petitioned the territorial legislature for his father's money An act was passed empowering him to commence suit in the supreme court to recover the sums paid into the treasury of the provisional government by his administrators, said action to be prosecuted to final judgment. The suit, however, was not brought; the legislature deferred passing a bill authorizing the payment of the judgment until 1855. Finally the supreme court, consisting of George H. Williams and M. P. Deady, gave judgment for Joaquin Young. In the mean time the claimant sold his interest to O. C. Pratt; and when this was known, R. P. Boisé, a member of the legislature,

[15] Sketch of Ewing Young, *Or. Pioneer Assoc. Trans.*, 1880, 58; *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explr. Ex.*, iv. 384.

[16] *Marsh's Letter*, MS., 16.

[17] It was said that his mind became affected by disease, or from his many trials and disappointments. *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 154.

and opposed to Pratt in politics, secured the passage of a bill stopping the payment of the judgment. The matter then rested until 1862, when a law was enacted, chiefly through the influence of Judge Deady, authorizing persons having claims against the territory or state to bring suit for recovery. Under this act Pratt brought suit, and obtained judgment for the amount, receiving $5,108.94, in November 1863, twenty-two years after the property was taken in charge by the Methodist Mission.[18]

Slacum, after having been of such real service to the settlers, sailed for San Blas a few days after his arrival in California, on his way through Mexico to Washington. He took a share in the company, and deputed Young to take charge of his proportion of the stock, amounting to twenty-three animals. Four years afterward, in consequence of Slacum's death, his nephew, a midshipman of the United States exploring squadron, claimed his uncle's share, with the increase, which amounted to sixty-three, and these he obtained and sold to McLoughlin for $860.[19]

From the presence of Ewing Young in Oregon sprang two important events in the settlement of the country: the coming of an authorized agent of the United States, and the disinthralment of the settlers from what they felt to be the oppressive bondage of the fur company. By his death Ewing Young gave the colony a further and still more important impulse, as will be shown during the progress of events.

From the life of Ewing Young—indeed, from any man's life—we may safely conclude that it is better to laugh at sorrow and slight, and even indignity, especially where the wrong is only fancied, as is usually the case, than to cry over these things. There is nothing in the wide world worth mourning for; if all

[18] See *Special Laws Or.*, 1855–6, 92; *General Laws Or.*, 1862, 78; *Message and Docs.*, 1864, 72; *Or. Jour. Council*, 1855–6, app., 92; *Or. Statesman*, Jan. 2, 1855.

[19] *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explr. Ex.*, iv. 384.

our joys have taken their departure, they are but a step before us. But it has always been so, the chief occupation of man being to torment himself withal. At first, on coming to Oregon, Ewing Young would be king; but finding there a monarch so much his superior, he fell into hateful ways. So mightily had he been mistaken in the beginning, that soon he felt it hardly safe to be sure of anything. But when the shore lines of his life were worn somewhat smooth by the eroding waves of humanity's ocean, and the rewards of benificent conduct far exceeded the most sanquine anticipations of benefits to flow from evil practices, might not the broad truth have come home to him, that he is made as conspicuously uncomfortable whose virtues lift him above the common sentiment of society, as he whose vices sink him below the general level?

CHAPTER VII.

COLONIZATION.

1837-40.

THREE MISSIONARY BRIDES—JASON LEE'S MARRIAGE—SEA-COAST EXCURSIONS—BRANCH MISSION AMONG THE CALAPOOYAS—PETITION TO CONGRESS FOR A CIVIL GOVERNMENT—LEE GOES EAST—DEATH OF MRS LEE—MISSIONARY ENTHUSIASM IN THE EAST—BILL FOR THE OCCUPATION OF OREGON—SAILING OF THE 'LAUSANNE' WITH THE MISSION COLONY—TREATY OF COMMERCE WITH THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS—AFFAIRS IN OREGON—DROWNING OF THE FIRST WHITE BOY BORN IN THE TERRITORY—DEATH OF SHEPARD—RELIGIOUS INTEREST AT THE DALLES—ARRIVAL OF THE MISSION COLONY.

DANIEL LEE does not mention what the superintendent wrote to the missionary society of the Methodist church on establishing himself in the Willamette Valley, but it is to be presumed that whatever it was, the action of the society was founded upon it. A reënforecement for the Mission, consisting of eight adults and several children, sailed from Boston on the 28th of July, 1836. They took passage in the ship *Hamilton*, Captain Barker, bound for the Sandwich Islands, where they arrived late in the winter. There they remained guests of the missionaries at Honolulu until the latter part of April 1837, when they sailed in the brig *Diana*, Captain Hinckley, for the Columbia River. On the 18th of May, three months after the departure of the *Loriot* with the cattle company, tidings of the new arrival reached the Willamette, and Jason Lee hastened to Fort Vancouver, and found them already provided with comfortable quarters by John McLoughlin.

The principal person of the reënforcement, and one whom it was expected would supply the great need of the Mission, was Elijah White, M. D., from Tompkins County, New York. Dr White was little more than thirty years of age, with light complexion, blue eyes, and dark hair, and of slight, elastic frame. He was thin, too, when he landed from his long voyage, though not so thin as Daniel Lee, to whose shoes the leaden soles of Philetas would scarcely have been out of place.

His manners were of that obliging and flattering kind which made him popular, especially among women, but which men often called sycophantish and insincere. He was fond of oratorical display and of society, affectedly rather than truly pious, not altogether a bad man, though a weak one.[1] Yet we shall see that in such a society an effeminate man may be of no less consequence than a masculine woman, for here, as elsewhere, we find, as La Fontaine says, a "bon nombre d'hommes qui sont femmes." He had no talent, as Heinrich Heine would declare, but yet a character. And strange to say, the longer he dwelt upon this coast, the more he became smooth and slippery like glass, and flat withal, yet he could be round and cutting on occasions, particularly when broken on the wheel of adversity. He was accompanied by his wife, an infant son, and a lad of fourteen years named George Stoughtenburg, whom he had adopted. Mrs White was a cheerful, amiable young woman, and devoted to her husband.

Next we will mention Alanson Beers, a blacksmith from Connecticut, a man of low stature, dark complexion, thin features, and rigid alike in his views of religion and social propensities, an honest, worthy character, entitled to respect. He also brought his wife, a woman of comfortable physique and yielding temper, together with three children.

Another, W. H. Willson, a ship-carpenter, had

[1] *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 3.

sailed out of New Bedford on more than one whaling voyage. Judging from the commendations lavished upon him by his associates, he was a more than ordinarily worthy man. Tall, with a well-knit frame, cheerful temper, and an affectionate disposition, kind to children and animals, he was a general favorite, aside from the stories of sea-going adventures with which he was ever ready to entertain his listeners. Mr Willson was unmarried. While on this journey he studied medicine under White, and was afterwards given the title of Doctor, to distinguish him from others of the same name in Oregon, who spelled their name with only one l.[2]

The other adults of the reënforcement were Miss Anna Maria Pitman of New York; Miss Susan Downing of Lynn, Massachusetts, who was engaged to marry Cyrus Shepard; and Miss Elvira Johnson, from central New York. Miss Pitman was tall, dark, somewhat gifted with poetic genius, fervently pious, and full of enthusiasm for the missionary life. Miss Downing was a less pronounced character, personally attractive, possessed of a fine figure, dark hair, blue eyes, always exercising good taste in dress, and popular with her associates. Miss Johnson, winning in manner, and pure and zealous of spirit, was devoted to her duty. She, like Miss Downing, had dark hair and blue eyes, and was to become the wife of a missionary.

It was understood that Miss Pitman was to marry Jason Lee, if they should suit each other. The meeting, therefore, was of considerable interest, not to say embarrassment, to both, when McLoughlin having introduced Dr White, that gentleman brought the superintendent face to face with the lady. "A light blush rose to her cheek, and a slight trepidation, which, added to the charm of her manner, was all the evidence," says White, "that she was conscious of the peculiarity of her position." With Jason Lee it was

[2] *White's Ten Years in Or.*, passim; Mrs Wilson, in *Or. Sketches*, MS., 23.

different; he was evidently pleased that the society had sent him so prepossessing a woman for a wife, and took much pains to render himself agreeable.

On the day after Jason Lee's arrival, the whole company, including Captain and Mrs Hinckley, and Mr J. L. Whitcomb, from Honolulu, second officer of the *Diana*, set out in canoes for the Mission, the superintendent and Miss Pitman accompanied only by their Indian crew who understood no English, an arrangement which was apparently not disagreeable. At the close of the first day, which had been bright and musical, an encampment was made under the oak trees on the south bank of the Willamette where Portland now stands. The following day they reached the mouth of Pudding River, above the falls; and at an early hour on the third day, they finally disembarked at the landing of Baptiste Desportes McKay, at Champoeg, where horses were obtained, and the journey ended with a ride through French Prairie.

At the landing, a letter from Daniel Lee was found awaiting them, with the request that Dr White should hasten forward, as twelve persons lay sick at the Mission, some of them dangerously so. This pressing demand for assistance was responded to by the doctor, who, with Willson, Mrs Hinckley, Miss Pitman, and Miss Downing, mounted and rode off at a rapid pace in advance of the others.

The reception at the Mission might well have been disheartening to the new-comers. Think of those refined young women, fresh from the comforts and orderly ways of eastern homes, dismounting before the rude, substantial Mission house in the wilderness, to find its floors covered with the sick, lying on mats and blankets, more than a dozen out of the thirty-eight native children who found a home there down with fever, and the rest of the strange unkempt brood peeping through doors and windows for a sight of the strangers. With natural care Miss Downing had

dressed herself in trim, becoming style for the eyes of her affianced husband. This neat and gentle maiden, who would gladden the heart of any lover, happened upon Cyrus Shepard in the brown linen frock he wore about housework, and which did not by any means set off his tall symmetrical figure to advantage. It was a trying situation, but though Shepard deeply blushed in his embarrassment, he did not entirely faint away, and finally recovered himself sufficiently to welcome the ladies, after which he proceeded to lay the table with a brown linen cloth and tin plates, and to prepare dinner for the hungry travellers. The fare was venison, sausages, bread of unbolted flour, butter, cheese, and fried cakes, with wild strawberries and cream for desert.[3] The Mission must have done well, indeed, to have been able to offer supplies like this in the third year of its existence, it being too early in the season for a garden.

How sixteen new-comers were accommodated with beds when even the floors were occupied by the sick, not one of the chroniclers of early events has told us. Fifty-four, and for a short time fifty-seven, inmates found lodgment in a building forty by eighteen feet, the space increased by a flooring overhead, which was converted into an attic under the rafters.

Thus we see in the chemistry of west-coast adventure an adaptation of self to circumstances, not unlike that of sulphuric acid and water, which when mingled are contained in less space than they separately occupied.

In apparent enjoyment, the missionary recruits and their guests explored the country by day, and slept under the same roof at night; until, after a few days, Captain and Mrs Hinckley returned to Fort Vancouver.[4] Dr White, on looking about for the cause

[3] *White's Ten Years in Oregon*, 72.

[4] Mrs Hinckley died not long after her visit to Oregon, and Captain Hinckley married a daughter of Martinez of California. In describing the wedding festivities, Mrs Harvey says that dancing was kept up for three nights, with bull-fights in the daytime; feasting, and drinking a good deal, especially sweet wines. *Life of McLoughlin*, MS., 25.

of disease, found an accumulation of vegetable matter washed up by a freshet, decaying and poisoning the air. He also noticed that a dense grove of firs between the house and the river prevented a free circulation of air. At once he set the Indian boys to lopping off branches of trees, and clearing away rubbish; after which the general health improved.

Shepard was soon prostrated with fever, and Miss Downing's loving care was as the ministration of an angel in this dark wilderness; by good nursing he escaped with a short illness. Jason Lee was fortunate in the prosecution of his suit; much of the time being spent with Miss Pitman in riding about the country, and the favorable first impression deepened. On the 16th of June there was a large gathering in the grove near the Mission house, it being the sabbath, and the marriage of Cyrus Shepard was expected in addition to the usual service.

Jason Lee delivered a discourse on the propriety and duties of marriage, a ceremony too lightly regarded in this new country. When he had finished his remarks he said, "What I urge upon you by precept I am prepared this day to enforce by example;" and characteristic as it was, without such a purpose being suspected by any one, he went to Miss Pitman and led her forth in view of all the congregation. Then rose Daniel Lee, and solemnly read the marriage service of the Methodist Episcopal church, after which Mr Lee led his wife back into the assemblage, and returning took his nephew's place, and performed the same service for Mr Shepard and Miss Downing. When the marriages were duly solemnized, Lee preached his usual Sunday sermon, after which the communion service was held, and two members were admitted to the church.[5] The whole number of communicants was fourteen. There was a third marriage on that day, that of Charles J. Roe and Nancy McKay, some of whose brothers were in the Mission

[5] *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 25; *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 149.

school.[6] A wedding breakfast followed the conclusion of the services. Thus was inaugurated the marriage ceremony in the Willamette Valley, where heretofore christianized forms had not been deemed essential.[7]

The labor of settling the families now occupied all the time that could be spared from the harvest, in both of which Jason Lee and White assisted. Beers and Willson spent most of the summer in transporting the goods which arrived by the *Diana* from Fort Vancouver, by the slow conveyance of canoes. A log house and shop were built for Beers. White had a hewn-log house, in which the skill of the mechanic Willson was very serviceable. A school-room was added to the Mission house, and Miss Johnson installed as teacher. Mrs Shepard made and mended the clothing of the Indian children; the other women attended to the general housekeeping. A temperance meeting was held to keep alive the sentiment against the introduction or manufacture of intoxicating drinks, an effort in which the missionaries were successful for a number of years after the first formation of the Oregon Temperance Society.[8]

In August, Jason Lee made two exploring excursions in company with his wife and Mr and Mrs Shepard. The first one, under the guidance of a French settler named Desportes, was toward the upper end

[6] Roe had a strange history. He was born in New York in 1806, and came to Oregon in 1834. He early joined the Methodist church, in which for many years he had a good standing. On the death of his wife he married again in 1856 another half-breed girl of good character; but becoming jealous of her, he murdered her in 1859, for which he was hanged, professing to hope for forgiveness, and expressing a willingness to pay the penalty of his sin. *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 25; *Or. Statesman*, March 1, 1859.

[7] Parker says that when he urged the duty of the marriage relation he was met by two reasons for dispensing with a legal marriage: one, that if the men wished to return to their former homes they could not take their Indian families with them; and the other, that the Indian women did not understand the obligations of the marriage covenant, and might at any time, through caprice, leave them. *Parker's Jour., Ex. Tour*, 180–1.

[8] Wilkes, whose visit to the Willamette settlements occurred in 1841, expressed his surprise at the general regard for temperance, and opposition to distilling spirits among a class of men who might be expected to favor that indulgence. But they were all convinced that their welfare depended on sobriety. *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explor. Ex.*, iv. 386.

of the Willamette Valley, by an eastward circuit to the head waters of the Mollale, and down that stream to its junction with the Willamette, which he crossed, and returned to the Mission by the west side. The second excursion was to the sea-coast, at the mouth of the Salmon River, under the guidance of Joseph Gervais. Here they sojourned seven days, bathing in the salt water, and preaching as they were able to the Killamooks. Health and pleasure with light professional occupation was the object of these excursions, Shepard particularly being in need of change of air. This visit to the coast was an example which later became the custom, namely, for camping parties to spend a portion of the summer on the west side of the Coast Range, there to enjoy the sea-bathing and rock-oysters.[9]

Hardly had the excursionists returned to the Mission when news came of the arrival of a second reënforcement, which left Boston on the 20th of January, 1837, in the ship *Sumatra*, and arrived at Fort Vancouver on the 7th of September following. The *Sumatra* was loaded with goods for the Mission, and brought as assistants to Lee the Rev. David Leslie of Salem, Massachusetts, Mrs Leslie, and three young daughters, Rev. H. K. W. Perkins, who was to marry Miss Johnson, and Miss Margaret Smith, afterward the wife of Dr Bailey. Perkins and Miss Johnson were married November 21, 1837, Bailey and Miss Smith in 1840.

The family at the Willamette mission now numbered sixty members, including the native children, or nearly an equal number of Indians and white persons. It was a somewhat expensive process, one civilizer to every savage, especially where ninety-nine out of every hundred of the latter died under the infliction.

[9] A pear-shaped mollusk in a soft shell, incased in the sandstone of the sea-shore at the mouth of the Salmon River. It is found by breaking open the rock, and seems to have enlarged its cell as required for growth.

Therefore it was deemed best that the missionaries should divide. Lee had purchased a farm recently opened by a Canadian near the Mission premises, with a small house now occupied by Leslie and Perkins with their wives. White and Beers were domiciled in houses of their own, leaving the Mission building in possession of Lee, Shepard, Edwards, Willson, and Whitcomb, the latter at present employed as farm superintendent. In addition to these accommodations, it was decided to erect a hospital, which was accordingly begun.

The amount of labor caused by the addition of so many persons unprovided with the conveniences of living, the transportation of the second ship-load of goods, and the care of the cattle which came in October, retarded the progress of the Indian school, which, notwithstanding sickness and other drawbacks, was in a promising condition. Perhaps because his mind is empty of the loftier civilized conceptions, the savage is a ready scholar in the elements of learning, though he rarely masters more than these. A native lad in the class of Solomon Smith at Fort Vancouver learned reading, writing, and the whole of Daboll's arithmetic in eleven months, writing out all the examples for the benefit of the other scholars. Some simple penalty usually kept these primitive pupils in good order, such as being made to wear an old gun-lock suspended round the neck by a string.[10]

The first prejudice of the adult aboriginals against leaving their children at the Mission was not overcome, the school consisting chiefly of those who had no parents, which, if they were to be educated in any sense, was a favorable circumstance. But from pupils, the wards of the Mission were likely to become servants, while so much labor was required to make their teachers comfortable; and as the savage is by nature averse to labor, the demands made upon the children

[10] Individual instances of savage intellect are often found which are far superior to the average civilized mind.

at the Mission were sure to operate against the success of the school.

A meeting to organize a society for the benefit of the Calapooyas, held on Christmas-day, was well attended, as occasions for social intercourse among the settlers were rare. Moreover, the Mission being to the Willamette Valley in points of influence and prospective importance what Fort Vancouver was to the Oregon territory, great interest was felt in its projects. It was proposed to form an organization among the missionaries and settlers to induce the natives to locate at a branch mission on a piece of ground which they should be taught to cultivate, and that they should receive encouragement in their work, and assistance to build comfortable homes. About four hundred dollars were subscribed; Frenchmen and Americans contributing from five to twenty dollars each—men who themselves used dried deerskin in place of glass for windows, and who possessed few comforts beyond the actual necessities of life, and yet had farms well stocked. Much more than this would the people have done for Lee and his associates, for the visit of Slacum, the petition to congress, and the successful formation of the cattle company had inspired them with a respect and confidence in the judgment, energy, and enterprise of the Americans. The branch mission was a failure, as might have been foreseen; for though assisted with their farming, the natives were so indolent and apathetic that the attempt had to be abandoned.[11]

It was decided in missionary councils during the winter that the Dalles of the Columbia offered superior advantages for a mission station, and Daniel Lee and Perkins were assigned to that place. Gray states in his account of the Presbyterian missions, that he urged Whitman to establish a station at this point;

[11] *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 150.

and perhaps the latter intended to do so when he should be sufficiently reënforced. But when Gray returned from the United States in the autumn of 1838, he found the place already occupied by the Methodists.

About the middle of March 1838, Perkins and Lee proceeded by canoe to the Dalles, and selected a site three miles below the narrows, and half a mile from the Columbia River on the south side, where there was good land, springs of excellent water, a plentiful supply of pine and oak timber, and a fine view of the Columbia for several miles. Back of the chosen site the ground rose rather abruptly, and was lightly wooded with lofty pines. Standing like a watch-tower in the south-west was Mount Hood, whose icy cliffs wrapped in the silent sky flung back the sun's rays defiantly.

Assisted by the natives, who at first labored with zeal, hoping now to realize the good which their interviews with Parker had taught them to expect, a house was built in which Mrs Perkins came to live in May. Unlike the natives of the Willamette, those at the Dalles showed a willingness to be taught religion, assembling on Sundays, and listening with a sober demeanor to sermons preached through an interpreter, and this to the great encouragement of their teachers.

After several journeys by river to transport supplies, each of which took three weeks to perform, early in September Daniel Lee undertook the serious task of bringing cattle from the Willamette to the Dalles by an Indian trail over the Cascade Mountains,[12] being assisted in this labor only by the natives.

Lee's description of his squad of savages might be compared with Falstaff's remarks in mustering his recruits. There was an old Chinook, blind in one eye;

[12] Daniel Lee calls these mountains the President's Range, after Kelley; nor were they as a range ever otherwise formally named. It was from the circumstance that travellers so often said 'the Cascade Mountains,' to distinguish them from other ranges in the country, that they obtained their present name.

a stout young Walla Walla, knight of the sorrowful countenance, whose name signified 'destitute,' because he had gambled away his patrimony; also another Chinook with a flattened head and wide mouth, a youth wearing the dignity of manhood; another was a Walla Walla, also a gamester and a rogue, though shrewd; yet another was a cripple with short, crooked legs, who carried a crutch of great length on which he poised himself and swung his body forward three or four yards at a leap.[13] The sixth was to have been the guide, but failed to keep his engagement, which led to much trouble.

With ten horses belonging to the Mission, and ten others owned by the natives, and provisions for six days, Lee set out on his undertaking. The trail proved worse than he had anticipated, passing through ravines and across rapid streams, and often obstructed by fallen trees. Sometimes it lay along the margins of dangerous cliffs, and at the best was everywhere overgrown with underbrush. On the west side of the summit it was lost altogether under many generations of leaves. The six days' provisions were exhausted, and two of their horses, starving like themselves, were eaten before they had reached the Willamette, at the end of two weeks.

On this expedition Lee was overtaken, soon after leaving the Dalles, by John A. Sutter, then on his way to California. With Sutter was a party of mountain men, who were unwilling to follow the circuitous route taken by Lee's guides, and broke away from them, reaching the Mission in six days—a feat that was considered incredible but for the proof of letters sent by Perkins.[14] Eight days more passed, and as Lee had not yet returned, a party was forming to go in search of him, when he made his appearance.

A good guide being procured, and the services of

[13] *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 155.

[14] *Sutter's Personal Reminiscences*, MS., 7–8; *Sutter Co. Hist.*, 23; *Yuba Co. Hist.*, 34.

two white men engaged, the return journey was more easily accomplished. On the 5th of October, eight days from the Willamette, Lee arrived at the Dalles with fourteen head of cattle, to find that Perkins and his wife had gone to the old Mission to spend several months. Thus he was left during the greater part of the winter alone, with the exception of a man named Anderson, who had been hired some time previously to assist in roofing the house. As timber for fencing and for farming utensils was required before spring, and harness and implements had to be made, there was little time for mission work. Perkins returned to the Dalles with his wife and infant son in February, and farming was begun, part of the ground being held on shares with the natives, who helped to fence and plough it. But the soil, being newly stirred, did not yield abundantly; and the crop, small as it was, was partly stolen by other Indians, which so discouraged the laboring savages that they abandoned work and took, without leave, the vegetables raised by the missionaries. The latter, however, persevered, building another house in the summer of 1839, which was used for a church, and improving their home. And here for the present we will leave them, to return to the affairs of the parent Mission.

From this point we regard Jason Lee less as a missionary than as an American colonizer. When he first conceived the idea of appropriating the valley of the Willamette for the Methodist church under the protection of the United States is not very clear, for Kelley's account of Lee's intentions is open to the charge of prejudice, the former feeling himself unjustly treated. But there can be little doubt that the scheme took form on being encouraged by Slacum to look for the support of government in sustaining American supremacy south of the Columbia.

Lee had been long enough in Oregon when the first reënforcement arrived to have discovered that the tribes

of the Willamette Valley, and of the Columbia River west of the Cascade Mountains, were hopelessly diseased and depraved; and that to sustain an asylum with a few sickly orphans did not require the services even of those persons already on the ground. Nor was the character of the Dalles savages unknown to him as the banditti of the Columbia River region, whom there was little hope of benefiting. With the exception of the Umpqua and Rogue River valleys, and a portion of the southern coast, regions avoided on account of the hostile character of the natives, he had traversed the whole country south of the Columbia without finding a single place where there was any prospect of success in missionary work. Slowly it dawned upon his mind that he and his associates would have long to wait for the spiritual sky to fall, that they might catch some larks.

What should he do? Clearly as special agent of the Lord, the Lord did not require his services here? Should he then serve his fellow-man, or even himself? Might not he serve God as well by ministering to civilized man, ministering in things material as well as in things spiritual, assisting in establishing a grand and virtuous commonwealth, as by waiting on sickly savages? Would it not please his Maker as well if he became a little more a colonizer and a little less a missionary? and would it not please himself better? But how would the good people at home regard such a change of base, those earnest in sewing-societies, church sociables, and in gathering the Sunday-school pennies? Jason Lee felt that these would not approve of such a course; that in their eyes the one sickly savage was more than the ninety and nine of civilization, and that to abandon the attempt of conversion would be apostasy. He knew well enough that it was not the abandonment of his trust, or of any trust worthy of his manhood; in fact, there was nothing to abandon. Nevertheless, for the sake of the cause, which was just now beginning to assume

shape in his mind, he would deceive them a little; for the sake of progress and the God of progress, his God and theirs, he would not tell them all at once his whole heart.

For the old affair he had more help than he needed; for his slowly evolving purpose he had not enough. Moreover, the fruits of the sewing-societies and the Sunday-schools would be none the less acceptable to civilization than to savagism at this juncture. Therefore he decided in the winter of 1837–8 to visit the states and obtain more men and means.

Preparatory to this, Lee made a hasty excursion in March 1838 to the Umpqua Valley, to inform himself of its nature and advantages for the purposes now in contemplation. A convention was called in order to memorialize congress to extend jurisdiction over the Oregon colony. The memorial set forth that the settlement began in 1832, and had prospered beyond all expectation; that the people of the United States were ignorant of the value of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, of the mildness of its climate, the wealth of its resources, and its commercial advantages in relation to China, India, the Islands of the Pacific, and the western coast of America; for all of which reasons the government was urged to take formal possession without loss of time; not only because of its general importance to the nation, but for the consequent benefits to the colony. Moreover, if this were not done, evil to the settlers would ensue. The interests of the memorialists they declared were identical with those of the country of their adoption. They felt themselves the nucleus of a great state, and were anxious to give it at the beginning an elevated moral and intellectual tone. They were concerned, also, about the character of those who might emigrate to Oregon, and desired congress to say by whom the territory should be populated. Unprincipled adventurers, Botany Bay refugees, renegades from civilization now

roaming the Rocky Mountains, deserting seamen from Polynesia, and banditti from Spanish America were not wanted.

Thus far, said the memorial, the colony had depended to a great extent on the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had preserved peace among both the settlers and the natives by its judicious management. But they could not hope, as the settlements became independent of the fur company, that this condition of harmony would remain unchanged, with a mixed population, and without a civil code. The memorial is dated March 16, 1838, and signed by the ten preachers and laymen, Ewing Young and ten other colonists, and nine French Canadians.[15]

Toward the last of March, Lee left the Willamette Valley on his projected mission, and proceeded to Fort Vancouver, the Dalles, and Fort Walla Walla. Edwards accompanied Lee, having long contemplated leaving Oregon; yet although he had no disposition himself to remain, he gave favorable accounts of the country, during subsequent years, to the frequent inquiries for information on that subject.[16] There were also with them F. Y. Ewing of Missouri, and two Chinook boys named W. M. Brooks and Thomas Adams, who had been in the mission school for some time.[17] Possibly

[15] *25th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rept. 101; Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 235–6. The signing of this memorial by Young and his associates indicates that their standing was very different at this time from what it was when they first entered the valley and were ostracized by McLoughlin; otherwise they were signing a petition to exclude just such adventurers as themselves. Jason Lee had marked ability in using others for his own advantage; Edwards was his instrument in drawing up this memorial, enabling Lee himself to keep in the background. *Edwards' Sketch of Oregon*, MS., 17.

[16] Returning to Missouri, Edwards studied law, married, and during the Mormon troubles in that state in 1841 did military duty, receiving the title of colonel. In 1850 he emigrated to California, settling in Nevada County, where he engaged in politics as a whig and afterwards as a republican. In *Shuck's Representative Men*, 461–72, is a biography written by Robert E. Draper; and there is also his *Diary of the Willamette Cattle Company*, and *Sketch of Oregon*. He died May 1, 1869, leaving descendants in California.

[17] Daniel Lee does not mention them in this connection, and Hines in his *Hist. Or.*, 30, agrees with Lee. White states that Alexander, William, and John McKay accompanied Jason Lee, and that they returned in 1842 from the east; having gone there to be educated in the Wilbraham Academy, Massachusetts, where the Lees, years before, had completed their studies. Mrs

the three sons of Thomas McKay were also of the party, though there is a conflict on that point in the statements furnished.

The first tidings of his family received by Jason Lee were of a most painful character. At Pawnee Mission, near Council Bluffs, an express arrived from Fort Vancouver, sent by McLoughlin, with the intelligence of the death of Mrs Lee on the 26th of June, three weeks after the birth and death of a son.[18] Mrs Lee was buried among the firs that had overshadowed her when her marriage vows were taken, and her burial was the first of any white woman in Oregon.[19]

After crossing the Mississippi, Lee began a lecturing tour, drawing large audiences in the churches, where he presented the subject of Oregon with the ardor of an enthusiast, and stimulated his hearers to furnish funds and men for the settlement of that paradise of the west. The effect of his labors was to draw into his paradise "hundreds of immigrants," says White, "from the western frontier of the states, of a restless, aspiring disposition," who gave him subsequently no little uneasiness.[20] The interest at Peoria, Illinois, was augmented by the illness of Adams, the young Chinook, and by his remaining there through the

Elizabeth Wilson of the Dalles says that Jason Lee persuaded McLoughlin to have William C. McKay sent to Wilbraham instead of to Europe as was intended. There he remained two years, and then entered a medical college at Pleasanton, Vermont, and subsequently attended lectures at Albany. *Or. Sketches*, MS., 21–2; *Ten Years in Or.*, 140.

[18] *Hines' Hist. Or.*, 31–2; *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 153. Gray does not credit McLoughlin with sending the message the entire distance. *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 182.

[19] Later the remains were removed to Salem. 'In the mission graveyard at Salem, Oregon, is a grave, on the head-stone of which is recorded these words: "Beneath this sod, the first ever broken in Oregon for the reception of a white mother and child, lie buried the remains of Anne Maria Pitman, wife of Rev. Jason Lee, and infant son. She sailed from New York in July 1836, landed in Oregon June 1837, was married in July 1837, and died June 26, 1838, in full enjoyment of that love which constrained her to leave all for Christ and heathen souls. So we have left all, and followed Thee; what shall we have therefore."' *Portland P. C. Advocate*, Jan. 2, 1879. It will be observed that the inscription is incorrect as to the date of Miss Pitman's arrival, which was in May.

[20] *Ten Years in Oregon*, 91.

winter. In his imperfect English he told marvellous stories of the Columbia River, and the salmon it contained, which excited a desire among some of the young men to enter into business there, and to found a city at the mouth of that magnificent stream. Of this attempt details will be given in another chapter.

At New York Lee made his report to the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church, and upon his information a call was published in the *Christian Advocate and Journal* for five missionaries, and for laymen, physicians, farmers, mechanics, and young women for teachers. This call was responded to by thirty-six persons, and sixteen children increased the number to fifty-two, all whom the missionary society was asked to employ in Oregon in addition to those already there. The ship *Lausanne*, owned by Farnham and Fry of New York, and commanded by Captain Josiah Spaulding, was chartered, and laden with everything that an infant colony could require, at a cost to the society of $42,000. It was not without effort that this extraordinary sum was raised; and the talent of the Oregon superintendent is well illustrated in his success. Hines says that Lee met with warm opposition from some members of the board, who doubted the expediency of the measure; but the superintendent, who had just come from the field of operations, perseveringly and powerfully urged the claims of the Mission, and succeeded in obtaining more than he demanded, for in his opinion but two ministers were required, but in the estimation of a majority of the board, if there were to be as many laymen sent out as Lee called for, two ministers would not be sufficient.[21]

While the missionary board were considering the question of ways and means, the missionary colonizer

[21] *Hist. Or.*, 36–7. 'No missionaries,' says Blanchet, 'were ever despatched to represent the various sects in any land under more favorable auspices than were the ladies and gentlemen belonging to the Methodist Episcopal church ... amidst the "wilds" of Oregon.' *Hist. Cath. Church in Or.*, 12. 'It was

was not idle. The petition prepared in Oregon was forwarded by him to congress, whereupon Caleb Cushing of Mussachusetts wrote to Lee, desiring further information concerning the population of the country, the classes composing it, and the objects of the Mission. Lee replied from Middletown, Connecticut, January 17, 1839, that there were in Oregon belonging to the Methodist Mission 25 persons of all ages and both sexes, who would shortly be reënforced by 45 more, making 70. As a matter of fact, the number reached was 77. There were 16 persons belonging to the missions of the American Board; and about 20 settlers, missionaries, and others, going out from the western states in the spring; in addition to which there were about 45 men settled in the country who had Indian wives and half-breed children. After declaring the objects of the Mission to be the benefit of the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains, by the establishment of manual-labor schools, making it necessary to erect dwelling and school houses, to farm, to build mills, and in fact to establish a colony, Lee proceeded to the main object as follows:

"It is believed that, if the government of the United States takes such measures in respect to this territory as will secure the rights of the settlers, most of those who are now attached to the Mission will remain as permanent settlers in the country after the Mission may no longer need their services. Hence it may be safely assumed that ours, in connection with the other settlers already there, is the commencement of a permanent settlement of the country. In view of this, it will be readily seen that we need two things at the hand of government, for our protection and prosperity.

the greatest Methodist exodus probobly ever sailing from an eastern port to any coast.' *Wilson*, in *Or. Sketches*, MS., 23. 'This particular mission involved an expenditure of $42,000 in a single year... At the end of 6 years there were 68 persons connected with this mission, men, women, and children, all supported by this society. How a number of missionaries found employment in such a field it is not easy to conjecture, especially as the great body of the Indians never came under the influence of their labors.' *Olin's Works*, ii. 427–8; *Marshall's Christian Missions*, ii. 263–4.

"First. We need a guaranty from government that the possession of the land we take up, and the improvements we make upon it, will be secured to us. These settlements will greatly increase the value of the government domain in that country, should the Indian title ever be extinguished. And we cannot but expect, therefore, that those who have been pioneers in this arduous work will be liberally dealt with in this matter.

"Secondly. We need the authority and protection of the government and laws of the United States, to regulate the intercourse of the settlers with each other, to protect them against the peculations and aggressions of the Indians, and to protect the Indians against the aggressions of the white settlers.

"To secure these objects, it is not supposed that much of a military force will be necessary. If a suitable person should be sent out as a civil magistrate and governor of the territory, the settlers would sustain his authority. In proof of this, it is only necessary to say that almost all the settlers in the Willamette Valley have signed a memorial to congress, praying that body to extend the United States government over the territory.... You are aware, sir, that there is no law in that country to protect or control American citizens. And to whom shall we look, to whom can we look, for the establishment of wholesome laws to regulate our infant but rising settlements, but to the congress of our own beloved country? The country will be settled, and that speedily, from some quarter, and it depends very much upon the speedy action of congress what that population shall be, and what shall be the fate of the Indian tribes in that territory. It may be thought that Oregon is of little importance; but, rely upon it, there is the germ of a great state. We are resolved to do what we can to benefit the country; but we are constrained to throw ourselves upon you for protection." [22]

[22] *25th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rept. 101*, 3, 4.

In the light of this correspondence with Mr Cushing, Jason Lee's object in demanding so large a reënforcement of laymen is unmistakable. His declarations present him unequivocally as a missionary colonizer; and though born a British subject, and with no evidence to show that he ever became a naturalized citizen of the United States, yet he talks glibly of appealing to 'our own beloved' country for the establishment of laws.

In August 1838, at Lynn, Massachusetts, the old home of Cyrus Shepard and Miss Downing, a society called the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society was organized. The intention of this association was to send to Oregon at the outset not less than two hundred men with their families, to be followed by other divisions at intervals, until thousands should settle in the country. The constitution debarred all persons from becoming members who were not of good moral character and believers in the Christian religion, and the general expenses of the enterprise were to be paid out of a joint-stock fund, no member to be assessed more than three dollars a year. The society published a monthly paper devoted to the exposition of its objects, called the *Oregonian*. The officers were Rev. Samuel Norris, president; Rev. Sanford Benton, vice-president; Rev. F. P. Tracy, secretary; Rev. Amos Walton, treasurer. The committee consisted of fourteen members, ten of whom were ministers.[23]

While Mr Cushing was in correspondence with Jason Lee, he received letters from the secretary of this organization, and in reply to inquiries as to its object, was told in a letter of the 6th of January, 1839, that it was designed, first, to civilize and christianize the Indians, and secondly, to avail themselves of the advantages offered by the territory for agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

"Having reached the territory," says the secretary,

[23] *25th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rept. 101*, 25, 28.

"we shall seek such points of settlement as will afford the greatest facilities for intercourse with the tribes; for agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and also for defence, in case of hostilities from any quarter. For the benefit of the Indians, we propose to establish schools in which instruction in elementary science will be connected with labor; the males being made acquainted with farming, or some useful mechanical art, and the females with household duties and economy.... For our own emolument, we shall depend principally upon the flour trade, the salmon fishery, the culture of silk, flax, and hemp, the lumber trade, and perhaps a local business in furs. We shall establish a regular commercial communication with the United States, drawing supplies of men and goods from thence; and ultimately, we shall contemplate the opening of a trade with the various ports of the Pacific. A few years only will be required to fill the plains of Oregon with herds as valuable as those of the Spanish savannas, and various sources of profit will reveal themselves as the increase of the population shall make new resources necessary. We shall wish that no person in connection with us may have a claim upon any tract of land unless he shall actually settle upon and improve that land. . . . We shall, of course, be very unwilling to settle in a savage wilderness, without first having obtained a sufficient title to the land we may occupy, and without being assured that political obstacles will not be thrown in the way of our prosperity.

"We are confident that our settlement, more than anything else, would subserve the purposes of our government respecting the Oregon Territory. Our relations with the Indians will give us an influence over them which Americans will hardly obtain by any other means, and which, at a future day, may be found an advantage to the United States. We shall by the same means, as well as by our local situation, be prepared to hold in check the avarice of a foreign power,

and to establish and maintain American interests generally, with the least expense to the nation and the best prospect of bloodless success."

If Jason Lee had anything to do with the formation of this society, it does not appear; and yet its objects and those of Kelley were identical with his own; it is possible that Lee's action with the government in his colonization scheme led the society to consider itself forestalled, or possibly it depended upon the success of certain measures in congress which Lee put in motion; at any rate, the society never sent out any persons as emigrants.

On the 28th of January, 1839, the memorial drawn up before Lee left Oregon was presented to the senate by Linn of Missouri, and ordered to be printed. On the 11th of December, 1838, Linn introduced a bill in the senate authorizing the occupation of the Columbia or Oregon river; organizing a territory north of latitude 42° and west of the Rocky Mountains, to be called Oregon Territory; providing for the establishment of a fort on the Columbia, and the occupation of the country by a military force of the United States; establishing a port of entry, and requiring that the country should be held subject to the revenue laws of the United States. On the 22d of February he made a speech in the senate supporting a bill to provide protection for the citizens of the United States in the Oregon Territory, or trading on the Columbia River.[24] It is not necessary to follow the action of congress further, in this place. The reference is here made to point out the agency of Jason Lee in directing that action, and the strong influence he seems to have wielded in Washington as well as with the missionary board. How much his suggestions, especially concerning land matters, moulded subsequent legislation will be made evident in considering the action of the government at a later period. A proof of the favor with which his designs were regarded by the

[24] *Linn's Life and Services*, 224.

cabinet is furnished by the appropriation of considerable money from the secret-service fund, for the charter of the *Lausanne*, as related by one of her passengers.[25] Lee kept the secret, and so did those who gave him the money, until the boundary question was settled between the United States and Great Britain.

Everything being finally arranged, the mission family, a term by which this emigration was more particularly designated, assembled at New York, whence the *Lausanne* was to sail. Jason Lee had certainly improved his time in several respects; for the so lately bereaved husband was returning comforted with a new wife. Following are the names of the members of this reënforcement: Mr and Mrs Jason Lee; Rev. Joseph H. Frost, wife and one child; Rev. William W. Kone and wife; Rev. Alvan F. Waller, wife and two children; Rev. J. P. Richmond, M. D., wife and four children; Ira L. Babcock, M. D., wife and one child; Rev. Gustavus Hines, wife and one child; George Abernethy, mission stewart, wife and two children; W. W. Raymond, farmer, and wife; Henry B. Brewer, farmer, and wife; Rev. Lewis H. Judson, cabinet-maker, wife and three children; Rev. Josiah L. Parrish, blacksmith, wife and three children; James Olley, carpenter, wife and children; Hamilton Campbell, wife and children; David Carter, Miss Chloe A. Clark, Miss Elmira Phillips, Miss Maria T. Ware, Miss Almira Phelps, teachers; Miss Orpha Lankton, stewardess; and Thomas Adams, the Chinook whom Mr Lee had brought with him from Oregon. The other Chinook, Brooks, had died.

It was on the 10th of October, 1839, that the *Lausanne* sailed. The mission family gathered on the

[25] Fry and Farnham not being able to furnish a ship to bring out the missionaries for the price offered by the society, the government paid fifty dollars additional for each person. Parrish, who relates this, says also that he was not aware of this assistance by the government until he had been seven years in Oregon. *Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 8.

steamer which was to convey them to Sandy Hook, where the ship was anchored. Assembled there were many friends, and some strangers drawn thither by curiosity regarding so unprecedented a missionary exodus. Religious services were held conducted by the reverend doctors Bangs and Anderson, secretaries of the American Board. Stronger to move the heart than sound of brass or stretched strings is the music of the human voice; and as prayer and song fell upon the ears of those excited by hopes and fears, their souls were stirred within them, and sobs, tears, and embraces mingled with the farewell benedictions, as the travellers stepped from the steamer to the ship. No company ever sailed from that port whose departure was watched with more interest by religious and political circles.

The ship reached the harbor of Honolulu on the 11th of April, 1840, where all disembarked, and were hospitably entertained until the 28th, when they set sail for the Columbia River. During their sojourn, Lee held a conference with Kamehameha III., relative to an exchange of productions between the Islands and Oregon, and an informal treaty of commerce was entered into, to the manifest pleasure of the king.[26]

Before the *Lausanne* reached its destination, it may be well to glance over the condition of things at the Mission during Lee's absence. In June had occurred the death of Mrs Lee, as previously related; in August White's infant son was drowned, the first boy[27]

[26] *Hines' Hist. Or.*, 80.

[27] From a comparison of dates, it appears that the first child of white parentage born in Oregon was Alice Clarissa Whitman, born at Waiilatpu, March 4, 1837, and drowned in the Walla Walla River June 22, 1838. Jason Lee White was born in July 1836; he was eleven months old at the time of his death. *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 212. While canoes were the only means of travelling by water, fatal accidents were not infrequent, which makes the coincidence in the mode of death of the first two infants less notable. On the 15th of September, 1837, Joseph Beers was born, and in 1882 resided in Marion Co., the oldest American native of Oregon. On the 15th of November, 1837, a daughter named Eliza was born to Mr and Mrs Spalding at Lapwai, and she afterward married a Mr Warren of Brownsville, Linn County. The next birth was that of Jason Lee's son, June 6, 1838, who died soon after, and who was

born in the Willamette Valley of white parentage. This accident occurred at the cascades of the Columbia, a canoe containing Mr and Mrs Leslie and Mrs White and her infant being upset. Mrs White and Mr Leslie escaped with great difficulty.

The house occupied by Mr Leslie was burned in December, with all the personal effects of the family, a loss the more severe on account of his wife's serious illness. Their pecuniary loss was met by the board.

An event of this year was the forming of the second cattle company, numbering twenty-seven men, under the command of T. J. Hubbard. Its object, like that of the first, was to bring cattle from California. In pursuance of this plan, a party proceeded as far south as Rogue River, where they were attacked by natives. The men scattered in the mountains, some wounded and suffering many hardships, but all finally reaching the settlements.

Late in December protracted revival meetings were held at the Mission, Mr Leslie preaching with earnestness and power; and besides his own daughters and White's adopted son, there were added to the church a number of the settlers and many of the natives.[28]

At the Dalles, Lee and Perkins found the effect of their teachings very different from what they had expected. It was easy for an Indian to believe in miraculous power; old superstitions concerning spirits

the fifth child, and third boy—though J. L. Parrish claims him for the first. See an article in the *Riverside*, a weekly newspaper published at Independence, Oregon, June 13, 1879. On the 7th of December, 1838, a son was born to Mr and Mrs Walker, at Waiilatpu, the first boy of white parentage in eastern Oregon, or what is now Washington. *Olympia Transcript*, Dec. 16, 1876; *Seattle Pacific Tribune*, Dec. 1, 1876; *Corvallis Gazette*, June 23, 1876. A son was born to Mr and Mrs W. H. Gray about this time. In the autumn of 1838 a daughter was born to Mr and Mrs Shepard, named Anna Maria Lee, and a son to Mr and Mrs Perkins.

[28] Among the converts were James O'Neal, Charles Roe, S. G. Campbell, Baptiste Desportes McKay, J. P. Edwards, and Solomon Smith. Daniel Lee says: 'The scene was awful. Poor C. felt as if he was just falling into hell, and with great earnestness besought the prayers of all present. Prayer went up, and shouts of praise followed, for the soul of the prisoner was soon released. About nine o'clock several of the boys and girls came rushing into the room, fell upon their knees, and began crying aloud for mercy.' *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 167–8. The excitement continued for some weeks.

of good and evil, and their influence on human affairs, prepared them to accept the Christian belief, but in a sense surprising to their teachers. The principal point in the Methodist faith is the efficacy of prayer, which was impressed upon the minds of the Indians in their first lessons, causing them earnestly and sincerely to strive for that state which they imagined necessary to the working of the spell which was to bring them their hearts' desires. On being disappointed, they lost faith, and reproached their teachers.

Said an Indian to Perkins, "I want a coat. Perkins replied, "You must work and earn one." "Oh," says the neophyte, "I was told if I took your religion, and prayed for what I wanted to have, I should get it. If I am to work for it, I can earn a coat at any time of the Hudson's Bay Company."[29]

On one occasion a chief at the Cascades set adrift a canoe belonging to Daniel Lee in order to sell him one of his own. To secure his friendship and prevent a repetition of the theft, Lee presented him a musket, which so affected the chief that when he met another of the missionaries at Fort Vancouver he assured him that his people now all obeyed Lee's instructions, and as for himself, "his heart was full of pray."[30] They often stopped in the midst of their supplications to demand pay for praying.[31]

In the autumn of 1839 the natives at the Dalles, by this time convinced that prayer did not place them on an equality in worldly goods with their teachers, became so intrusive and committed so many thefts that the missionaries began to fear for their lives; and Daniel Lee took the precaution to provide himself with arms and ammunition from Fort Vancouver, intending to garrison the mission house, and to resist any hostile attempts. To his relief and astonishment on returning to the Dalles he found Mr Perkins in the midst of a "work of God," among the Indians. Several of

[29] *Raymond's Notes*, MS.
[30] *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 230.
[31] *Oregon City Argus*, April 18, 1857.

the natives had begun to pray, and one was converted, which greatly encouraged Mr Perkins.

The meetings were continued all winter, Mr and Mrs Perkins following up the good beginning and visiting all the tribes along the river in their neighborhood. In the spring a camp-meeting was held among the Kliketats, when twelve hundred Indians were present, and during the winter and spring several hundred, thought to be converted, were baptized and admitted to communion.

The account of a large Indian church at the Dalles, shortly afterward published in the east, created great enthusiasm among religious people. But this was hardly written before the converts began to fall from grace. A chief was killed by an enemy, and the hearts of the Indians were cast down. "What was the good of praying?" they asked. Their chief had prayed, and now he was dead. If prayer would not avert death, why pray? If they remained Christians they would not be permitted to avenge the murder of their relatives, or to fight their enemies; and though Perkins restrained them at that time from violence, they were not satisfied that it was the better way. They assumed an importance, too, now that they were Christians. Perkins sent away a native boy for some misconduct, soon after which the boy died. This became the occasion for demanding pay, as Perkins was held responsible for the death of one of the tribe. Their demands not being complied with, the savages became insolent, and indemnified themselves by stealing horses. They even pretended to be offended because they were not honored by a visit from the superintendent of the missions, from whom they probably hoped to receive presents for their efforts at good behavior. To control these capricious natures was beyond the power of any missionary.

Elijah White was again afflicted by the death, on the 16th of August, 1839, of his adopted son,

George Stoughtenburg, who, while attempting to ford the Willamette on horseback, about a mile below the Mission, was drowned. That autumn Shepard was seriously ill with a scrofulous trouble, which necessitated the amputation of his leg; he did not long survive the operation, his death occurring on the 1st of January, 1840. For two years he had suffered from the disease. He left a wife and two infant daughters.[32]

Thus passed away from his work in the Methodist Mission its most faithful and successful servant, whose gentleness had won him the hearts of all his associates. He was a large, fine-looking man, but little over forty years of age at the time of his death. With Shepard died all interest in the hopeless scheme of educating the native children of the Willamette. We cannot blame his associates for feeling its hopelessness; to them it was a rootless Sahara, upon which the sun might beat for centuries without bringing forth fruit enough to feed a whippoorwill. And yet his was a self-sacrificing, generous nature, that never lost faith in the power of love to redeem the lowest humanity.

Such was the condition of affairs in the spring of 1840. The *Lausanne* not arriving as early as was expected, Daniel Lee, who had been waiting a few days at the Willamette Mission, grew impatient, for his betrothed was among the passengers, and he hastened forward to meet the ship at its anchorage. Solomon Smith accompanied him with his Clatsop wife, who wished to return to her own people as a missionary, having experienced a change of heart; and on the 16th of May they started on their trip, and held religious services with the Indians wherever they found it convenient to land. They had just encamped on the 21st of May at Chinook, when a vessel was seen coming up the channel under Cape Disappointment, and anchoring in Baker Bay. Lee lost no time in going on board, and in meeting his uncle and the

[32] He was born in Phillipston, Massachusetts, August 16, 1799.

great reënforcement. Miss Maria T. Ware was the one above all others whom he sought; for to her he had been engaged for some time, and on the 11th of June following they were married.

Jason Lee, impatient over the necessary delay, and anxious as to the accommodation of so large a company, took a canoe and went in advance to the Mission. When there he handed over the ship's list of passengers, headed by the name of Mr and Mrs Jason Lee, that he might notify his old companions that he had returned with another wife. He made no remark on the subject, and nothing was said to him. Deeply stirred had been the sympathies of his old associates as they thought of his return to his desolate home; and now the revulsion of feeling was so great that the supremacy of Jason Lee in their hearts was thenceforth a thing of the past.

CHAPTER VIII.

CLOSE OF THE METHODIST RÉGIME.

1840–1841.

SETTLEMENT OF CLATSOP PLAINS—THE NISQUALLY MISSION SITE—DANIEL LEE RETURNS EAST—THE WILLAMETTE STATION—TRIALS OF INEXPERIENCED PIONEERS—EXPLORATION OF THE UMPQUA VALLEY—WHITE DETERMINES TO LEAVE OREGON—ACCIDENT AT THE FALLS—THE OREGON INSTITUTE—PLAN TO DRIVE MCLOUGHLIN FROM THE FALLS—CONDUCT OF WALLER—PARTS PLAYED BY HASTINGS AND ABERNETHY—INGRATITUDE AND TRICKERY—LEGALITY OF CLAIMANTS TO OREGON CITY—LEE SUPERSEDED BY GEORGE GRAY—PROGRESS OF COLONIZATION.

As soon as information of the arrival of the *Lausanne* reached him, McLoughlin sent fresh bread, butter, milk, and vegetables to meet the vessel in the river; and on her arrival at Fort Vancouver, he invited the whole ship's company to take tea with him. The invitation was accepted by Captain Spaulding and several others. On the following day rooms were made ready for the whole fifty-three persons, who were quartered and fed at Fort Vancouver during the several weeks unavoidably spent before places could be assigned them.[1]

Having acquainted himself with the existing condition of the Mission and the territory, Jason Lee allotted to the colonists their several fields of labor. The points selected covered the places likely to be of most importance in the country when the United States should extend jurisdiction over it.

[1] *Journal of Spaulding*, in *U. S. H. Rept. 330, 27th Cong., 2d Sess.*; *Anderson's Northwest Coast*, MS., 263; *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser. 9; *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 90.

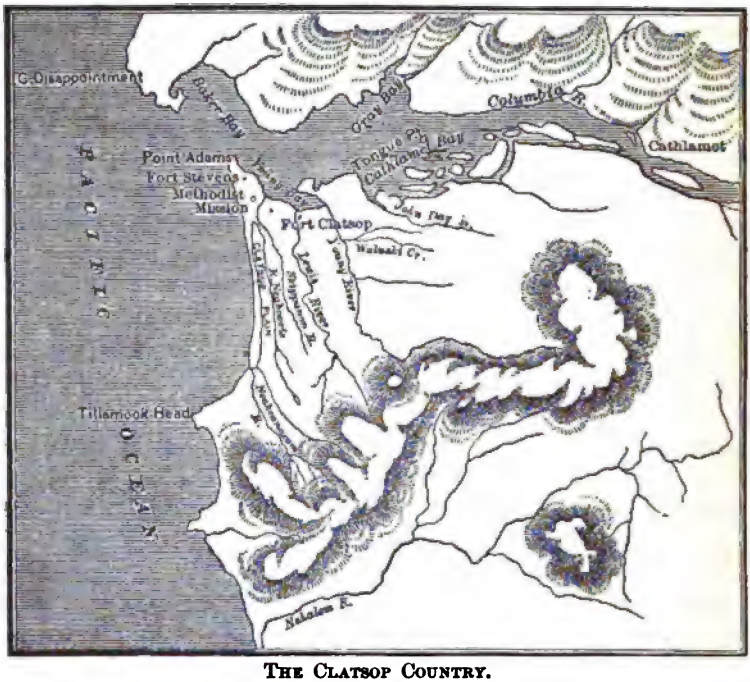
Before returning from the mouth of the river, Daniel Lee had already accompanied Solomon Smith and wife to Clatsop plains, where were good farming and pasture lands, though not conveniently situated, being eighteen miles from Astoria, and reached by eight miles of rather rough water in Meriwether Bay, or as it is now called, Young Bay, and ten miles of land journey among alternate marshes and sand-dunes. But as Americans foresaw that a city would be built at the entrance of the Columbia, few considerations would weigh against the importance of securing this location. Daniel Lee and Frost were accordingly detailed to erect a station on the Clatsop plains. Lee seems to have preferred staying at the Dalles, and Frost spent most of the summer between the missions and the forts of the fur company, apparently waiting for some one to provide a pleasant place for him.

At length, after his family had been a long time the guests of Mr Birnie[2] at Astoria, Kone was sent as associate, and they set to work with the aid of Solomon Smith to prepare a residence among the Clatsops; but having only Smith to assist them, and Frost being afraid of canoes, bears, savages, and, in a general way, of everything not to his liking, they made little progress, and the autumn rains came on before the green log house was ready for use, or the Mission goods had been brought from Astoria. However, by the time the December storms had set in, with the strong south-west winds and floods of rain, they had comfortable covering; but at night their floor was often covered with sleeping Indians of the filthiest habits, and through the leaky roof the water came down upon their beds. These trials were increased by the difficulty of getting to Astoria for supplies, the marshes being overflowed and the plains a quagmire Fortunately, about Christmas they were reënforced by Calvin Tibbets, who had determined to settle near the sea-coast, and by a negro named Wal-

[2] See *Portland Daily Oregonian*, Dec. 29 1854; *Roberts' Rec.*, MS., 100.

lace, a deserter from the American brig *Maryland*, then in the river.

With this help the missionaries began to explore for a road to the landing which should be on firm ground; instead of which, they found upon the shore of the Columbia, about half-way between Young Bay and Point Adams, four miles from their house, a convenient place for building; and it was decided



THE CLATSOP COUNTRY.

that it would be better to remove to this place, where supplies could be brought all the way in boats, than to make a road to the locality first selected. Upon this idea Frost, Kone, Smith, and Tibbets at once commenced preparations for building. By the 10th of February, 1841, a one-story log house, twenty by thirty feet, floored and roofed with rough lumber from the Fort Vancouver mill, was ready for occupation,

and thither the families and goods were removed. Mrs Kone, who had been ill, was carried in a chair the greater part of the way, while Mrs Frost and the children walked, there being as yet no horses or cattle on the plains, and the distance by the beach, the only practicable route, being seven miles.

As soon as the household goods were transported to the new place, Smith and Tibbets put up cabins near the mission house, and the settlement of Clatsop may be said to have begun,[3] especially as Smith set about cultivating a vegetable garden on the plains as soon as spring opened; and with much difficulty brought down two horses by boat from the Willamette settlements.

During the summer, Frost and Solomon Smith explored a route to the Willamette by way of the coast and the Tillamook country. So far as known, no white men had visited this part of the coast since 1806, when Captain Clarke partially explored it, and the trail from Tillamook Bay to the Willamette Valley was then known to the Indians only. But Smith and Frost, with an Indian guide, reached the settlements in safety at the end of two weeks, and drove back to Clatsop by the same route some cattle and horses, to stock the plains of that excellent grazing region.

In November of this year, in view of his wife's health, Mr Kone applied for permission to return to the states, which was granted, and he took leave of Oregon after a residence of a year and a half, leaving no grand achievement, and harboring in his breast no regrets for his lost occupation. Before leaving, he had been detailed to superintend the mission farm opened at Clatsop, and a house was in process of erection for him, at the original spot chosen by Lee and Frost, on the plains. In 1842 Mr Raymond and family, with Miss Phillips, occupied this house, and took charge of the farm. Frost also removed thither

[3] *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explor. Ex.*, iv. 344.

in August of this year. Another settler at Clatsop arriving about this time was Peter Brainard, a young man who came from California with Calvin Tibbets, who brought thence a small band of cattle which was driven to Clatsop plains.[4] This was the second cattle expedition in which Tibbets had been concerned, and it added much to the prosperity of that portion of the country. Tibbets and Smith now built themselves houses on the plains, which with the farming improvements gave the place an air of permanent occupation.

In February 1843, Frost requested and received his discharge from the Mission. He was suffering from a disease of the throat which unfitted him for exposure, besides which Mrs Frost, a kindly and cheerful woman by nature, was much broken down and discouraged. They sailed for California and the island of Oahu, August 14, 1843, on the bark *Diamond*, Captain Fowler, of Scarborough, England, leaving J. L. Parrish as principal of the Clatsop mission.

The actual mission work performed among the Clatsops was small, for what has been said of the Willamette people is true of the Clatsops, nothing could exceed their degradation. When Frost and Kone had been long enough among them to discover their character, they were glad to avoid them, though when they came in the way, which was seldom, they were instructed for conscience' sake.[5]

During the previous year a mission station had been begun near Fort Nisqually, on Puget Sound, by Willson. And now Richmond and family are sent thither, Miss Clark accompanying them. It is meet that Miss Clark and Willson should marry, therefore they marry. The site of the Nisqually mission was well chosen for an American settlement north of the

[4] *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 324.

[5] *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explor. Ex.*, iv. 344. Parrish, who succeeded Frost, but who is an extreme advocate of the excellence of aboriginal character, says: 'I have seen as bright converts among the Indians as the whites, and that, too, among the Clatsops.' *Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 37.

Columbia, particularly if the primary object was to curb the pretensions of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.

A comfortable log house was ready for the reception of Richmond's family, and a tract of land was claimed on the creek between the fort and the sound. The place had many attractions, lying on the borders of a beautiful prairie skirted with flowering wild shrubbery, and divided from the sound by a belt of magnificent timber. In the vicinity was a picturesque lake where Wilkes celebrated the Fourth of July in 1841, and gave it the name of American Lake, which it still bears.[6]

The neighborhood of the fort, and of the large Steilacoom farm, held for sheep-raising by an Englishman named Heath, under a lease from the Hudson's Bay Company, redeemed the spot from the loneliness and savagery which made the Clatsop plains at first such an uninviting field. But for agricultural purposes the plain on which the mission was situated was almost worthless, being a bed of gravel covered with a light soil, soon exhausted, and requiring more rain to bring a crop to maturity than fell there during the summer.

It was not the want of success in farming which caused Richmond to ask for his discharge at the end of two years; but because the prospect of usefulness among the natives would not warrant his remaining as a missionary,[7] and he had not enlisted to spend his time and talents as a farmer. His family had suffered from the acclimatizing process, aggravated by the inconveniences of their rude manner of living; and on the 1st of September, 1842, he left for home in the American vessel *Chenamas*, bound for Newburyport, and the Nisqually mission was not long afterward

[6] The lake was never formally named; but on account of the American celebration and the residence of the missionaries, was called American Lake, and sometimes Richmond Lake, by the settlers of the Puget Sound Company. The prairie was also called the American Plains; and by the natives, 'Boston Illehee.' *Evans' Puyallup Address*, in *New Tacoma Ledger*, July 9, 1880.

[7] *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 323.

abandoned. In the same vessel sailed Mr Whitcomb and family of the Willamette mission, his health being so broken that it was doubtful if he would live to finish the voyage.

At the Dalles, Lee, Brewer, and Mrs Perkins continued to labor at mission work and farming for three years after the arrival of the great reënforcement; but in August 1843, Daniel Lee with his wife went east in the same vessel with Frost. At the same time Dr Babcock dissolved his connection with the Mission, and went with his family on a voyage to the Hawaiian Islands. Toward the close of the summer of 1844 Perkins, after Shepard the most faithful missionary of the Methodists in Oregon, also returned to the United States, and the station at the Dalles, now no longer by any construction worthy to be called a mission, was placed in charge of the Rev. A. F. Waller.

Mrs Shepard, after a year or more of widowhood, married J. L. Whitcomb, superintendent of the mission farms, a worthy man. Mrs Leslie, who had had two daughters since her arrival in the country, lingered in a feeble condition until February 1841, when she died, leaving to her husband the care of five girls, the oldest of whom was fourteen. Had the missionaries been as well acquainted with the needs of their bodies as they were with those of their souls, it would have been better for themselves, their families, and their undertakings altogether. But they knew no more of hygiene, and its influence on the human spirits, than most other excellent people of the same day and cultivation, and they suffered accordingly.

Let us now return to the parent Mission, and follow its fortune from the year 1840 It was soon evident to the mind of Jason Lee that a better locality than French Prairie, for both missionary and colonization purposes, might be found. The French Canadians still owed allegiance to Fort Vancouver. A society of

low, illiterate half-breeds was not the best soil in which to plant American institutions. Let him have something apart from all the world, plenty of room, plenty of agricultural land, with some commercial facilities if possible, and he would clear the ground for a commonwealth of intelligent freemen such as God would delight to prosper. If there were another Columbia River that he might occupy like McLoughlin, placing the natives under tribute, temporal and spiritual, holding the key to the interior by means of a metropolis on the bank of a stream into which ocean vessels might easily enter and depart, with a nobler ambition than to collect the skins of wild beasts, with loftier aims than to keep the country and its inhabitants wild and primitive, and stay the hand of progress —in such a case, on this western shore he might rival Raleigh, Smith, Penn, or any of the great founders of empire on the eastern seaboard.

But unfortunately the River Umpqua was not like the Columbia; it offered no safe refuge for the fleets of nations, no site suitable for a commercial metropolis. It is true, there were savages present, however averse to conversion, and these might serve as capital in enlisting money and recruits among the religious people of the east. But something more than money and recruits was needed if success was to attend his efforts; there must be good land, and pleasant surroundings, and all the conditions stimulating to progress. Thus in pursuance of the grand scheme, more and more possessing him, prior to his departure for the east Jason Lee had selected his position where there was land enough, and all other absolute requirements of the ambitious superintendent, the fine harbor, the magnificent river, alone forgotten by nature, being wanting.

The spot thus chosen was a large and fertile plain, south of the original site, and only ten miles distant. The place was called by the natives Chemeketa, that is to say, 'Here we Rest.'[8] In front, on the west,

[8] *Brown's Willamette Val.*, MS., 12

flowed the Willamette between banks verdant with lowland vegetation. Beyond rose the beautiful Polk county hills, while to the south-east was the line of the Waldo heights, whose softer crests melted into the horizon. On the east a forest stretched away toward the purple shadows of the Cascade Range, overtopped here and there by a snowy peak; groves of fir and oak at intervals studded the great plain toward the north. A stream furnished mill privileges; and the whole was central to the great Valley Willamette. The late reënforcement, except the portion detailed elsewhere, as hereinbefore narrated, had been reserved for service at French Prairie, and to his new and charming Place of Rest, on his return from the east, Jason Lee immediately removed his people. Between two thousand and three thousand acres were selected, and a part put under cultivation, but owing to the scarcity of men accustomed to farm labor and to the inexperience of those present, they were obliged to leave the larger part untouched. A mill was greatly needed, and nearly the whole summer was consumed in getting milling and farming machinery on the ground.[9] And when the mill was there, the missionaries could not put it together. The stones were set running the wrong way, and when at work threw out all the wheat.[10] The sagacious superintendent had

[9] 'We were three or four months before we had any of the conveniences of living, though we had a fleet of five canoes plying between the Mission and Fort Vancouver, where the cargo of the *Lausanne* was lying. There were so many of us, and the cargoes had to be so light in the canoes, that it was a little for this family and a little for that family, and a little for the other. We did not fetch any furniture of any amount, because we brought a cabinet-maker, a chair-maker, and such like. There was not a board in the country. Everything had to be taken out of the fir-trees. Our supplies were brought in the canoes to Champoeg, and then we had to get them up by horses and wagons to the Mission, twenty miles above. Well, you start one of those men down with a team to Champoeg, and if after loading up, a whipple-tree broke, or the hold-back to the wagon, or anything of that kind, he had not the first idea of how to fix it up, and abandoned the whole thing on the prairie.' *Parrish's Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 10, 26. Wilkes reported finding farm machinery and other valuable property, which the society in the east had paid for, exposed to the weather and uncared for about the Mission premises.

[10] Parrish says further, that for a long time he used to get as good flour out of a large coffee-mill he had brought with him as could be made at the mill; and that 'half the men who came to Oregon ought to have stayed at home.

feared some such results from the employment of preacher-mechanics, and had insisted on bringing out a majority of laymen; but the board had thought preachers were wanted for missionary work, and missionary work was their first consideration, while the dominant idea in the mind of Jason Lee was now material development.

As soon as possible the manual-labor school was removed to the new location, that the Indian boys might be made useful on the farm. This school now numbered twenty-five, and the colonists were too busy to instruct these young natives, had they so desired.[11]

It was impossible to complete the work of removal the first year, or even the second, or until a saw-mill should be in operation, it being the intention to build larger and better houses than those at French Prairie. Of those at the latter place the largest and the best was the hospital, now completed, a frame edifice two stories high, with a double piazza, in which the Mission steward, Abernethy, and three other families, were comfortably domiciled.

After starting the new settlement of Chemeketa plain, which went by the name of "The Mill," for want of a better, Jason Lee set out to select a location among the Umpquas, intending even yet to make a settlement at the mouth of their river. In company with White and Hines he proceeded without difficulty or adventure as far as Fort Umpqua, at the junction of Elk Creek and the Umpqua River,[12] where they were entertained at the house of Gagnier, agent in charge

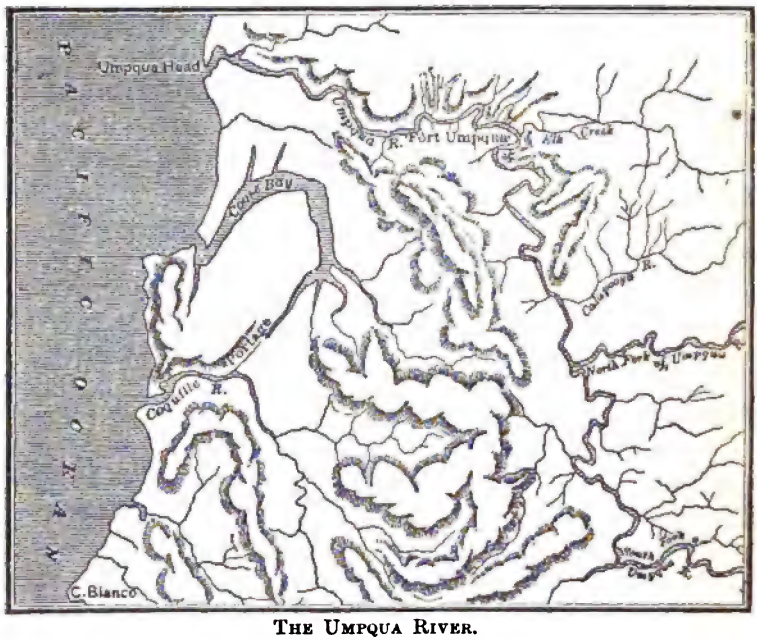
They knew nothing about the hardships of a new country; and the hardships were such that they could not endure them.' He pays a handsome tribute to the women, saying that they were 'noble, splendid women, who stood right up to their duties as well as the men.' Having to eat boiled wheat for a year was nothing compared to the loss of society, which was their greatest trial. *Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 26.

[11] Wilkes says that in 1841 no fixed plan of operations had yet been digested, and that the boys, nearly grown up, were ragged and half-clothed, lounging about under the trees. *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explor. Er.*, iv. 378–9.

[12] White relates that on arriving at the top of Elk Mountain, a very sharp and rough ridge, Hines arose in his stirrups, and exclaimed in a very earnest manner: 'My wife never climbs this mountain!' *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 127.

of the fort.[13] From this point White returned to the Mission, and Lee and Hines continued their journey toward the coast.

Hines, who is the journalist of this expedition, particularly mentions that Gagnier was unwilling that they should go alone amongst the coast tribes, telling them of Jedediah Smith's adventure near the mouth of the river. It happened, however, that while the



THE UMPQUA RIVER.

subject was under discussion, a party of natives arrived at the fort from the coast, in charge of a brother of Gagnier's Indian wife; and Lee proposed that this fellow should go with them as guide, and to explain the object of their visit. It was finally agreed that the wife of Gagnier should also be of the party; and

[13] Fort Umpqua at this period was a substantial storehouse of hewn slabs, a miserable dwelling, and a barn enclosed in a stockade. About eighty acres of land were enclosed, but very little improvement of any kind was ever made at this post, the farming being confined to cultivating a few vegetables and raising cattle. *U. S. Ev., H. B. Co. Claims*, 12–14, 21–3.

with these two guides and interpreters Lee and Hines proceeded.

The observations upon the river, the scenery, and the facilities for settlement in Hines' journal are clear and to the point. No difficulties were found in reaching their destination, the natives seeming well disposed toward their visitors, who held their devotional services with the bands among whom they encamped, and found them easily impressed, and apt at imitating the forms of devotion.

On arriving at the coast, where were three small villages, they pitched their tent at a little distance from the larger one, and through their interpreter asked an audience. Mrs Gagnier delivered the address of Lee, explaining the character and purpose of his mission to them, and asked for an expression of their wishes in the matter.[14]

Hines says the natives appeared solemn and showed a desire to learn; but he hardly dared hope they understood much, though they appeared interested. The prayers impressed them, and the singing of Heber's missionary hymn drew fixed attention. Lee promised them a teacher in the following summer, and the two missionaries then returned to Fort Umpqua,[15] where they found Gagnier much alarmed for their safety.

A chief of the tribe at the fort had seen a patent

[14] The chief's troubled conscience seems to present itself, as he says: 'Great chief! we are very much pleased with our lands. We love this world. We wish to live a great while. We very much desire to become old men before we die. It is true we have killed many people, but we never have killed any but bad people. Many lies have been told about us. We have been called a bad people, and we are glad you have come to see for yourselves. We have seen some white people before, but they came to get our beaver. None ever came before to instruct us. We are glad to see you. We want to learn. We wish to throw away bad things and become good.' This was spoken with violent gestures and genuflections, rising on tiptoe, and stretching his hands above his head, then bending almost to the earth. *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 104–5.

[15] Hines remarks upon the country: 'We found but little land along the river which holds out any inducement to emigrants, the country on both sides becoming more and more mountainous. Whatever the country may be back from the river, it is certain that along the stream it can never sustain much of a population. Hills upon hills and rocks piled upon rocks characterize almost the whole distance from Fort Umpqua to the Pacific Ocean.' *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 103.

shot-pouch which Lee wore about his neck, and believed it a bad medicine with which he intended to kill them all. Gagnier's wife knew this, and with her brother kept watch through the whole night, never permitting the camp-fire to go out, or her eyelids to close.[16] It was not strange that these savages should be alarmed at the shot-pouch. Like the tribes of the Columbia, they had suffered from such fatal diseases since white men came as to have been nearly swept from the earth. Hines tells us that all he could obtain knowledge of in that part of the country were no more than three hundred and seventy-five souls, and expresses his conviction that the doom of extinction is over this wretched race; and that the hand of Providence was removing them to give place to a people more worthy of so beautiful and fertile a country—a doctrine comforting to the missionary who fails to perceive its unfair reflection on Providence.

With such convictions, it was scarcely to be expected that a mission should prosper anywhere; so after a hasty exploration of the Umpqua Valley, the missionaries returned home, and the subject of a station in that quarter was dropped.[17]

Soon after his return from the Umpqua country, a misunderstanding arose between Jason Lee and Elijah White. The reason of the rupture remains somewhat of a mystery. White himself said it was an honest difference of opinion in relation to the best way of carrying on the Mission work.[18] The truth is,

[16] Gray, that most mendacious missionary, makes Gagnier an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company for the killing of Hines and Lee, and to render more plausible his horrible hypothesis, he twice falsely quotes from Hines.

[17] A newspaper at the Sandwich Islands, commenting on the secular nature of the work in the Willamette Valley, said: 'As settlers we wish them every success, but advise them to drop the missionary in their communications, nowadays.' *Polynesian*, Nov. 27, 1841.

[18] *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 131. Parrishmore pointedly ascribes it to a misappropriation of the Mission funds in Lee's absence. *Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 108. Gray, who hated White, assigns dishonesty, treachery, libertinism, etc., as the reasons which brought about the difference. *Hist. Or.*, 175; and Raymond accuses him of improper relations with the Indian girls of the Mission school. *Notes of a Talk*, MS., 4. Wilkes says that he was told, when in Ore-

that White, who was prone to take the upper hand, led Leslie, the superintendent of the work, to spend more money in building the hospital than was approved of by Lee, who had other uses for the money. The disagreement ended in the resignation of White,[19] who took passage for home in the *Lausanne*, in the summer of 1840. As a penalty for being too much influenced by White, Leslie was left without an appointment, and consequently without a salary, when the next annual meeting of the society came round. The affair was unfortunate for the superintendent. White presented himself to the board, and pleaded his cause, which resulted in having his expenses paid, though he was censured for deserting his post without leave from the board. Then he quietly resumed his former practice. Letters received by the *Lausanne* from Richmond, Kone, and others, comfirmed the unfavorable impression which White was able to give of the superintendent's course.

In these dissensions, which arose soon after the assignment of the reënforcement to their several places, Hines, Waller, Abernethy, and Parrish, with the laymen employed in the Willamette Valley and in the more favorable locations, appeared on the side of the superintendent, while the others arrayed themselves against him. Probably dissatisfaction with their circumstances had much to do with this ill feeling. Some complained that they were not allowed to visit the Mission in the Willamette, or their missionary predecessors, before being sent to the wilderness to hew out uncomfortable homes. But Lee knew the value of time, and the necessity of providing shelter and getting established before winter, and had cause, besides, to fear that if they saw the Willamette Valley they might not go so willingly to another quarter. The misunderstandings which disturbed

gon, that White had been of much service to the country. *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explor. Ex.*, iv. 375.

[19] *A Copy of a Document*, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc. Trans.*, 1880, 50.

the harmony of the Methodist colonists arose to a great degree from the unavoidable trials of a new settlement in the hands of inexperienced persons.

It does not appear, from anything discovered in the writings of the missionaries, that Jason Lee told his associates of his correspondence with agents of the government. Had the disaffected members of the Mission known that they had been used to carry out a colonization project, some expression of their resentment on finding themselves the victims of so worldly an artifice would somewhere appear. But the colonization scheme is never alluded to as a cause of their disappointment.[20]

White having resigned, Babcock was called from the Dalles to the Willamette, where the usual summer sickness was disabling the Mission. Chills and fever, ending in a low typhoid, prostrated the white population and carried off the natives.[21]

[20] Frost says that he does not in the least regret that he embarked in the enterprise, although in the three years he remained in Oregon he ruined his health for life, for he believes he accomplished some good to the Indians by preventing murders, which were formerly frequent amongst them. *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 331–2. Hines, who wrote later, when more was known about the facts, excuses the fraud on the missionary society by explaining that the Indians Lee expected to teach nearly all died during his visit east. *Oregon Hist.*, 236.

[21] Parrish says 500 Indians died in the Willamette Valley in 1840. Undoubtedly an over-estimate, as this number of Indians could not be found within the range of observation of the missionaries in that valley. *Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 35. Of the personal affairs of the missionaries from 1840 to 1843, I have gleaned the following: In the summer of 1840 J. L. Parrish lost his eldest son by the prevailing fever. On the 18th of January, 1841, a daughter was born to Mr and Mrs Perkins. On the 16th of February of the same year David Carter of the late reënforcement married Miss Orpha Lankton of the same. Miss Lankton was daughter of Abra and Thankful Lankton of Burlington, Connecticut, born October 2, 1806. Mr Carter died in 1849 or 1850, and Mrs Carter again married Rev. John McKinney of the Methodist church. She had three sons by her first husband. She died at Sodaville, Linn County, September 26, 1873. *Portland P. C. Advocate*, Nov. 13, 1873. On the 23d of March Mrs Daniel Lee presented her husband with a son, who was named Wilbur Fisk. It was about this time that Mr Whitcomb married Mrs Shepard. On the 6th of May, a young man named Joseph Holman, whom I shall have occasion to mention in another place, and who arrived at Fort Vancouver on the day the reënforcement landed, married Miss Almira Phelps of the mission family. Miss Phelps was born July 29, 1814, at Springfield, Massachusetts, and educated at Wilbraham Academy in that state. Mrs Holman died at Salem, Oregon, October 23, 1874. *Salem Mercury*, Oct. 23, 1874; *Portland Advocate*, Nov. 13, 1874. On the 28th of February, 1842, Mrs Jason

About the 1st of September of this year, Cornelius Rogers, who had removed from the Presbyterian missions of eastern Oregon to the Willamette Valley, married Satira Leslie, a girl of fifteen years, eldest daughter of David Leslie. The marriage took place under circumstances at once trying and romantic. Mr Leslie, having lost both his wife and his salary as a member of the Mission, was much concerned about his future, and thinking that in some way a voyage to the Islands, where he would place his elder daughters in school, would help to settle matters for him, made arrangements to embark with his family in the brig *Chenamas*, the same vessel in which Richmond, Whitcomb, and Bailey, with other families, left Oregon in September 1842. Rogers' proposal came at the last moment, and the marriage took place on board the *Chenamas;* and it was there arranged that the two older girls should accompany their father, while the two younger should remain in the country with their married sister.

Rogers returned to the Mission with his wife and the two children, and prepared to remove to the Willamette Falls. During the winter Raymond arrived from Clatsop to procure supplies for that station, which were to be carried in a large canoe belonging to the Mission, and in which Rogers determined to embark for the falls, with his wife and her youngest sister. Dr White, who had lately returned to Oregon, and Nathaniel Crocker, of Lansingville, New York, who

Lee gave birth to a daughter, soon after which she died, leaving to the superintendent only his infant girl as the fruit of two marriages. This child was named Lucy Anna Maria, after both of Lee's wives, and was taken charge of by Mrs Hines, to whom she became as a daughter. Her own mother, whose maiden name was Lucy Thompson, and who was from Barre, Vermont, was buried in the cemetry at the new mission, to which place and to the same grave were removed the remains of that Anna Maria after whom the child was named. Miss Lee was educated at the Oregon Institute and Willamette University, in which she was employed as a teacher for several years. When about twenty-two years old she married Francis H. Grubbs, another teacher, and taught with him in the university and several other Methodist schools. Her constitution was delicate, and she died in 1881 at the Dalles, at the age of thirty-nine years. *Hines' Or. Hist.*, 316; *Hines' Or. and Institutions*, 240, 247, 257; *Independence, Or., Riverside*, June 13, 1879; *S. I. Friend*, iv. 53.

had also lately arrived in the country, being desirous of seeing the mouth of the Columbia, decided to accompany Raymond to Clatsop.

A sad calamity awaited them. The Willamette was running with great force, the winter rains having swollen its flood. On coming to the rapids above the falls the passengers all left the canoe, which was thereupon let down with a rope to a point near the landing, where Mr and Mrs Rogers, Aurelia Leslie, White, and Crocker, with four Indians, again entered it. Raymond and three Indians remained on shore to hold the line while the canoe dropped down to the proper landing. It passed this by a short distance, and was brought alongside a large log, used as a landing. As White touched the shore with one foot he endeavored to hold the canoe with the other, but the slight impetus given it by his first movement, and the force of the current catching the bow, which was up stream, threw the canoe out into the river, which was moving on toward the cateract with resistless power.

It was in vain that those on shore endeavored to cling to the rope. They were drawn into the water, and forced to relinquish their hold to save themselves. Then the freed craft darted like an arrow toward the fatal verge; a cry of anguish went up from the doomed, the plunge was made, and five white persons and two Indians descended into the rocky vortex from which none of them ever issued alive. Only two of the bodies were recovered, those of Rogers and Crocker. Two of the Indians sprang into the water when the danger was first perceived, and gained the shore.

This event occurred February 4, 1843, and threw a gloom over the whole Mission colony. The previous December James Olley, local preacher and carpenter to the Mission, while endeavoring to raft some logs to the mill, to make lumber for finishing his house, had been drowned in the Willamette. The loss of life by

sickness and accident in the Mission circle in the space of five years was thirteen, ten being in the flush of youth and prime of life, while three of them were children. When to these is added the mortality among the Indians and half-breeds, the impression might be that the climate was deadly. Yet the climate of Oregon has since been proven exceedingly salubrious; and to the causes of disease already enumerated, there seems nothing more to add except the theory advanced by some writers, that a disease when newly introduced into a country is most virulent.[22]

Meanwhile the superintendent is perfecting his plans for the foundation of a Methodist state. At the first annual meeting of the Methodist society in May 1841, a committee is appointed to select a location for the manual-labor school, which is chosen not far from the Mission mills, on the southern border of the Chemeketa plain. Here a building costing ten thousand dollars is erected, in which an Indian school is kept for about nine months, beginning in the autumn of 1842, which comes to a close through the causes long tending in this direction.[23]

The education of the children of the missionaries and settlers, now twenty in number, is a subject more pleasing to contemplate than the education of the natives. On the 17th of January, 1842, a meeting is held at the house of Jason Lee, who is now living at the new settlement, to prepare for the establishment of an educational institution for the benefit of white children, and a committee appointed to call a public meeting and prepare the way; the committee to consist of J. L. Babcock, Gustavus Hines, and David Leslie, the last named having returned from the Islands in April, by the fur company's vessel *Llama*, Captain Nye. The meeting is held on the 1st of February following, at the old mission house on

[22] *Darwin's Voyage round the World*, 434–6.
[23] *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS., 4; *Hines' Or. and Institutions*, 160.

French Prairie, and it is decided to begin at once to lay the foundation of this institution. The name selected is the Oregon Institute; and the first board of trustees are Jason Lee, David Leslie, Gustavus Hines, J. L. Parrish, L. H. Judson, George Abernethy, Alanson Beers, Hamilton Campbell, and J. L. Babcock.

Present at this meeting is the Rev. Harvey Clark, an independent Presbyterian missionary, who is then living on the Tualatin plains, and about whom more will be said by and by. This gentleman exhibits much interest in education, and is put upon a committee with Lee, Hines, Leslie, and Babcock to select a location. Their choice falls on a beautiful situation, at the southern end of French Prairie; but owing to a deficiency of water, this spot is abandoned for a plain known s the Wallace Prairie, about three miles north from the mill, on an eminence half a mile south of the farm of one Baptiste Delcour, and near a fine spring of water.

Having proceeded thus far, a prospectus is drawn up on the 9th of March, and a constitution and by-laws on the 15th.[24] Soon $4,000 is pledged, in sums

[24] This constitution and by-laws may be found in full in *Hines' Oregon and its Institutions*, 143–51, a work of 300 pages, devoted to advertising the Willamette University. It was published in New York in 1868. By the first article the institute is placed forever under the supervision of some religious denomination. By the second it is made an academical boarding-school, until it shall be expedient to make it a university. The third declares that the object of the institution is to educate the children of white men; but no person shall be excluded on account of color who possesses a good moral character, and can read, write, and speak the English language intelligibly. The religious society which shall first pledge itself to sustain the institution is by article fourth entitled to elect once in three years nine directors, two thirds of whom shall be members of this society, whose duty it shall be to hold in trust the property of the institution, consisting of real estate, notes, bonds, securities, goods, and chattels; and any person subscribing $50 or more shall be entitled to a vote in the business meetings of the society relating to the institution. The school is divided into male and female departments, to be taught and controlled by male and female teachers; and placed in charge of a steward, whose duty it is to provide board and to direct the conduct of the resident pupils; besides which a visiting committee of the society shall examine all the departments, and make public reports. Annual meetings are to be held to fill vacancies in the board of trustees, appoint visiting committees, and transact other business. Should no society pledge itself before the last of May 1842 to sustain the institution, then the business shall be transacted

ranging from $10 to $500, all but $350 being subscribed by the missionaries. On the 26th of October it is resolved at a meeting of the Methodist society of Oregon, to make the pledge required by the constitution of the proposed institution of learning, and assume proprietorship of the property in the hands of the board, which is done. A building is commenced soon after, under the superintendence of W. H. Gray, formerly of the Presbyterian mission; and in the course of the year following $3,000 has been expended in its construction.

There was one more scheme in which the superintendent of the Oregon missions was deeply interested, but to which he did not care publicly and personally to commit himself. This was no less than the acquisition for the Methodist colony of the water-power at the falls of the Willamette. To this place, as we have seen, John McLoughlin held the prior claim, and the unsettled condition of the Oregon boundary allowed him to maintain it; but from this the Methodists were plotting to drive him, standing ready to take his place when he should have been forced to abandon it.

It was a plan worthy of persons who, professing piety, had turned the sanctified gold of their supporters into personal profit.

Their intention was made known by report to McLoughlin soon after the arrival of the great reënforcement. He at once notified Lee of facts with which every one was already well aware, namely, that possession had been taken of the place by him in 1829, at which time, and since, improvements had been made, consisting of several houses and a mill-

by those who subscribe $50 or upwards, until such time as some society shall so pledge itself. The by-laws provide that no subscription is binding until some society has come forward and assumed the responsibility of maintaining the Oregon Institute, and as nothing can be done without funds, and as there is no other Protestant religious society in the Willamette Valley able to take charge of the proposed school, it falls, as it was intended to do, to the Methodist Episcopal church.

race. Furthermore, he declared his intention to hold the property as a private claim when the boundary should be finally determined. The ground claimed was "from the upper end of the falls across to the Clackamas River, and down where the Clackamas falls into the Wallamette, including the whole point of land, and the small island in the falls on which the portage was made."[25]

The correspondence appears to have been begun in July 1840, soon after Waller had been sent to establish a mission at the falls, in which he was generously assisted by McLoughlin, who gave him permission to erect a house out of some timbers that had been previously squared by himself for a mill. After giving the notice mentioned, McLoughlin concluded his letter with these words: "This is not to prevent your building the store, as my object is merely to establish my claim."

A satisfactory reply was returned, and Waller proceeded in the erection of a building, divided into two apartments, one of which served as a dwelling and the other as a store-room for the goods of the Mission. And yet Hines tells us that Waller was left without an appointment by Lee in 1840, in order that he might assist "in the erection of mills on the Wallamette River."[26]

For some reason no mill was begun at the falls at this time; but in 1841 Felix Hathaway, in the employment of the Mission, began to build a house on the island, at which McLoughlin again took alarm and remonstrated with Waller in person. At this interview Waller, without directly denying the intention of the Mission to hold the site at the falls, quieted the apprehensions of McLoughlin by stating that he had taken a claim on the Clackamas River below McLoughlin's claim. At the same time Hathaway desisted from his building operations on the island,

[25] *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 1st ser. 12.
[26] *Hines' Or. Hist.*, 90.

while McLoughlin himself put up a small house, and matters ran smoothly until the autumn of 1842, when a report was again brought to McLoughlin that Waller intended to dispute his claim at the falls; but on speaking to Lee on the subject, the superintendent assured him that Waller had no such design.

By this time, however, McLoughlin had caught the drift of missionary operations in Oregon, and began again improving his claim, having it surveyed and laid off in lots, some of which he gave and some he sold to persons who arrived in the country that season. The first to select a lot in Oregon City, as the site of the first town in Oregon was named by its founder, was Stephen H. L. Meek, a mountain man who had desired to settle in the Willamette Valley. When Meek proceeded to select a spot on which to build, he was interrupted by Waller, who asserted that he claimed thereabout a mile square, within which limits building-lots were at his sole disposal.

Informed by Meek of Waller's position, McLoughlin appealed to Lee, who replied, modifying his former denial of such intentions by alleging that he had only stated that he understood Waller to say that he set up no claim in opposition to McLoughlin's; but that if the doctor's claim failed, and the Mission put in no claim, he should consider his right paramount to that of any other; adding "from what I have since heard, I am inclined to think I did not understand Mr Waller correctly, but I am not certain it is so. You will here allow me to say, that a citizen of the United States by becoming a missionary does not renounce any civil or political right. I cannot control any man in these matters, though I had not the most distant idea, when I stationed Mr Waller there. that he would set up a private claim to the land."[27]

According to the recommendation of Lee, McLoughlin next sought an interview with Waller, who reiterated his former assertion that he set up no claim

[27] Letter of Jason Lee, in *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 1st ser. 5, 6.

in opposition to him, but should, in case he withdrew, be the next claimant. He further requested leave to keep possession of some land he had cleared, and allow some persons to whom he had given lots to retain them; a proposition to which McLoughlin agreed, provided an equal amount of land should be given to him out of Waller's claim adjoining, to which Waller consented. But before the survey was completed, Waller retracted, saying, before two or three witnesses, "Do you keep yours, I will keep mine."[28] But the next day he had again altered his mind, and wished to make the exchange. When McLoughlin declined, Waller returning several times to the subject, the doctor at length paid him for clearing the land in question, and again the matter rested. In this transaction Lee, thinking the charge made by Waller extortionate, appeared in his character of superintendent, and refused to accept more than half the amount demanded, the negotiations being conducted through McLoughlin's agent, Hastings, an American lawyer, who came to Oregon in company with White, two months previously.

Waller's vacillating course could only be explained upon the hypothesis that he was endeavoring to hold the falls claim for the Mission, and the land at the Clackamas for himself, and was unwilling to trust the Mission to make good the land he had agreed to exchange with McLoughlin. Meantime the purpose of the missionaries was being developed by the formation of the Island Milling Company in 1841, three fourths of whose members belonged to the Mission, and the remainer being settlers, who were allowed to take that amount of stock in order that it could be said that the enterprise was a public one, and not a missionary speculation. But had it in reality been to benefit the settlements, a site thirty or forty miles

[28] The witnesses were L. W. Hastings, J. M. Hudspeath, and Walter Pomeroy, immigrants of 1842. *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS., 20–1. Hudspeath laid off Oregon City as far as Eighth street in the autumn of 1842. *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 24.

up the valley would have been preferable.[29] In October 1842, the Island Milling Company had erected a saw-mill on the island part of McLoughlin's claim, intending to follow it as early as possible with a grist-mill.[30]

McLoughlin now became satisfied that it was the intention of the missionaries to seize his land, and deprive him of his rights. Hence to save his interests he built a saw-mill on the river bank near by, and gave notice that a grist-mill would soon be added. Indignant at what they chose to term the arbitrary proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, a petition to congress was framed. This was done by George Abernethy, who kept the Mission store at Oregon City, and from notes furnished chiefly by Robert Shortess,[31] a convert of the Mission before Lee had turned his attention to colonization and self-aggrandizement. The memorial is known as the Shortess petition, for Abernethy was unwilliing to have his own name connected with it, and to avoid this it was copied by Albert E. Wilson, employed in an American trading-house established in Oregon City in 1842.[32]

This petition was of considerable length, and set

[29] 'This is the best site in the country for extensive flouring or lumber mills.' *Farnham's Travels*, 172.

[30] *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS., 25–6; *McCracken's Early Steamboating*, MS., 6.

[31] Robert Shortess was a native of Ohio, but emigrated from Missouri. He arrived in 1839 or 1840 alone, or nearly so. I find him writing a letter to Daniel Lee in January 1841, in which he announces his conversion to God from a state of gloomy infidelity. He was a man of good attainments and extensive reading, but possessed an ascetic disposition and extreme party feelings. He immediately adopted the anti-Hudson's Bay tone, and maintained it, as it suited his temperament. He invented the phrase 'salmon-skin aristocracy,' as applied to the gentlemen of that company. Gray, who thoroughly sympathized with his anti-British spirit, says that he and many others should have a pension for maintaining the rights of Americans on the west coast. Shortess and Gray represented the extreme of American fanaticism. Shortess died in 1877 near Astoria, where he had lived as a recluse. *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 297; *Strong's Hist. Or.*, MS., 35; *Applegate's Views*, MS., 38; *Ashland, Or., Tidings*, Sept. 14, 1877; *Crawford's Nar.*, MS., 135; *White's Emigration to Or.*, MS., 5, 6.

[32] Such is the statement of Shortess made to Elwood Evans by letter in 1867. Abernethy was afraid that his standing with the fur company would be injured if his connection with the petition was known. *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 260.

forth the manner in which the British fur company opposed American enterprises. The futile Wyeth attempt to establish trade on the Columbia was cited, and the failure of the Island Milling Company to drive McLoughlin from the possession of his claim; the milling company had commenced operations on the island before being informed by McLoughlin that the land was claimed by him, so they affirmed. McLoughlin held a number of claims in the Willamette Valley, and American settlers feared to let him know they had taken up land lest their supplies should be cut of. Besides, a house had been erected at the falls by order of Mr Slacum, to secure the claim for him.

McLoughlin was further charged with refusing to allow the fur company's vessels to become common carriers between the Hawaiian Islands and the Columbia River, and with paying one Hastings, a lawyer, five dollars for drawing a deed of a lot in Oregon City. McLoughlin had no right, they said, to the land he granted or sold, and could not have any until congress gave it to him. They also complained that United States officers of distinction were entertained at Fort Vancouver with lavish attentions, and even a credit was granted to the sub-Indian agent, then in the country, furnishing him with funds and supplies to carry on his business.

The real motive of the memorial was betrayed in that paragraph which complained that when the milling company had, with much exertion, built a sawmill at the falls, McLoughlin had done the same with ease; and asserting that now competition had been introduced in the lumber and flour trade, their business would be practically worthless, because McLoughlin would be sure to undersell them. To cure these evils and others, they asked congress to take immediate action, and that good and wholesome laws should be enacted for the territory.[33]

[33] The petition contained several flagrant misrepresentations, among others that when a cow died, which had been loaned to the settlers, they were re-

The petition was signed by about sixty-five persons, half of them not having been more than six months in the country. The signers knew little of the underhand war waged on McLoughlin by the missionaries and those whom they controlled in the Willamette Valley; they affixed their names without caring to know the tenor of the document, and because they were asked to do so.[34]

While neither Jason Lee nor Abernethy signed the petition, for which they were ashamed to become responsible, nevertheless their influence was felt. Shortess, having secured signers enough to present a respectable showing, made a forced voyage to overtake William C. Sutton, then on his way to the States. He came up with him at the Cascades, and delivered to him that absurd document which afterward figured in the reports of congress as the voice of the people, to the great annoyance of McLoughlin. The doctor

quired to pay for it. McLoughlin refers to this statement in *A Copy of a Document*, in *Trans. Or. Pion. Assoc.*, 1880, and says that cattle were sometimes poisoned by eating a noxious weed that grew in the valley, but that no attempt was ever made to recover their value from the settlers. In all the statements made, it was intended to create a feeling in the congressional mind that the British fur company was directly and maliciously oppressing American citizens, and to gain credit themselves for the patriotism with which these tyrannical measures were resisted.

Then followed in a puerile strain a recital of injuries inflicted upon American trade by the fur company. An instance of this was in the Canadian practice followed by McLoughlin of having the wheat-measure struck to settle the grain in purchasing wheat from the settlers; forgetting to state that when it was found that Oregon wheat weighed 72 lbs. instead of 60 lbs. per bushel, a difference of sixpence was made in the price. In regard to the charge concerning Hastings, they neglected to state that he was an American, or that the deeds he drew up were for lots freely given to American citizens; nor did they remember that they had no legal claim themselves to the land in Oregon. It was forgotten that Slacum had promised the Canadians that their rights to their lands should be respected; and that McLoughlin was not different from any other settler, except that they asserted that he held the Oregon City claim for the Hudson's Bay Company, and not for himself, which he denied. *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 1st ser. 30. And they seemed to forget that in times past they had been the recipients of the very favors that they now complained were bestowed on their countrymen.

[34] In a letter to McLoughlin, written by L. W. Hastings, the latter expresses his surprise that the petition should have been signed, not only by many respectable citizens, but by several of his party who arrived in the previous autumn; and that on inquiry they were ready to affirm they had been imposed upon, and that they supposed they were only petitioning the United States to extend jurisdiction over the country. *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 1st ser. 38.

addressed a letter to Shortess, April 13, 1843, asking for a copy of the petition circulated by him, and which he was informed contained charges injurious to himself and the company he represented, but Shortess refused his request.[35] Such were the methods by which the members of the Methodist Mission exhibited their hostility to the man who had pursued one unvarying course of kindness to them and their countrymen for eight years, with no other cause than their desire to deprive him of a piece of property which they coveted. "As might well be imagined," says one, "many of the brethren fell into temptation after buffeting Satan some years in Oregon."[36]

White was the only one who openly protested against this treatment. He wished to prevent the petition from being sent, and that it might be partly deprived of its force, wrote to the United States commissioner of Indian affairs that had any one not connected with the fur company been at half the pains and expense to establish a claim at the Willamette falls, there would have been few to object.[37] Some who signed the petition with too little care, or under the influence of its framers, years afterward wholly repudiated the sentiments therein contained.[38] The constant defamations with which he was pursued under the name of patriotism, for years after the arrival of the great Methodist reënforcement, must have warped any character less strong and generous than McLoughlin's, but with him it was not suffered to change his settled policy of benevolence toward all men, though it sometimes betrayed him into exhibitions of resentment, or of helpless protest against

[35] *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 292–6; *Niles' Reg.*, lxv. 26; *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 21.

[36] Mrs Edwards, in *Or. Sketches*, MS., 23–4.

[37] *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 200–1; *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 260.

[38] Says Medorum Crawford: 'The universal sentiment of the country then and now is, that Dr McLoughlin was a good man,. . . that his heart was right, and that he never did wrong; that he encouraged society to a greater degree than any other man in the country.' *Missionaries*, MS., 6, 7; *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 20.

the devices of his enemies. Little of that gratitude did he receive which is the heartiest praise to man, the holiest prayer to heaven. "Nil homine terra pejus ingratio creato," says Ansonius. Well might the settlers on the Willamette have profited by the jurisprudence of Lilliput where ingratitude was a capital crime. Informed of the accusations brought against him and the Hudson's Bay Company in the petition of 1843, he exclaimed indignantly: "Really, really, the citizens are themselves the best judges if we did so or not, and I am certain if they are so lost to a sense of what is due to truth as to make such an assertion, it is useless for me to say anything." "I am astonished," he adds, "that there should be one person in the country to say such a thing of me."[39]

The milling company continued to make improvements upon the island part of McLoughlin's claim, while Abernethy, Waller, and others still resided on the site of the town. In the autumn of 1843 there arrived the first large immigration overland, of families, many of whom remained at Oregon City acquiring building-lots and making improvements. This aggregation of people and means at this place increased the determination of the missionaries to secure the land to themselves, and alarmed McLoughlin still more lest they should succeed.

Among the immigrants was one John Ricord, of tall, commanding person, insinuating address, and some legal knowledge, all shown off conspicuously by personal vanity. He signed himself "Counsel of the Supreme Court of the United States," whatever that might mean, and was both admired and laughed at by his fellow-travellers.

[39] Letter to L. W. Hastings, in *Private Papers*, MS., 1st ser. 41. This brings to mind the remarks of a clerk of the Hudson's Bay Company, John Dunn, referred to in a previous chapter. 'The patriots,' at Vancouver, he says, 'maintained that the doctor was too chivalrously generous, that his generosity was thrown away, that he was nurturing a race of men who would by and by rise from their meek and humble position, as the grateful acknowledgers of his kindness, into the bold attitude of questioners of his own authority and the British right to Vancouver itself.' *Dunn's Or. Ter.*, 177.

The question of legality of claims at Oregon City was every day growing more important to the contestants. They now took the ground that McLoughlin as a British subject was precluded from holding land by preëmption. Thereupon McLoughlin consulted Ricord on points of American law, but found him unwilling to give advice. Not long after, however, he visited Vancouver in company with Jason Lee and made a proposition in writing to the following effect: He would become McLoughlin's legal adviser, provided the doctor should so alter his preemption boundaries as to exclude the island part of his claim, on which had been erected the saw and grist mills of the Island Milling Company, conceding to them as much water as was necessary for their mills; that Waller should be secured in the ultimate title to two lots in Oregon City, already in his possession, and other lots, not to exceed five acres, to be chosen by him from lots unsold; and that Jason Lee should be in like manner secured in the possession of certain lots in Oregon City not described or numbered, to be held for the Methodist Episcopal Mission; all of which conditions he considered necessary to an amicable arrangement.

For his services in attempting to establish McLoughlin's preëmption rights, Ricord demanded the sum of three hundred pounds sterling, to which was added the request that the fact should not be made public that he had been retained by McLoughlin, and the suggestion that some person not directly connected with the Hudson's Bay Company should be appointed as McLoughlin's agent at Oregon City. Should these terms not be complied with, he should proceed, at the earliest opportunity, to the Hawaiian Islands. "These terms of Ricord's," says McLoughlin, "appeared to propose an amicable arrangement, when all the sacrifices were to be made by me." Ten days were asked in which to consider this proposition, at the expiration of which McLoughlin wrote to Ricord

that some of his proposals were inadmissible, as he could not dispossess certain persons of lots already deeded, to give them to others; and that he did not see how he could accept his services on the conditions offered. To this Ricord replied that it was the only proposal he could make in respect to his friends at the falls, and affecting to regret the circumstance for McLoughlin's sake and the sake of the peace of the community, expressed the hope that the matter might be arranged by an interview with Waller.

Soon afterward McLoughlin offered to compromise, by yielding to the Mission eight lots for church and school purposes in Oregon City, to be chosen out of unoccupied property, the Mission to restore certain lots held by them which were necessary to his business, on one of which Abernethy was living; he offered to pay for Abernethy's house whatever it should be adjudged to be worth by five commissioners, two chosen by the Mission, two by himself, and the fifth by the four. In addition, he would allow the Mission to retain one lot on which they had built a store, and one on which Waller's house stood; these lots to revert to him in case the Mission should be withdrawn, by his paying for the improvements; or he would take them and pay for the improvements, giving two lots in closer proximity to the eight lots offered, in their place.

He proposed also to permit the milling company to retain possession of the island until the boundary question between the United States and Great Britain was settled, when if his claim should be allowed, he would purchase their property on the island at the price agreed upon by five commissioners, or sell them the island in the same way, the choice to be optional with him which course to pursue.

The proposal here given was made to Ricord and Lee at Fort Vancouver, the latter expressing himself satisfied with it, as being fair and liberal, but regretting

that he had no power to treat for Waller, always the Mission superintendent's most convenient scape-goat.[46]

I would not present Jason Lee as a bad man, or as a good man becoming bad, or as worse now, while tricking his eastern directors and cheating McLoughlin out of his land, than while preaching at Fort Hall or seeking the salvation of the dying Indian children. He was the self-same person throughout, and grew wiser and better if anything as the years added experience to his life. He was endeavoring to make the most of himself, to do the best for his country, whether laboring in the field of piety or patriotism; and if on abandoning the missionary work and engaging in that of empire-building he fell into ways called devious by business men, it must be attributed to that specious line of education which leads to the appropriation of the Lord's earth by ministers of the Lord, in so far as the power is given them. In all things he sought to do the best, and he certainly was doing better work, work more beneficial to mankind, and more praiseworthy, as colonizer, than he had formerly achieved as missionary. He had passed through his five years of silence during which time Pythagoras had been washing out his mind and clearing his brain of rubbish, and being now in a position to learn something, he was fast learning it.

While pretending so much concern over what he termed the obduracy of Waller, he was plotting deeply

[46] The duplicity practised in the affair of the Oregon City claim, and other matters, reflects seriously on Jason Lee's character for truthfulness. McLoughlin affirms that in the summer of 1843 he spoke to Lee about the pretence of the milling company that they did not know of his claim when they commenced building; and Lee replied, that they must have known of it, as he had himself told them before they began operations. Not long afterward, Lee and Parrish being together at Fort Vancouver, the latter at the public table declared he had never heard of the doctor's claim before the mill was begun, when Lee replied, 'I attended your first or second meeting, and it is the only meeting I attended, and I told you that McLoughlin claimed the island.' This must have been rather hard for Parrish, who was acting according to instructions; but Jason Lee had his part as superintendent to play, which was not to allow himself to be implicated, or he would lose his influence with the fur company.

to accomplish more than Waller, as his secret agent, ever aimed at. He had determined to again visit the United States, to secure, if possible, from the government a grant, conditioned on the sovereignty of the United States, of all the tracts of land settled upon as missions, which would include Oregon City, and a gift of $5,000 in money toward the endowment of the Oregon Institute.[41] With this purpose in view he had resigned the presidency of the board of directors of the institute in September, and had offered his services as an agent for the collection of money in the States, with which to furnish chemical and other apparatus to the school, an offer gladly accepted by the other members of the board.

The visit to Fort Vancouver, before mentioned, was while he, in company with Ricord, and Hines and family, was on his way to the mouth of the river to embark in the fur company's bark *Columbia*, Captain Humphries, for the Sandwich Islands. Before leaving the Willamette Valley, Ricord had penned a caveat against McLoughlin, in which he called Waller his client, and in which McLoughlin was warned that measures had been taken at Washington to substantiate Waller's claim to Oregon City as the actual preemptor upon six hundred and forty acres of land at that place; and that any sales which McLoughlin might make thereafter would be regarded by his client and the government as fraudulent.

Waller founded his claim on the grounds of citizenship of the United States, prior occupancy of the land, and improvement. He denied McLoughlin's claim for the following reasons: that he was an alien, and so not eligible; that he was officer of a "foreign corporate monopoly;" that he did not reside and never had resided on the land; that while he pretended to hold it for himself, he was in fact holding it for a foreign corporate body, as was proved by the employment of individuals of that company as his agents; and as no

[41] *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 222; *Hines' Or. and Ins.*, 155.

corporate body in the United States could hold land by preëmption, so no foreign corporation could do it; and lastly, that if his claim had any validity at all, it arose more than two years subsequent to Waller's.[42]

In addition to the caveat prepared for McLoughlin, Ricord framed an address to the citizens of Oregon, in which he counselled them to resist the aggressions of McLoughlin, and talked grandiloquently of the rights of his client; going so far into this missionary enterprise as to declare that he had read a correspondence, which never took place, between McLoughlin and Waller, in which the latter asserts his rights "in modest and firm terms," offering, however, to relinquish them if McLoughlin would comply "with certain very reasonable and just conditions." These documents had been prepared, and left in the hands of the missionaries, to be made public only when Lee and Ricord were embarked for the Islands.

It was on the 3d of February, 1844, that they sailed, and the caveat was served on McLoughlin on the 22d. Lee was well informed of all these things, when he earnestly and with every appearance of sincerity expressed the hope that Waller would agree to McLoughlin's proposition before mentioned; he also drew a promise from McLoughlin to take no measures to dispossess the Mission at the falls before his return from the United States; which having obtained, he departed, satisfied that he would return armed with an assurance from the government of the United States, which would bring heavy loss on McLoughlin, and triumph to himself and the Methodist Mission.[43]

[42] Letter of John Ricord, in *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 1st ser. 17-19. If no corporate body could hold land by preëmption, how could Mr Waller hold Oregon City for the Mission?

[43] The *Private Papers of John McLoughlin*, from which the history of the Oregon City claim is chiefly obtained, consist of several documents, with his comments and explanations. They are divided into series, as they relate to different matters—to the settlement of the country; to early efforts at trade by the Americans; to the milling company, and the Oregon City claim in missionary and afterward in territorial times. McLoughlin was no writer, in a literary sense; but every sentence penned by him is endowed with that quality which carries conviction with it; direct, simple, above subterfuge. The care

As to the actual merits of the opposing claims to Oregon City, the facts on the side of McLoughlin were these: The improvements at the falls of the Willamette were begun in 1829 for the Hudson's Bay Company. But the company objected to the location of a mill south of the Columbia River, for the reason that in the settlement of the boundary question it would almost certainly be found on the American side of the line; for at that time, and for many years thereafter, it was understood from the official announcements of the British government that England would insist only on the country north of the Columbia being conceded to her in the future boundary treaty,[44] and that no claim would be made of any territory south of the Columbia, in Oregon.

McLoughlin, however, who had a fondness for farming, after agreeing to settle some of the released servants of the company in the Willamette Valley, which he foresaw would be a great wheat-raising country, determined to build the mill with his own means for himself; but being strenuously opposed by some of his friends in the company, he decided about 1838 to relinquish the land and the water-power at the falls to his step-son, Thomas McKay. He finally yielded to his own strong inclination in favor of the place, however, and determined to keep it, putting up a house to replace those destroyed by the Indians, and openly claiming a preëmption right to the land, keeping himself informed of the proceedings of the United States congress in the matter of Oregon lands.

Linn's land bill, which was suggested by Jason Lee himself, had no clause preventing foreigners of any nation from becoming citizens of Oregon, but bestowed

with which letters and other historical data were preserved by McLoughlin renders these papers of great value. They were furnished by Mrs Harvey to the fund of material out of which this history has been made. Without them, many of the secrets of missionary ingratitude would never have come to light; with them, much that was obscure is made plain.

[44] *A Copy of a Document*, in *Trans. Or. Pioneer Assoc.*, 1880, 49.

on every white male inhabitant six hundred and forty acres of land. McLoughlin accordingly had that amount surveyed to himself in 1842, and although Linn's bill never passed the house, he with the Americans confidently believed that this, or some similar law, would follow the settlement of the boundary of Oregon, and he intended to take advantage of it. The opposition he met with in his endeavor to hold his claim occasioned increased expenditure. The improvements made by both claimants drew settlers to Oregon City, and made it more valuable as a town site. Strictly speaking, neither McLoughlin nor Waller had any legal right to the land in question. But in justice, and by a law of common usage among the settlers of Oregon, McLoughlin's claim, being the elder, was the stronger and the better claim. His right to it would be decided by the future action of congress. The greatest difficulty he experienced was that of meeting the untruthful representations made to the government, and the efforts of his enemies to mould public opinion in Oregon. As Ricord has already given the points in Waller's case, they need not be repeated here.

Lee and Ricord were within four days' sail of Honolulu when the truth was made known to McLoughlin concerning their covert proceedings. But that mill of the gods which slowly grinds into dust all human ambitions held Jason Lee between the upper and the nether millstone at that identical moment, though he knew it not. On reaching Honolulu, and before he stepped ashore, he was met by Dr Babcock with the intelligence that he had been superseded in the superintendency of the Oregon Mission by the Rev. George Gary, of the Black River conference, New York, who was then on his way to Oregon to investigate Lee's career since 1840, and if he thought proper, to close the affairs of the Mission. The reports of White, Frost, Kone, Richmond, and others had taken effect,

and an inquiry was to be instituted into the financial affairs of the Mission in Oregon

When Lee left Oregon it was with the intention of waiting at the Islands for a vessel going to New York or Boston, and with the expectation that Mr and Mrs Hines and his little daughter would accompany him. He had been superintendent for ten years, and just at the time when the position seemed most important to him he was to be deposed. For a while he was staggered, but after the first revulsion of feeling he determined to make at least a protest. After consultation with Hines and Babcock, it was settled that they should return at the earliest opportunity to Oregon, and do what they could in his interests there. Without waiting for an American vessel, and leaving his child, he hastened on to New York by the Hawaiian schooner *Hoa Tita*, for Mazatlan, and thence proceeded to Vera Cruz and to his destination.

In the work of colonization the way was oftentimes difficult, and seemed at times exceedingly slow, yet he could not but feel that though the soft air bites the granite never so gently, the rock will crumble beneath constant effort.

He felt uneasy at the thought of meeting his brethren. Surely there were enough redskins in the west who knew not God. What should he say to those who had sent him forth, when they should ask why he had not converted the heathen? Though he might wrap himself in a newly slain bullock's hide, after the manner of the Scotchman, and lie down beside a water-fall or at the foot of a precipice, and there meditate until the thoughts engendered by the wild surroundings should become inspiration, yet could he not fathom the mystery why God's creatures, whom he had been sent by God to instruct, should wither and die at his touch!

[45] *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Managers of the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church*, in *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 132. See also *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 235–7.

Lee arrived at New York in May, but what transpired between himself and the missionary board is unknown. He employed himself during the year in soliciting funds for the Oregon Institute, which he was destined never to see again, for he died March 2, 1845, at Lake Memphremagog, in the province of Lower Canada. His last act was to make a small bequest to the institution for which he was laboring, and for the advancement of education in the country of his adoption.[46]

In the books of the missionary writers, "Jason Lee of precious memory" is alluded to only in his character as director of a religious mission, no reference ever being made to his political schemes. The reason is obvious. To impute to him all that belonged to him would be to acknowledge that the missionary society in New York was right in dismissing him for misrepresentation of the requirements of Oregon, and a misappropriation of a large amount of the funds of the society; therefore, that part of his career which best illustrates his talents is left entirely out of the account, and appears only in the reports of congress and the private manuscripts of McLoughlin. That he had the ability to impress upon the Willamette Valley a character for religious and literary aspiration, which remains to this day; that he suggested the manner in which congress could promote and reward American emigration, at the same time craftily keeping the government in some anxiety concerning the intentions of the British government and Hudson's Bay Company, when he could not have been ignorant of the fact that so far as the country south of the Columbia was concerned there was nothing to fear; that he so carefully guarded his motives as to leave even the sagacious McLoughlin in doubt concerning them, up to the time he left Oregon—all of these taken together exhibit a combination of qualities which were hardly to be looked for in the frank, easy-tem-

[46] *Hines' Or. and Institutions*, 156.

pered, but energetic and devoted missionary, who in the autumn of 1834 built his rude house beside the Willamette River, and gathered into it a few sickly Indian children whose souls were to be saved though they had not long to remain in their wretched bodies. How he justified the change in himself no one can tell. He certainly saw how grand a work it was to lay the foundation of a new empire on the shores of the Pacific, and how discouraging the prospect of raising a doomed race to a momentary recognition of its lost condition, which was all that ever could be hoped for the Indians of western Oregon. There is much credit to be imputed to him as the man who carried to successful completion the dream of Hall J. Kelley and the purpose of Ewing Young. The means by which these ends were attained will appear more fully when I come to deal with government matters. Taken all in all, and I should say, Honor to the memory of Jason Lee!

Hines and Babcock returned to Oregon in April by the brig *Chenamas*, Captain Couch, and Gary, the new superintendent, arrived at Oregon City on the 1st of June, 1844. Early on the 7th of that month a meeting of the missionaries took place at Chemeketa, for the purpose of consultation upon affairs of the Mission, and an investigation by Gary. "Such was the interest involved," says Mr Hines, "that the investigation continued until daylight the next morning." The result of the conference was the dissolution of the Mission; the laymen being offered a passage for themselves and families to their former homes, or its equivalent out of the property owned by the Mission, an amount, in each case, reaching $800 or $1,000. With one exception the laymen all preferred to remain, and were discharged, except Brewer, who was retained at the Dalles. The Mission farm, buildings, and cattle at Clatsop were ordered to be sold. The property of the Willamette Mission, consisting of houses, farms, cattle, farm-tools, mills, and goods of every descrip-

tion, was likewise sold. Many of the immigrants of the previous year would have been glad to purchase part of the property, but the missionaries secured it to themselves.

Hamilton Campbell purchased, on a long credit, all the Mission herds, and was thereafter known among the indignant immigrants as Cow Campbell, a *sobriquet* he always continued to bear.[47] George Abernethy came into possession of the Mission store, and bought up at a discount all the debts of the French settlers, to whom a considerable amount of goods had been sold on credit.[48] In a similar manner houses and farms were disposed of to the amount of over $26,000, or at less than half the original cost, the sales amounting to little more than a distribution of the society's assets among the missionaries.

The manual-labor school building, which had cost the Mission between $8,000 and $10,000, with the farm belonging to it, and the mill site, was sold to the trustees of the Oregon Institute for $4,000, and that institution was removed from the site first selected on Wallace Prairie by Jason Lee, to the larger and better building on Chemeketa plain, where in the autumn of 1844 a school for white children was first opened by Mrs Chloe A. Clark Willson, from which has grown the Methodist college known as the Willamette University.[49] Soon afterward the trustees developed a plan for laying out a city on the land belonging to the institute, which was accordingly surveyed into lots and blocks, and named Salem by Leslie, president of the board of trustees. Here, for the present, I leave the history of the

[47] *Buck's Enterprises*, MS., 10; *Lovejoy's Portland*, MS., 41. Campbell, although he amassed money, was not respected. He lost most of his property later in life and went to Arizona, where about 1863 he was murdered by a Mexican for gold. *Portland Oregonian*, July 29, 1863.

[48] *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 39; *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 31; M. P. Deady, in *S. F. Bulletin*, July 6, 1864.

[49] Mrs Willson, *née* Clark, was born April 16, 1818, in the state of Connecticut, and educated at Wilbraham Academy. She died June 29, 1874. *P. C. Advocate*, June 30, 1874.

Oregon Institute, to follow Gary in his efforts to close up the business of the Mission.

Gary seems to have become imbued with the spirit of his advisers, and to have eclipsed his predecessors in rapacity. Before his advent, some time in the month of April 1844, at the suggestion of White indorsed by Major Gilpin,[50] who had arrived in the country the previous autumn, McLoughlin was induced to attempt once more to come to a final understanding with Waller, and agreed to leave the matter to White, Gilpin, and Douglas as arbitrators on his side, and to Leslie and Waller on the side of the Mission. After much discussion, White and Gilpin considering the demands exorbitant, to settle the matter McLoughlin consented to allow the Mission fourteen lots, and to pay Waller five hundred dollars and give him five acres of land out of his claim. This bargain would not have been consummated had it been left to White and Gilpin, but Douglas thought it better for McLoughlin "to give him one good fever, and have done with it."

But this was not the last, and he had not yet done with the missionaries. On the 13th of July Gary offered to sell back to him the lots he had donated to the Mission. To this offer McLoughlin replied that, considering the extortionate manner in which the lots had been obtained, and the fact that they were those he required in his own business, the demand upon him to pay the Mission for them and whatever they might ask seemed unreasonable; but if he could make an exchange of other lots for those, he would do so. It was not land, however, that the Mission wanted now, but money. "It would be the fairest way," said Mc-

[50] In his younger days Gilpin was sent to West Point from the state of Delaware, and belonged to a regiment of dragoons. He came to Oregon with Frémont, but not under orders, for he had resigned. It is not certain when he went away; I think in 1844. One thing is certain, that his pretensions made in the New York *Tribune* of March 22, 1879, where he claims to have organized the provisional government, and founded the town of Portland, besides being a 'sofa delegate' to congress from Oregon, are without any foundation in fact, as the reader of this history will perceive. In 1861 Gilpin was appointed first governor of Colorado, by President Lincoln.

Loughlin, "for you to give me back my lots, since the Mission has no longer any use for them, and let me pay you for the improvements."

To this Gary had a ready reply. The lots were Mission property; there were those who stood ready to purchase them; and he was only giving their original owner the first offer. Six thousand dollars was the estimate put upon the property, two lots being reserved for the Methodist church edifice besides; and he would not consider himself pledged longer than a day or two to take that amount. Stung and worried, and suffering in his business on account of the uncertainty of his position, McLoughlin once more yielded, and agreed to pay the six thousand dollars, a part of it in the autumn and the remainder in ten years, with interest annually at six per cent. Had he known all the inside history of the scheme to deprive him of the whole of the Oregon City claim, which had met a check in the dismissal of Jason Lee, he would have thought himself fortunate to recover and retain it at that price.

The Methodist Missions in Oregon were now closed, the Dalles station only being occupied with the object of securing a valuable land claim when congress should enact the long-promised land law. When Waller was no longer needed to hold any part of the Oregon City claim, he was sent to the Dalles, but the Indians there becoming troublesome, and Whitman wishing to purchase that station, it was sold to him; and Waller returned to the Willamette Valley.

Thus ends the history of ten years of missionary labor, in which nothing was done[51] that ever in the least benefited the Indians, but which cost the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church a quarter of a million of dollars.[52] As colonists, the seventy or eighty persons who were thrown into Ore-

[51] *McClane's First Wagon Train*, MS., 9, 10; *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS., 4, 5.

[52] *Applegate's Views of Hist.*, MS., 29; *Hines' Or. and Institutions*, 222.

gon by the society were good citizens, and exercised a wholesome moral influence, which extended from missionary times down to a much later day. Not having to struggle for an existence as did the early immigrant settlers, and being furnished with the means without any exertion of their own, they were enabled to found the first school, and do many other things for the improvement of society, for which this generation has reason to be grateful.[53]

[53] *Strickland's Missions*, 144–5. Among the missionary writers who take an exalted view of the merits of his class is Gustavus Hines, born in Herkimer County, New York, September 16, 1809. He was appointed to preach by the Genesee conference in 1832, and appointed to the Oregon Mission by Bishop Hedding in 1839. He returned to New York in 1846, but in 1852 was sent back to Oregon by Bishop Waugh. During his residence east, between 1846 and 1852, he published his *Oregon, its History, Condition, and Prospects, containing a description of the geography, climate, and productions, with personal adventures among the Indians*, etc. Buffalo, 1851. This book is not without some faults of style, aside from its verbosity; but is in the main truthful, its errors of statement being traceable to hearsay. Without being bitterly partisan, it contains allusions which betray the bent of the Methodist and American missionary mind of the period. As a narrative of early events and adventures it is interesting. In 1868 Mr Hines published a second book, under the name of *Oregon and its Institutions: Comprising a full History of the Willamette University*. New York. This work is half descriptive and half historical, containing in the latter portion much fulsome laudation of the missionary society and the founders of the Willamette University, about which very full particulars are given. After Hines' return to Oregon he continued to reside in the country up to the time of his death, December 9, 1873. Three years before, March 14, 1870, his wife, Mrs Lydia Hines, an exemplary Christian woman, died at the age of 58 years. *Portland P. C. Advocate*, Dec. 11, 1873; *Salem Statesman*, Dec. 13, 1873; *Id.*, March 16, 1870; *Salem Willamette Farmer*, March 19, 1870. Waller returned to the Willamette Valley, where he resided up to the time of his death, in December 1872. He acquired riches, and occupied honorable positions in the Methodist church and Willamette University. *Hines' Or. and Ins.*, 276; *Portland P. C. Advocate*, Feb. 27, 1873. Rev. L. H. Judson continued to reside at Salem, where he died March 3, 1880. *S. F. Bulletin*, March 22, 1880. J. L. Parrish, who was sent to Clatsop when Frost returned to the states, remained on the Mission farm until it was sold, when he returned to Salem, where he continued to reside. He was a circuit preacher, and special Indian agent in territorial times. He acquired a comfortable fortune, and owned a pleasant home in the outskirts of Salem. His first wife, Mrs Elizabeth Parrish, *née* Winn, died August 30, 1869, soon after which he contracted a second marriage. There are several children by both unions. In 1878 Mr Parrish furnished, for use in this history, his *Oregon Anecdotes*, a manuscript book of more than one hundred pages, illustrative of pioneer life and Indian characteristics, with narratives of his adventures as Indian agent. His views are, that to benefit the Indians it is necessary to be let down to the level of their comprehension, and to learn to think and reason from their standpoint. Mr Parrish was born in Onondaga County, New York, January 14, 1806.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS.

1839-1841.

THE PEORIA PARTY—INCIDENTS OF THE JOURNEY—FARNHAM ARRIVES IN OREGON—RETURN OF MCLOUGHLIN FROM LONDON—DISSATISFACTION OF MISSIONARIES AND COLONISTS—PETITION TO CONGRESS—BELCHER'S EXPEDITION—EXTENT OF CANADIAN JURISDICTION—MORE IMMIGRANTS FROM ILLINOIS—MISSIONARIES CONTINUE TO ARRIVE—THE NEWELL PARTY—MISSIONARY HOSPITALITY—SPAULDING'S REPORT—WILKES ON THE COAST—THE 'STAR OF OREGON'—OVERLAND EXPLORATION TO CALIFORNIA—SIR GEORGE SIMPSON AT FORT VANCOUVER—MOFRAS' MISSION—THE RED RIVER SETTLERS.

I HAVE termed Jason Lee a Methodist colonizer, but he was in reality more than that. His well-directed efforts in behalf of his church could not, in their effects, be restricted to that body. They were, in fact, quite as likely to fire the imagination of the adventurer as to stir the pious zeal of the sectarian, while the discussions which they had provoked in congress attracted the attention of all classes. The first ripple of immigration springing from Lee's lectures at Peoria was in the autumn of 1838. It will be remembered that one of his Chinook boys, Thomas Adams, was left there ill. Tom was proud of being an object of curiosity to the young men of the place, and was never better pleased than when supplementing Lee's lectures with one of his own, delivered in broken English helped out with expressive pantomime, and dilating upon the grand scenery of his native country, the wealth of its hunting-grounds, and the abundance of its fisheries. Rude as Tom's descriptions were, they stirred the ardor of his hearers, and sug-

gested to certain ambitious young men the project of establishing a commercial depot at the mouth of the River of the West.

A company of fourteen persons was formed, numbering among its members Thomas J. Farnham, Joseph Holman, Amos Cook, Francis Fletcher, R. L. Kilborne, Sidney Smith, J. Wood, C. Wood, Oakley, Jourdan, and, later, a Mr Blair. The necessary outfit for the journey, costing each man about a hundred and sixty dollars, was soon secured, and all being ready to start, the adventurous little band gathered before the court-house, where a prayer was offered in their behalf. Their motto was 'Oregon or the Grave,' and they bore it aloft upon a flag presented to them by Mrs Farnham, their captain's wife, who accompanied them one day's march. Their declared intention, upon reaching the Columbia, was to take possession, as American citizens, of the most eligible points, and make settlements.[1]

So now, having pledged themselves never to desert one another, they set out from Peoria about the first of May 1839, and proceeded to Independence, where they took the trail to Santa Fé. They had not been long on the way before Smith received a shot from his rifle in drawing it from the baggage, and having previously rendered himself obnoxious to several of his companions, it was proposed to abandon him. The proposal was denounced by Farnham and some others, and the disagreement thus occasioned caused the breaking-up of the party. When eight weeks on the journey Farnham resigned the command; and two of the best men having joined some Santa Fé traders, the company fell into disorder. At Bent Fort, on the Arkansas River, where Farnham arrived the 5th of July, the company disbanded. Bent Fort is often mentioned by early travellers to Oregon. It was situated eighty miles north by east from Taos in New Mexico, and was first called Fort William, but soon

[1] *Peoria, Illinois, Register*, May 4, 1839.

took the name of the three brothers who owned it. It was erected in 1832, and was a place of considerable consequence, being a parallelogram of one hundred by one hundred and fifty feet, with adobe walls several feet in thickness and eighteen feet in height, with a large gateway closed by strong doors of planking. The wall, which was surmounted by two armed bastions, enclosed several buildings, shops, and a warehouse. The country in which it was situated being a dangerous one, about sixty men were required to perform the duties of the place, including that of guarding the fort and the stock belonging to it.[2]

For men so lately swearing such fidelity, this was a bad beginning, but Farnham was not disheartened. On the 11th of July, the malecontents left the fort for another establishment of the Bents, on Platte River; and Farnham with three sound and good men, and one wounded and bad one, as he expressed it, resumed his journey to Oregon. His companions were Blair, one of the Woods, Smith, and a Kentuckian named Kelly, who was engaged as guide.[3]

Smith recovered rapidly, and about the middle of August the party reached Brown Hole, on the head waters of Green River, where was St Clair's fort called David Crockett. Here Kelly's services ended, Oakley and Wood determined to return, being so persuaded by Paul Richardson, a mountain man of some notoriety, who gave a dispiriting account of the Oregon country in order to secure volunteers for his own party about to start for the Missouri frontier. With only Smith and Blair for companions, and a Shoshone guide, Farnham pushed on to Fort Hall, then in

[2] *Farnham's Travels*, 65–6.

[3] Farnham describes Blair as an elderly man, a mechanic, from Missouri. 'A man of kinder heart never existed. From the place where he joined us, to Oregon Territory, when myself or others were worn with fatigue or disease or starvation, he was always ready to administer whatever relief was in his power. But towards Smith, in his helpless condition, he was especially obliging. He dressed his wound daily. He slept near him at night, and rose to supply his least want.' Smith he calls 'base in everything that makes a man estimable,' and says he had an alias, Carroll. *Travels*, 36–7, 120. In Oregon Smith was nicknamed Blubber-mouth. *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 187.

charge of C. M. Walker. They arrived there September 1st, and remained three days, after which, with fresh horses and provisions, they proceeded, and in ten days reached Fort Boisé, where they were kindly entertained by Mr Payette of the Hudson's Bay Company.[4]

Proceeding thence, an Indian guided them down the west bank of Snake River fifteen miles, to some boiling springs; thence to the narrow valley of Burnt River, up which they passed through charming little nooks, to a branch of Powder River, whence, after resting under the Lone Tree,[5] they passed into Grand Rond Valley; and thence over steep hills to the foot of the Blue Mountains; then through a belt of forest, along grassy ridges, up and down hills made difficult by loose masses of broken rock, through tracts of tangled wood, and along the face of cliffs overhanging mountain torrents, coming at last to grassy swells, and finally to the long descent on the western declivities of the mountains, which brought them to the beautiful rolling plains at the head waters of the Umatilla and Walla Walla.[6] Here Farnham fell in with a Cayuse on his way to Whitman's mission, and deciding to accompany him, they arrived there the 23d day of September, while Smith and Blair proceeded to Fort Walla Walla. Blair spent the winter at Lapwai, and Smith obtained employment from Ewing Young in the Willamette Valley.

After a pleasant visit at Waiilatpu, and a call on

[4] Farnham here observed a cart, made out of a one-horse wagon, which Payette said had been brought there from Connecticut by the American missionaries; but which was in fact the cart made by Whitman out of his light wagon in 1836. 'It was left here,' says Franham, 'under the belief that it could not be taken through the Blue Mountains. But fortunately for the next that shall attempt to cross the continent, a safe and easy passage has lately been discovered by which vehicles of the kind may be drawn through to Walla Walla.'

[5] 'L'arbre seul' of the French trappers. Burnett says with regret that the emigrants of 1843 cut down this noble pine. *Recol.*, 124–5.

[6] By comparing *Farnham's Travels*, 142–5, with Burnett's *Recol. of a Pioneer*, 123–6, it will be seen that the routes travelled in 1839 and 1843 were identical, with the difference that for wagons it was necessary in some places to make a *détour* to avoid some narrow ledges, or too abrupt elevations.

Pambrun at the fort, Farnham resumed his journey to the Dalles, the 1st of October. He spent a week with Lee and Perkins, and became imbued with the prevailing Methodist sentiments concerning British residents. On the 15th, in company with Daniel Lee, he took passage for Fort Vancouver, having narrowly escaped the wrath of the Dalles Indians for forcibly recovering some of his property which had been stolen.[7]

At the Cascades they encountered McLoughlin, lately returned from England, the doctor being probably some distance behind the express which had bronght him from Canada.

Lee presented his newly arrived friend to McLoughlin, who straightway invited them both to the fort, where they arrived late on that evening, the 18th of October. Farnham, who had been forced to exchange his clothes for horses, was amply supplied by his host, even to a dress-coat to appear in at dinner. He made a favorable impression on the inmates of Fort Vancouver,[8] where he remained till the 21st, learning much concerning the country and the fur trade, which he afterwards turned to account in a number of works published under different titles, but containing much of the same matter.[9]

[7] Farnham gives an account of his skirmish with 40 Indians, to obtain possession of the leather portions of his saddle and bridle which had been taken out of Lee's workshop, in parts, through a window. In the fray the chief drew his pistol and Farnham his rifle, but no blood was shed, though the Indians were much excited; the chief refusing to allow his men to assist in carrying Lee and Farnham's goods to the canoes. Their conduct on this occasion was the cause of Lee's purchase of arms and amnunition elsewhere alluded to. See *Farnham's Travels*, 161–3.

[8] Alexander Simpson, a relative of Sir George and a clerk of the company, of whom Farnham said some amusing though kindly things, describes Farnham as possessing much dry humor, considerable intelligence, consummate impudence, and indomitable self-reliance. 'He talked grandiloquently and acted shabbily.' Perhaps Farnham's wit had pricked the Englishman's egoism.

[9] His *Travels to the Rocky Mountains*, from which I have quoted, was published in 1841. Subsequently he published the same with additional matter about California and the interior of the continent, under the following titles: *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac, and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory; Pictorial Travels in California and Oregon; Travels in the Californias, and Scenes in the Pacific Ocean. Life in California.* He also wrote the *History of Oregon Territory; It being a Demonstration of*

His observations in the Willamette Valley were confined, like those of Mr Slacum, to the settlements. He visited a number of persons at the Mission, among them Bailey, White, and Leslie, Jason Lee being absent. During his stay there several American citizens unconnected with the Mission consulted him as to the probability of the United States taking them under the protection of its laws. These persons complained that they were not protected, that foreigneers domineered over them, drove American traders from the country, and made them dependent for their clothing and necessaries on another nationality. They wanted to know why the United States permitted these things. "I could return no answer," says Farnham, "to these questions, exculpatory of this national delinquency; and therefore advised them to embody their grievances in a petition, and forward it to congress." They took his advice, and gave him a memorial to forward to Washington, signed by sixty-seven citizens of the United States, and persons desirous of becoming such.[10]

The petition set forth that the signers settled in Oregon under the belief that it was a portion of the public domain of the United States upon which they might rely for the blessings of free institutions, and for armed protection; but that so far as they knew, no such benefits had been extended to them; and that therefore they were at the mercy of the savages around them, and of others that would do them harm.[11] They complained that they had no

the Title of the United States of North America to the Same, with a map; and a work entitled *Mexico, Its Geography, People, and Institutions, with a map.* His geography is superannuated, but his personal observations are amusing and instructive, by reason of their literalness and simplicity. After many adventures he settled in California, where he died in 1852.

[10] *Farnham's Travels*, 175. Wilkes says that Farnham wrote the memorial from suggestions furnished him by Dr Bailey. Wilkes, who also visited Bailey, probably received his information at first hand, which renders it reliable. See *Wilkes' Nar.*, iv. 388, note.

[11] In *Gray's Hist. Or.*, the 'others that would do them harm' is printed in capitals. As I have not seen the original of the document I cannot say if the memorial made it so emphatic; but in either case, the inference is clear that the Hudson's Bay Company was meant.

legal protection except the self-constituted tribunals, originated by an ill-instructed public opinion, and sustained only by force and arms. They declared that the crimes of theft, murder, and infanticide were increasing to an alarming extent, and they were themselves powerless to arrest the progress of crime in the territory and its terrible consequences.[12]

Having made this appeal on account of their helpless condition, congress was artfully reminded of the richness of the country in soils, pasturage, timber, and minerals; and also that a British surveying squadron had been on the Oregon coast for two years, employed in making accurate surveys of all its rivers, bays, and harbors.

The latter allusion referred to the expedition of Sir Edward Belcher, then Captain Belcher, who commanded the English surveying squadron in the Pacific. Belcher's attention was fixed at this time, however, not on Oregon, but on the Russian possessions. The attempts of the Hudson's Bay Company to get a footing there had up to this period occasioned a feeling of hostility, which led the Russians not only to fortify at Stikeen, but to have a sloop of war in readiness to repel invasion. The English, not to be behind in a show of strength, sent the *Sulphur* and the *Starling* to survey the Pacific coast, a business which occupied the expedition from 1837 to 1840. The only reference to Oregon in Belcher's instructions was contained in a single paragraph. "Political circumstances have invested the Columbia River with so much importance that it will be well to devote some time to its bar and channels of approach, as well as its inner anchorages and shores." The few

[12] There had not been a murder among the white men since the killing of Thornburg four years previous. Thefts of some small articles may have occurred, but probably by the Indians. To charge infanticide, except on the Indian women, who also practised it, was to create a scandal about the only white woman in the country, those of the Mission. Wilkes mentions that an opinion had gone abroad that vice prevailed at Vancouver; but he felt compelled to give his testimony to the contrary; that he saw no instance in which vice was tolerated in any degree. *Wilkes' Nar.*, iv. 355.

Americans in Oregon may have regarded the advent of this British man-of-war with suspicion, but the English company at Fort Vancouver showed no elation, nor made the British captain more welcome than the American missionary or traveller.[13]

There was as yet no reason to desire governmental interference. The Americans were not yet overstepping the boundary fixed in the British imagination as their rightful limits; and perhaps Douglas foresaw that the presence of a war-vessel would alarm them, and lead them to call upon their government.

Captain Belcher, on his side, was outspoken in his contempt for the unmilitary appearance of forts George and Vancouver. "No Fort Vancouver exists," he says; "it is merely the mercantile post of the Hudson's Bay Company."[14] And the captain's sneer was just, inasmuch as the total armament of Fort Vancouver at this time consisted of a little three-pounder.[15]

Belcher, like Simpson, Dunn, and Beaver, blamed McLoughlin for encouraging so many missionary settlers.[16] Indeed, it is evident that while the Americans feared British influence, the English were no less alarmed about American predominance.

In their petition to congress the American settlers also alleged that the British government had recently made a grant to the fur company of all the lands lying between the Columbia River and Puget Sound, and that the company were actually exercising acts of ownership, opening extensive farms,[17] and shipping to

[13] 'Belcher,' says Roberts, 'thought himself slighted, but I think Douglas was only carrying out his orders.' *Recollections*, MS., 8.

[14] *Belcher's Voyage*, i. 295, 298.

[15] *Matthew's Refugee*, MS., 18.

[16] *Belcher's Voyage*, i. 297. 'By a strange and unpardonable oversight of the local officers, missionaries from the United States were allowed to take religious charge of the population; and these artful men lost no time in introducing such a number of their countrymen as reduced the influence of the British settlers to complete insignificance.' *Boston Miss. Herald*, Dec. 1866.

[17] As if that were not what the Americans were doing on the south side of the Columbia. But as to the government making grants, it could no more do so than the American government, before the boundary should be defined. The Agricultural Association could not even incorporate before the crown of

foreign ports vast quantities of the finest pine lumber.[18]

Such was the memorial for which Leslie, superintendent of the Mission pro tem., and Bailey, an attaché of the same institution, were responsible, whatever Farnham had to do with drawing it up. Farnham remained among the hospitable missionary families until the middle of November, when he repaired to Fort Vancouver to wait for the departure of the company's vessel, the *Nereid*, in which he embarked for the Sandwich Islands early in December. When he reached Oahu he addressed a letter to the United States secretary of war, in which he informed the government that the Hudson's Bay Company had taken upon lease, for a term of twenty years, the exclusive right to hunt, trap, and control by law the Russian possessions in America, Sitka only excepted, possession to be given in March 1840; that the British government had granted a large tract of land to the English fur company, who were making grants and sales to individuals; that the company were making large quantities of flour to supply the Russians, with whom they had a contract for a term of years; were getting out lumber for California and the Hawaiian Islands,[19] and opening extensive farms in the Cowlitz Valley. He mentioned the arrival of the English emigrants, and stated as a significant fact that among them was a gunner, for whom he could see no use, as the company confessed there was no danger from the Indians in the vicinity of their forts; he also alluded to a rumor that the fur company had cannon buried on

Great Britain became possessed of the territory; so that actually the Puget Sound Company was on about the same basis as the Methodist Mission; one was under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the other of the Methodist Missionary Society, and neither had nor could have any real title to the lands they held.

[18] *26th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Doc. 514; Gray's Hist. Or.*, 194–6. The only saw-mill of the company at this period was that above Vancouver, which turned out about 3,000 feet daily.

[19] In his letter Farnham says the company's mill turned out 3,000 feet of lumber every 48 hours instead of every 24.

Tongue Point, above Astoria, where they had built a house,[20] and referred to the English surveying squadron, and a report that Captain Belcher had declared England's claims to the Columbia River to rest upon priority of discovery. Though not all true, there was much in his communication of interest to the United States.

Among other things, he stated that the Canadian settlers in the Willamette and Cowlitz valleys were favorable to the American claim, and would yield willing obedience to American law—an assertion that required modification. The French Canadians were by nature an amiable, light-hearted, industrious, and well-disposed people, ready to submit to authority, and fond of a quiet life. They were by training rendered obedient to the officers of the fur company, and even more so to the teachings of their Catholic priests. They were friendly to the American settlers, and looked up to the missionaries. They had been promised a square mile of land when the United States should extend jurisdiction over them. So far they were favorable to American institutions: but should McLoughlin and their priest counsel them to withhold their support, they would obey notwithstanding the temptation of free farms. Such was the character of all the company's servants who settled in the country.[21]

It was not true that the British company controlled by law the Russian possessions in America, or strove to govern the American settlers in the Willamette Valley.[22] By an act of parliament the laws of Can-

[20] Mr Birnie had a potato-field on Tongue Point, but whether simply to raise potatoes, which did not grow well at Astoria, or to hold this promontory for some other purpose, is not known.

[21] 'They are now all out of service and renewing their endless lives on the plains—part American, part English, some Indian, and still all French. Blessings on the Jeans, the Jaques, the Baptistes, the Jeromes!' *Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 11, 1854; *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1876, 36.

[22] Farnham said in his *Travels*, 175–6, what he did not venture to say to the secretary of war, namely, that the American settlers 'were liable to be arrested for debt or crime, and conveyed to the jails of Canada, arrested on American territory by British officers, tried by British tribunals, imprisoned in British prisons, and hung or shot by British executioners!'

ada were extended over British subjects in the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, but this was never enforced so far as Russians or Americans were concerned. Even a Canadian could not be dealt with in Russian territory.[23] But jealousy of the Canadian jurisdiction led the Americans to appoint as justice of the peace among themselves, in 1838, David Leslie. So that without any legal authority whatever Leslie was dispensing justice in the Willamette Valley at the very time that he and Farnham complained that there was a justice of the peace at Fort Vancouver, in what the company held to be British territory, and he actually tried a British subject for theft not long after.[24]

Farnham's report on the country itself was not pleasing to the colonists, who spoke of him with disrespect after the publication of his *Travels*.[25] He disparaged the climate, which was too dry in eastern and too moist in western Oregon; he found the forests, where they existed, too heavy, and in other places not heavy enough; and the mouth of the Columbia unfit for the purposes of commerce.[26] Holding these opinions, it is no wonder that he departed from the country without attempting to carry out the purposes for which the Peoria company was formed.

[23] An example of this want of jurisdiction in Russian America was furnished shortly after Farnham was in Oregon. McLoughlin's son John was sent to Fort Stikeen, where he was placed in charge. But he was young, and did not know how to manage his men, one of whom murdered him. When Sir George Simpson visited the company's posts in 1841–2 he arrested the murderer, who was a Canadian, but did not know how to bring the criminal to justice, as neither Canada nor Russia had any court of criminal jurisdiction in the country. He took the criminal to Sitka, but as the crime was not committed there, nothing could be done with him. *Simpson's Nar.*, ii. 182; *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series.

[24] This was in 1841. A canoe, in which were some of the goods of Mr Kone's family, was upset in the Willamette River, and a box containing some of Mrs Kone's clothing, coming ashore, was picked up by a Canadian, whose wife, an Indian woman, appropriated it to her own use. This led to the arrest and trial of the responsible party before the missionary judge.

[25] *Niles' Register*, lviii. 242. Wilkes, in his *Narrative*, iv. 388, says they were dissatisfied with his not putting the memorial, and his letter to the secretary of war, into his book. Gray, in *Hist. Or.*, 186–7, is very abusive of him, and says he was expelled from the Peoria party, which, according to Holman, one of the seceders, is not true.

[26] *27th Cong., 3d Sess., Sen. Doc. 102.*

Four other members of the original party reached Fort Vancouver in the following May, just when the *Lausanne*, bearing the reënforcement of Jason Lee, touched her landing. These were Holman, Cook, Fletcher, and Kilborne. They had proceeded leisurely from post to post of the fur-traders, and been compelled to winter in the Rocky Mountains. When they reached Fort Vancouver they were clad in skins, bareheaded, heavily bearded, toilworn, and sadly travel-stained, yet looking so boyish and defiant, that the ship's company at once set them down as four runaways from homes in the States. McLoughlin, with his usual kind impulse, at once sent them to the dairy.[27] Like Farnham, these four seemed to have given up all thought of their projected city at the mouth of the Columbia, and were content to be incorporated with the settlers of the Willamette.[28]

The Peoria company were not the only adventurers who made in 1839

> 'The first low wash of waves, where soon
> Shall roll a human sea.'

A second party, eleven in number, started from Illinois this season, and followed the same route as the first, but did not reach Oregon as a party.[29] As

[27] *Holman's Peoria Party*, MS., 1-4.

[28] Joseph Holman attached himself to the Mission as a carpenter, and married in 1841 Miss Almira Phelps, as already mentioned. In 1843 he took a land claim near Salem, and farmed it for 6 years. Subsequently he was merchant, penitentiary commissioner, superintendent of the construction of the state-house at Salem, and president of the Pioneer Oil Company at that place. Holman was born in Devonshire, England, in 1817, and emigrated to the United States at the age of 19, and to Oregon at the age of 22. *Portland West Shore*, Nov. 1876; *Portland Standard*, July 2, 1880. *Holman's Peoria Party*, MS., is a narrative of the adventures of the 4 young malecontents who abandoned Farnham on account of Sidney Smith, and agrees substantially with Farnham's account up to the time they separated at Bent Fort. Holman's dictation was taken by S. A. Clarke of Salem in 1878, and contains several facts which do not appear in any printed authority. Of Holman's companions, Fletcher settled in Yamhill County, where he died. Cook survived him at Lafayette, in that county. Kilborne went to California in 1842.

[29] The name of one of this party has been preserved, that of Robert Moore, who reached Oregon in 1840. He was born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, October 2, 1781, of Irish parentage. He removed to Mercer County, where he married Margaret Clark. They were the parents of 10 children. Moore served in the war of 1812; and in 1822 emigrated to Genevieve County, Mis-

if missionaries were not likely to outnumber the natives in Oregon, the North Litchfield Association of Connecticut, in 1839, fitted out two young men for that field of labor. They were Rev. J. S. Griffin and Asahel Munger. Munger was already married; Griffin found a young woman at St Louis who was willing to join her fortunes with his, and who married him at a moment's notice, as seems to have been the fashion with missionaries of that period. Placing themselves under the protection of the American Fur Company, they proceeded to Westport, Missouri, where they were joined by several persons bound for California.[30]

souri. He was a member of the legislature of that state, and advocated free-state doctrine. In 1835 he removed to Illinois, where he laid out the town of Osceola; but becoming enamored of the far-off Oregon, left his family and sought the famed Willamette Valley. Selecting a claim on the west side of the falls, he made himself a home, which he called 'Robin's Nest,' where he was joined by his family, and where he spent his remaining days, having acted well his part in the early history of the country. He died September 1, 1857. *Oregon Argus*, Sept. 12, 1857; *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explor. Ex.*, iv. 370; Address of M. P. Deady, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875. Another pioneer of this period was a Rocky Mountain trapper, named George W. Ebberts, who settled in Oregon in 1839, where he was known as Squire Ebberts, or the Black Squire. He was born in Bracken County, Kentucky, June 22, 1810. At the age of 19 he engaged with Wm Sublette to go to the mountains as a recruit. He served 6 years in the American Company, and 3 years in the Hudson's Bay Company, leaving the mountains in the autumn of 1838 and wintering at Lapwai. Farnham describes an interview with him. Seeing a white man on the bank of the river above the falls of the Willamette, he went ashore to speak to him, and found him sitting in a drizzling rain by a large log fire. He had already made one 'improvement' and sold it, and was beginning another. He could offer no shelter, and took Farnham across the river to the log cabin of William Johnson, which contained a fireplace and a few rude articles of furniture. Ebberts finally settled in the Tualatin plains, with several other mountain men who arrived a year or two later. *Brown's Miscellanies*, MS., 22. *Ebberts' Trapper's Life*, a manuscript narrative of scraps of mountain adventure and pioneer life, shows a man without education, but full of good fellowship, brave, and frank. Ebberts lived in the Tualatin plains. William Johnson, above mentioned, was a Scotchman. He had been in the naval service of the United States. Subsequently he became a trapper in the Hudson's Bay service, and when his term expired settled near Champoeg, and took an Indian wife. By her he had several children, to whom he gave such educational advantages as the country afforded. *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explor. Ex.*, iv. 371-2; *Farnham's Travels*, 173. Johnson died in September 1876.

[30] Farnham, who fell in with these persons at Fort David Crockett, in Brown Hole, says one had the lofty intention of conquering California, others of trading, farming, etc., on the lower Columbia, and others to explore the wonders of nature on the shores of the Pacific. *Travels*, 120. The names of this party were William Geiger, J. Wright, Peter Lassen, and Doctor Wislizenus and a German companion. A second party for California consisted of D. G. Johnson, Charles Klein, William Wiggins, and David D. Dutton. Two

This company, like Farnham's, quarrelled by the way. The missionaries as well as the secular travellers lost their patience and good temper, and even the ladies of the party were not without their little differences.[31] From revelations made by Gray, and newspaper articles published by Griffin several years later, we learn that the Snakes stole some of the missionaries' horses, and that Griffin wanted to leave Munger and his wife at Fort Hall, on this account. The animals were recovered, however, and a conciliation effected. They all finally reached the Presbyterian missions in safety.[32]

In 1840 came another party of missionaries, of the Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Harvey Clark, A. T. Smith, and P. B. Littlejohn, each with his wife.

of the California adventurers turned back at Fort Hall, no guide for California being obtainable, but the others accompanied the missionaries to Oregon, where, when the *Lausanne* arrived in the following spring, Lassen, Dutton, Wiggins, Wright, and John Stevens took passage for California and settled there. *Solano Co. Hist.*, 458; *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 61-2; *San José Patriot*, in *S. F. Bulletin*, June 5, 1879. The Germans probably went overland to California, as their object was to explore. Johnson sailed for the Hawaiian Islands.

[31] *Farnham's Travels*, 120.

[32] Griffin and wife wintered at Lapwai, and Munger and wife at Waiilatpu. Geiger, who with Johnson declared they were sent by people in the States to take observations of the country relative to immigration, being unable to explore it as he had hoped, consented to take the place of Shepard in the Methodist Mission school, which he retained until the arrival of the reënforcements of the following year, when he joined the mission at Waiilatpu, but afterward went to California. Munger and wife wintered at Waiilatpu and Griffin and wife at Lapwai. Griffin was a man lacking in good judgment; he had, moreover, an unkindly disposition, and in the matter of religion was little less than a fanatic. Early in the spring of 1840 he and his wife set out for the Snake country with the idea of establishing a missionary station and stock-farm. They were accompanied only by a native guide, who deserted them at Salmon River. After several weeks of painful travel they reached Fort Boisé, and were kindly received by Payette. Griffin's experience had damped his ardor for pioneering in the Snake country, and he returned to Waiilatpu. In the autumn of the same year he went to Vancouver, remained there as the company's guest during the winter, and in 1841, with McLoughlin's assistance, began farming on the Tualatin plains. *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 210. Notwithstanding the favors Griffin received from the company, he afterward became one of its most bitter opponents, partly because McLoughlin had embraced the Catholic religion. *Victor's River of the West*, 377-8. Munger remained at Waiilatpu until near the middle of 1841. He was a good carpenter and useful to Whitman; but about that time the latter noticed that Munger showed signs of mental derangement, and fearing the effect of this on the natives, he suggested to the missionary that he return to the States. Munger started with his wife and child and a single male companion, May 13, 1841. Finding the American Fur Company broken up at Green

They designed to sustain themselves independently of the orders of any board, but failed to find any field for their labors, and after remaining a year at the missions in the interior, settled on the Tualatin plains. Littlejohn returned to the States in 1845, but Clark and Smith subsequently became leading citizens in the country.[33] With this party also arrived the first family of avowed emigrants that came to Oregon or the Pacific coast. It consisted of Joel P. Walker, wife, and five children, all of whom went to California in 1841,[34] and Herman Ehrenberg, who had led, and continued to lead, an adventurous life in several parts of the continent. He went to the Hawaiian Islands soon after reaching the Columbia River.[35]

River, he turned back to Oregon, and going to the Willamette Valley, began working for the Mission at Salem. Here his mental affliction grew worse, until finally he determined to work a miracle to convince the world of his inspiration, and nailing one of his hands to the wall above the fireplace in his shop, so roasted himself in the fire that he died within three days. *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 211; *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., ser. 2; *Astoria Marine Gazette*, June 13, 1866; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 185; *Simpson's Nar.*, i. 161.

[33] Centennial history of Tualatin Academy and Pacific University, in *Portland Oregonian*, Feb. 12, 1876.

[34] Walker had expected to meet a company of forty persons ready for Oregon, but was disappointed. According to his *Narrative*, MS., it was the promise of land held out in Linn's bill which caused the movement. His history belongs properly to California, but since he set out for Oregon, he may be claimed as its first regular overland immigrant with a family. He, like the missionaries, had two wagons. The fur company had thirty carts. The wagons came as far as Fort Hall only. Walker was born in Goochland County, Virginia, in 1797, and like all the western men, kept moving toward the border, first to Tennessee, then to Missouri. When only seventeen he enlisted under Jackson to fight Indians in Alabama, and subsequently in the Seminole war in Florida. In 1822, with Stephen Cooper, he engaged in trade with the Mexicans at Santa Fé, and thus began what afterward became such an important branch of commerce. Finally he settled in Sonoma County, California. There is a manuscript *Narrative* by him, in which he says little of Oregon, except that his daughter Louisa who was born at Salem, January 14, 1841, was the first child of American parentage born in that territory, a statement which is erroneous.

[35] Herman Ehrenberg emigrated to the United States from Germany at an early age. He was at New Orleans when the Texan war broke out, and was one of the few of the New Orleans Grays who survived the defeat of Fannin and the barbarous massacre of prisoners after the battle of Goliad. After the war ended he returned to Germany, and induced a large emigration of his countrymen to Texas. In 1840 he was in St Louis, and determined to cross the continent with a party forming for that purpose. From Oregon he went to the Hawaiian Islands, and after wandering for a few years in Polynesia, went to California and joined Frémont in his efforts to free that country from Mexican rule. The Gadsden purchase next attracted his restless nature, and in 1857 he settled near Tubac, and engaged in silver-mining in the Santa

Some weeks after the missionaries had left Fort Hall a council was held there by certain hunters and trappers, now without occupation and destitute through the dissolution of the American Fur Company. This corporation had broken up that same year without making provision of any kind for their servants. Most of these men had adopted their vocation in youth, and now, in the prime of life, were almost as poor as when they took to the mountains—a fact due in part to the policy of the company, but in a large measure to their own improvident habits.[36]

As it was now absolutely necessary to seek the settlements in order to live, seven of them determined to go to Oregon with their Indian wives and children, about their only worldly possessions, and begin life anew. Their names were Robert Newell, C. M. Walker, J. L. Meek, William Craig, Caleb Wilkins, William M. Doty, and John Larison. Newell, Meek, and Wilkins decided to make for the Columbia River by the route discovered the previous year, and already spoken of. Newell had two wagons, which he had taken as payment for guiding the Clark party from Green River to Fort Hall;[37] Wilkes had another which had been left by Walker, and these they resolved to take with them. Ermatinger approved the plan and purchased one of Newell's wagons, which he

Rita Mountains, Arivica, Cerro Colorado, and other parts of Arizona. He was a civil engineer and scientist of more than ordinary ability and reputation. The town of Ehrenberg, Yuma County, was laid out by him and named after him. He was killed at Palm Springs on the California desert. *Yuma Arizona Sentinel*, Feb. 23, 1878.

[36] Farnham gives a pathetic picture of one of these deserted mountain men, Joseph L. Meek, who afterward became as famous in the Oregon colony as he already was in the mountains. 'Meek was evidently very poor; he had scarcely clothing enough to cover his body; and while talking with us the frosty winds which sucked up the valley made him shiver like an aspen leaf. He reverted to his destitute condition, and complained of the injustice of his former employers; the little remuneration he had received for the toils and dangers he had endured on their account, etc—a complaint I heard from every trapper whom I met on my journey.' *Travels*, 127–8.

[37] Walker says that the guide of the Clark party was named Craig, but as Craig and Newell were together at that time, the difference is unimportant. I have a letter of Newell's which agrees with Walker in every particular but this.

furnished with horses and employed Craig to drive, thus becoming interested in the undertaking. Meek was engaged to drive Newell's remaining wagon, and Walker drove his own.

Loading the little train with their scanty possessions, the party, having been joined at the last moment by a German named Nicholas, set out on the 5th of August, and despite the great difficulties of the road, reached Waiilatpu in good season, and with the frames of their wagons intact, though they had been forced to throw away the beds.[38]

Craig remained in the upper country and settled at Lapwai, while Meek, Newell, and Wilkins proceeded to the Dalles on horseback, leaving their wagons to be brought on at the first opportunity.[39] Newell owned a few poor footsore cows which had been left by the passing missionaries at Fort Hall, and these he drove with him toward the Willamette Valley.

They reached the Dalles on a Sunday, and, fully expecting a cordial reception, at once called on their countrymen, Lee, Perkins, and Carter. But, to their surprise, the doors were closed against them, and no one appeared to give them welcome. They encamped at some little distance from the Mission, and were shortly afterward visited by Carter, who explained that he and his friends did not receive visitors on Sunday; at the same time he hospitably invited his famishing countrymen to partake of a meal of spiritual food at the evening prayer-meeting. They went, inwardly cursing rather than praying, and amused themselves with the antics of Jandreau, a lively Frenchman who accompanied them. This facetious personage had no particular love or reverence for the missionaries, though he affected to be suddenly smitten with an overwhelming sense of guilt, and kneeling

[38] *Newell's Letter to E. Evans*, Feb. 27, 1867; *Evans' Letter to A. McKinlay*, Dec. 27, 1880.

[39] This did not occur till 1842, when Newell had his taken to the Tualatin plains, it being the first wagon that crossed the plains from the Missouri to the Pacific.

down poured forth in tones of deep contrition what the missionaries, in their ignorance of the language, took to be a fervent prayer. The mountain men, however, recognized it to be one of Jandreau's camp-fire stories, and impiously mingled their coarse, smothered laughter with the rapturous hallelujahs and amens of the preachers.[40]

Possibly the mountain men would not have thought the missionaries so churlish had they better understood that the orthodox plan of settlement in those days excluded from Oregon the renegades of civilization from the Rocky Mountains,[41] and scarcely admitted the right of the frontiersmen of the western states to settle in the Oregon Territory. Later in the history it will be seen how the missionaries succeeded in the struggle to maintain this predominance.[42]

Our unwelcome colonists now drove their stock along the river as far as Wind River Mountain, where the natives assisted them in crossing to the trail on the north bank, down which they continued until opposite the mouth of the Sandy, when they recrossed to the south side, and drove the cattle through the woody northern end of the Willamette Valley to the mouth of the Clackamas below the Willamette Falls, where Newell and Meek arrived in December, travel-worn, wet, hungry, and homeless, and altogether beneath the notice of the missionaries. who very unwillingly sold them a few potatoes.

There was now nothing to do but to seek at Fort Vancouver the relief denied by the Americans. They easily obtained supplies from the fur company, where-

[40] *Victor's River of the West*, 282–3; *Portland Herald*, March 3, 1867.

[41] *Petition of 1838*, in *25th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Supt. Rept. 101.*

[42] It would not be fair to assume that every individual belonging to the Methodist Mission was selfishly indifferent to all other classes; but that the missionaries as a body entertained and practised exclusive sentiments, I have already shown from documentary evidence. There is much additional evidence in the statements of the western people who came across the plains; some in long anecdotes, others in terse sentences. See more particularly *Waldo's Critiques*, MS., 15; *Walker's Nar.*, MS., 16, 17; *Minto's Early Days*, MS., 25–6; *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, i. 60–1; Nesmith's Address, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1880, 19–22.

upon they crossed to the west side of the Willamette River, and driving their cattle through storm and mire to the Tualatin plains, there selected farms, and erected cabins for their families. They were joined soon after by the other mountain men, Doty, Walker, Wilkins, Ebberts, and Larison, forming, with the independent Presbyterian missionaries, Griffin, Clark, Smith, and Littlejohn, with their families, a rival settlement to that on Chemeketa plain.[43]

There was an arrival by sea in 1840 of an American vessel, the *Maryland*, belonging to the Cushings of Newburyport, with whom Jason Lee was in correspondence the previous year. The *Maryland* was

[43] Robert Newell was born near Zanesville, Ohio, March 30, 1807. His father removed to Cincinnati when he was a lad, and apprenticed him to a saddler. The death of his father left him his own master when about eighteen, and to gratify a love of adventure, he engaged with Smith, Sublette, and Jackson, to trap beaver in the Rocky Mountains. With little education, but fair talants and good principles, he contrived not to be ruined by the lawless associations which were fatal to so many. For some trifling surgical performances in the mountains he received the title of doctor, which he always retained. Applegate says of him: 'He was brave among the bravest, mirthful without being undignified, prudent and sensible, and of unquestioned veracity.' He is well spoken of by Evans, in *Hist. Or.*, MS., 342–3; by Ebberts, in his *Trapper's Life*, MS., 20; by Burnett, in his *Recollections*, MS., i. 115, 132–4, and by other authorities. While in the mountains he took to wife a Nez Percé, but in 1846 he married Miss Rebecca Newman, of Marion County, Oregon. His connection with the early history of the country was honorable. In 1867 he removed to Lewiston, Idaho, where he died November 14, 1869.

Joseph L. Meek was a native of Washington County, Virginia, born in 1810. His mother's name was Walker, of the same family as the wife of President Polk. Meek, however, grew up without education on a Virginia plantation, and being troubled because his father contracted a second marriage, ran away and joined Sublette at the same time with Newell and Ebberts. The friendship formed between the two young adventurers lasted through their lives, and Meek, who outlived Newell several years, sincerely mourned him. Unlike Newell, Meek was excessively frolicsome, and enjoyed shocking sedate people. While undoubtedly brave and magnanimous, he missed much of the consideration really due his exploits, through his habit of making light of everything, including his own feelings and acts. He possessed a splendid physique, a magnetic presence, wit, courtesy, and generosity. His wife was a Nez Percé, who outlived him. He died June 20, 1875. *Victor's River of the West*, 41–3; *Burnett's Rec. of a Pioneer*, 157–61, 173–4; *Hillsboro Independent*, June 24, 1875; *S. F. Call*, July 25, 1875; *S. F. Post*, June 22, 1875; *Portland Oregonian*, June 24, 1875; *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1876. William M. Doty died June 1872. C. M. Walker settled on the Nestucca River in Tillamook County. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1880, 58. Ebberts mentions John Kernard, W. H. Graves, and one Severn as being in Oregon at this time, and Gray mentions George Wilkinson and a man named Altgeier. *Hist. Or.*, 192.

commanded by John H. Couch, who came to establish a fishery on the Columbia.[44]

The petition of the colonists forwarded to congress by Farnham in the winter of 1839–40 was followed by a report from Captain Spaulding of the *Lausanne*, in which the British fur company was charged with avarice, cruelty, despotism, and bad government, in terms even more violent and exaggerated than Farnham had ventured to use.[45]

Such grave accusations, made so boldly and repeatedly, at length stirred the government to some show of action. The secretary of war could not be expected to know that the patriotic Spaulding spoke only from hearsay, or that all these communications drew their aspiration from the same source, the Methodist Missions. The result was, therefore, that instructions were despatched to the commander of the United States exploring squadron in the Pacific to visit the Columbia River, and ascertain how much ground really existed for the complaints so frequently made to congress concerning the hardships imposed by a foreign corporation upon citizens of the United States.

[44] *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser. 7; *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 272–3. Couch was unsuccessful in this undertaking, and after having sold his vessel at the Hawaiian Islands, returned to Newburyport, leaving in Oregon George W. Le Breton, a young man of intelligence and respectability, who settled at the falls of the Willamette, and attached himself to the anti-Hudson's Bay or American Missionary party. Having learned the condition of trade in Oregon and its requirements, Couch returned there in 1842 with a new brig, the *Chenamus*, named after a Chinook chief living opposite Astoria, and leaving a stock of goods at Oregon City in charge of Albert E. Wilson, who came out in the *Chenamus*, and Le Breton, employed his vessel in trade with the Sandwich Islands, as had been arranged in the informal treaty between Jason Lee and King Kamehameha III.; the whole business being under the name and auspices of Cushing & Co. Couch continued to manage the business of Cushing & Co. until 1847, when he returned to Newburyport by way of China. In the following year he engaged with a company of New York shipping merchants to take a cargo of goods to Oregon in the bark *Madonna*. Captain Flanders sailed with him as first officer, and took command of the *Madonna* on reaching Oregon, while Couch took charge of the cargo, which was placed in store and sold in Portland. The two captains went into business together in 1850, and remained at Portland up to the death of Couch, April 1869. Besides his business, Couch owned a land claim which proved a source of wealth, being now a part of the city of Portland. His wife and family came from Massachusetts by sea in 1852. His children were all daughters, and the three elder married Dr Wilson, C. H. Lewis, merchant, and Dr Glisan, all prominent citizens. *S. F. Bulletin*. May 1 1869.

[45] *H. Rept., 27th Cong., 2d Sess.*, 56–61.

The history of the United States exploring expedition under Lieutenant Wilkes is given in another volume. It is only necessary to say here that the colonists were not well pleased with its result. They complained that Wilkes was entertained with marks of distinguished consideration by the officers of the fur company, and that he did not see affairs as the colonists saw them; and when the navigator declared openly that there was no urgent necessity for the interference of the United States government so long as they enjoyed their present peace, prosperity, and comfort, the settlers were disgusted. He visited, the settlers averred, the American settlements west of the Cascade Mountains, and other of his officers the inferior missions, without discovering the evils which formed the subject of so many petitions and reports.

It seems strange that since Jason Lee was at the head of affairs in the Willamette Valley, he should only have met Wilkes by accident, when the latter stumbled upon his camp at the head of Sauvé Island.[46] After so many appeals to the United States government for the protection of its arms and the benefits of its jurisdiction, surely common courtesy would have dictated something like a formal reception. But in this instance, as was his custom, Lee left the execution of his designs and the appearance of responsibility to others, and set forth on an excursion to the mouth of the Columbia. If the colonists were in the situation represented to congress, he should have been making strenuous efforts to place the facts before Wilkes. The commander of the United States squadron was left, however, like any ordinary traveller, to go whither he pleased, and to form his own conclusions, which were, in the main, contrary to the tenor of the memorials which occasioned his inquiries.[47]

[46] *Wilkes' Nar.*, iv. 365.

[47] It is easy to see from Wilkes' remarks on the Columbia River and the Willamette Valley, in vol. iv. of his *Narrative*, that he was well informed of all the causes of complaint, from the treatment of Ewing Young

One instance of so-called injustice Wilkes took occasion to right. While he was still at Fort Vancouver he received a visit from three young men, members of a party of eight, who were building a schooner to take them to California, as they were anxious to leave a country where there were no young white women to marry. The party consisted of Joseph Gale, who came with Young; Felix Hathaway, the only ship-carpenter among them; Henry Wood, who came to California in 1837 with the cattle company; R. L. Kilborne, of the Peoria immigrants; and Pleasant Armstrong, John Green, George Davis, and Charles Matts, who arrived some time between 1838 and 1840.

The company had obtained part of the material necessary to build their vessel, such as iron and spikes, by representing that they were wanted for a ferry-boat to be used on the Willamette. To obtain rigging they induced the French settlers to go to Fort Vancouver and buy cordage, pretending it was for use in their rude farm harnesses. These underhand proceedings coming to the knowledge of McLoughlin, naturally excited his suspicions. How could he know that these were not preparations for piracy on the Cali-

to the report that cannon were buried on Tongue Point, and from the representations of the tyranny and vices of the fur company to the pleadings for American institutions; for all these subjects are there brought up and answered. He did not sympathize with Waller's complaint of the fur company's monopoly of trade, because he could not help feeling that it was 'unsuited to the life of a missionary to be entering into trade of any kind,' and that complaints against the Hudson's Bay Company 'came with an ill grace from the members of a mission who are daily receiving the kindest attentions and hospitality from its officers.' He visited some of the settlers, and was visited by others; dined with Father Blanchet at the Catholic mission on French Prairie; visited Abernethy at the old mission; criticised the manner in which the Mission people left a patent thrashing-machine in the middle of the road, 'where it had evidently been for a long time totally neglected,' and mentioned that a thousand bushels of wheat had been lost through neglect to harvest it, and that about all the Mission premises there was absence of repair and neatness, 'which he regretted to witness.' He expected to find an Indian school, but saw no natives except 4 who were employed as servants. On inquiry he was told that there were about 20 at the new mission; but when he arrived there he was informed that the pupils were not in a condition to be inspected. In short, he found the missionaries interested in anything rather than missionary work; and especially anxious about the establishment of a temporary government, which he discouraged. But of this I shall have more to say hereafter.

fornia coast? He would have nothing further to do with them, and it was in vain that they afterward appealed to him. Wood, who was the least reputable person in the company, having given Edwards and Young much trouble on the way from California, took upon himself to intercede with McLoughlin, who answered him that without any papers he was liable to be captured as a pirate, adding: "And how do I know that you do not intend to become one?"

"Well, doctor," replied Wood, in much excitement, "you may keep your paltry rigging. But remember, sir, I have an uncle in the States, whom I expect here shortly, rich enough to buy you out, and send you all packing."

It was now McLoughlin's turn to become excited, in which condition he always stammered, or repeated rapidly the same word. "I am glad to hear so rich a man as your uncle is coming to this country. Who is it, Mr Wood? What's his name, Mr Wood? I should like to know him, Mr Wood."

"His name is Uncle Sam, and I hope you will know him!" retorted Wood as he withdrew.[48]

When Wilkes had heard the story of the young men, and talked the matter over with McLoughlin, he paid a visit to their ship-yard. Becoming satisfied that all except Wood were of good character, he arranged with McLoughlin, after Wood was expelled from the company, to furnish them the requisite stores, chains, anchors, and rigging to complete the *Star of Oregon*. He gave them a sea-letter, and the first American vessel constructed of Oregon timber made a successful voyage to San Francisco Bay, under the command of Joseph Gale. She was there sold and the proceeds invested in cattle, which were driven to Oregon the following year, most of the company deciding to return and settle permanently in the Willamette Valley.

[48] *Applegate's Views of Hist.*, MS., 29–30. This story the doctor used often to repeat with much enjoyment.

The loss of the *Peacock* inside of the bar gave Wilkes a bad opinion of the entrance to the Columbia River, and his account from first to last, being anything but flattering to the commercial prospects of the country, was particularly displeasing to those who were endeavoring to encourage trade. Finally, if anything may be certainly known from Wilkes' report of the colony, or the colonist's opinion of Wilkes, it is that he considered his visit uncalled for, from a political point of view, and that they felt themselves badly treated because that was his opinion.[49]

Late in August a company was organized by Lieutenant Emmons of Wilkes' expedition for an overland exploring tour to California. The party consisted of eighteen officers and men, a number of the settlers. and certain immigrants.[50]

Wilkes remained in the country until October, supplying the place of the lost *Peacock* by chartering the *Thomas H. Perkins,* an American vessel which arrived in the river with a cargo of liquor. To prevent its being sold to the Indians, the cargo had been purchased by McLoughlin, who also bought the charter; the latter he now sold at a low figure to Wilkes, who changed the vessel's name to the *Oregon.*[51]

He sailed for California on the 5th, leaving of his command but one person, a negro cook named Saul, who deserted when the *Peacock* was wrecked,[52] and settled near the mouth of the Columbia.

[49] *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 204; *Swan's Northwest Coast*, 377.

[50] The immigrants were Joel P. Walker, his wife, sister, three sons, and two daughters, who arrived in Oregon the previous autumn; and Burrows, wife and child; Warfields, wife and child; and one Nichols, who I think crossed the continent with Bidwell's California company in 1841 as far as Fort Hall. The settlers who went to California with Emmons were Henry Wood, Calvin Tibbetts, and Henry Black, who came to Oregon in 1840, and Molair and Junass. Tibbetts returned with cattle in 1842, probably joining Gale's party.

[51] *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 302; *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser. 4; *Farnham's Travels*, 452–3; *Wilkes' Nar., U. S. Explor. Ex.*, v. 121. See also *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series.

[52] Saul was long known in Oregon as the master of a craft, a cross between a Chinese junk and a fore-and-aft schooner, which plied between Astoria and Cathlamet, carrying passengers, live-stock, and other freight, and supplying a necessity in the early development of the country. *Overland Monthly*, xiv. 273.

The year 1841 was remarkable for brief visits of exploration, rather than for any enlargement of the American colony. While Wilkes was still at Fort Vancouver, Sir George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories in North America, arrived at that post, having travelled from Montreal in twelve weeks, the whole journey being made in canoe and saddle.[53] The principal objects of his visit to the coast were the inspection of the fort at Stikeen, leased from the Russian American Company, and the establishment of a post at San Francisco. After spending a week at Vancouver he proceeded to Stikeen, and was back again at the fort by the 22d of October.

Almost simultaneously with Sir George's return to Vancouver, the French explorer Duflot de Mofras arrived at that post from the Hawaiian Islands in the company's bark *Cowlitz*. In 1839 Mofras, then an attaché of the French embassy at Madrid, had been sent by his government to join the legation at Mexico with special instructions to visit the north-western portion of Mexico, together with California and Oregon, to report on their accessibility to French commerce, and to learn something of the geography of the country.[54] Such, at least, was the ostensible purpose of Mofras' mission, though there were some who suspected him of playing the spy for his government. Sir George was of this opinion, and he took no pains to conceal it, which so hurt the Frenchman's *amour propre* that he insisted upon paying for his passage in the *Cowlitz* and defraying all other personal expenses. Nevertheless it is possible that Simpson's apprehensions were not wholly groundless, at all events so far as Mofras' personal sentiments were concerned; for the latter in his writings concludes a discussion of the Oregon Question with the hope that the French Canadians might throw off the hated English yoke and

[53] *Simpson's Nar.*, i. 1–172.
[54] *Mofras, Explor.*, i. preface, 33–74.

establish a new France in America, extending from the St Lawrence to the Pacific, or at least a sovereign state in the federal union.[55]

Simpson also speculated upon the future of the Canadian colony, of whose trade the Hudson's Bay Company were assured, and remarked that the American colony also were in a great measure dependent upon the company. But the representatives of two governments, and one corporation almost equal to a sovereignty, who visited Oregon this year, all reported favorably upon the moral, social, and material condition of the colonists.[56] About the end of November Simpson and Mofras both sailed from Oregon for San Francisco Bay, in the bark *Cowlitz*, accompanied by McLoughlin and his daughter, Mrs Rae, who was going to join her husband, William Glen Rae, in charge of the new post of the company at Yerba Buena.

Just before Simpson's departure there arrived in

[55] *Mofras, Explor.*, i. 294; Greenhow to Falconer, 6; *South. Quart. Review*, xv. 218; Dwinelle's Speech, 5, in *Pioneer Sketches*.

[56] Simpson estimated the whole population of the Willamette Valley in 1841, American and French, at 500 souls, 60 Canadians and others with Indian wives and half-breed families, and 65 American families. *Nar.*, i. 249. Spaulding gave the number of American colonists at 70 families. *27th Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Rept. 830.* Wilkes gave the numbers of white families at about 60. He also have the number of cattle in the Willamette Valley at 10,000, worth $10 a head wild, and much more for milch cows or work oxen. This estimate of the riches of the colonists in cattle is probably too high, though some herds had been driven from California since 1837. Simpson placed the number of cattle at 3,000, horses at 500, besides an uncounted multitude of hogs. Even the lower estimate would give an average of 24 cattle, 4 horses, and plenty of pork to each family. Simpson also stated the wheat raised in 1841 to be 35,000 bushels from 120 farms, or about 300 bushels to each farm, with a due proportion of oats, barley, pease, and potatoes. The price of wheat in 1841, after the Puget Sound Company had opened its farm on the Cowlitz, was 62½ cents per bushel, for which anything except spirits could be drawn from the company's stores, at 50 per cent advance on London cost. 'This is supposed,' says Wilkes, 'all things taken into consideration, to be equal to $1.12 per bushel; but it is difficult for the settlers so to understand it, and they are by no means satisfied with the rate. *Nar. U. S. Explor. Ex.*, iv. 390; *Simpson's Nar.*, i. 250. The wages of mechanics in the Willamette Valley were $2.50 to $3 a day, common laborers $1, and both difficult to procure at these prices. It could not reasonably be said that under these conditions the colonists were suffering any severe hardships. For other accounts of the colony at this time, see *Nicolay's Or. Ter.: Blanchet's Hist. Cath. Ch. in Or.*; Evans, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1877; Bond, in *27th Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Rept. 830.*

Oregon a company of twenty-three families, or about sixty persons, from the Red River settlement, brought out under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company to settle on the lands of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. They had left Red River about the first of June with carts, of which each family had two, and with bands of cattle, horses, and dogs. The men and boys rode on horseback, and the women and children were conveyed in the carts with the household goods. The whole formed a procession of more than a mile in length. They started twenty-eight days in advance of Simpson, who passed then at Fort Carlton, on the Saskatchewan, and they arrived about the middle of October at Nisqually,[57] where it was designed they should settle. But soon discovering the inferior quality of the soil in that region, they nearly all removed to the Willamette Valley, to the great disappointment of McLoughlin and other members of the Puget Sound Company.[58]

The failure of the Red River settlers to remain on the lands of the Puget Sound Company defeated whatever political design the formation of that organization favored, and during the year after their arrival added a considerable number to the Willamette settlements.

[57] Gray, in *Hist. Or.*, 288, places the arrival of the Red River immigrants at Fort Colville in September 1842, one year after they passed that place. George T. Allan, a clerk of the company at Vancouver, who accompanied Simpson to the Sandwich Islands, went to Colville to meet them before Sir George returned from Stikeen. *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 70; *Tolmie's Puget Sound*, MS., 24; Evans' Puyallup Address, in *New Tacoma Ledger*, July 9, 1880. Simpson speaks of treating their guide, a Cree, to a short trip on the steamer *Beaver*, on the sound, while he was at Nisqually in Oct. 1841. *Nar.*, i. 241.

[58] Fitzgerald, one of the party, says that 'the treatment they received from Dr McLoughlin was such that after having been nearly starved under the paternal care of that gentleman, they all went over to the American settlement of the Willamette Valley.' *Hudson's Bay Company*, 14. This is more than even Gray can indorse, who says that to his certain knowledge McLoughlin extended to the Red River settlers every facility within his power; but that other leading members of the company were domineering and tyrannical, which was the cause of their leaving the supposed English portion of the territory. *Hist. Or.*, 30. Applegate, in his marginal notes on Gray's history, says: 'The Red River settlers made no complaint of ill treatment, but removed from the sound to the Willamette because of the superiority of the soil and climate.' Lee and Frost give the same reason. *Or.*, 216.

CHAPTER X.

THE SUB-INDIAN AGENT'S COMPANY

1842-1845.

THE EFFECT OF LEE'S LETTER TO CUSHING—WHITE VISITS WASHINGTON—PLANS OF THE 'FRIENDS OF OREGON'—WHITE IS APPOINTED SUB-INDIAN AGENT FOR OREGON—HE RAISES A LARGE COMPANY OF EMIGRANTS—INCIDENTS OF THE JOURNEY—A CANINE MASSACRE—DISSENSIONS IN CAMP—THE HALT AT FORT LARAMIE—THE SIOUX TAKE A HAND—FORT HALL IS REACHED—RECEPTION BY THE MISSIONARIES—WHITE AND THE COLONISTS—DISGUSTED IMMIGRANTS—MCLOUGHLIN TO THE RESCUE—HASTINGS LEADS A PARTY TO CALIFORNIA.

THE return to Oregon of Elijah White, some two years after his quarrel with Jason Lee had sent him to the States in disgust, has already been alluded to. The immediate cause of his return was peculiar, inasmuch as it was destined that the man who had practically been the means of driving him out of the country in disgrace should involuntarily be the means of bringing him back in honor. It will be remembered that when Lee wrote to Cushing in January 1839, he urged that the settlers and Indians in Oregon sadly needed the protection of the laws of the United States, and suggested that if a suitable person should be sent out as civil magistrate and governor of the territory, the settlers would sustain his authority.[1] There can be little doubt that Lee hoped for the appointment himself; certainly nothing was further from his desire than that White should get it.

No action was taken in the matter at the time, but it was carefully kept in mind by those persons in the

[1] *25th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Rept. 101, Supplement*, 4.

States who were interested in the affairs of Oregon. It was not until the *Lausanne* had returned and Captain Spaulding had presented his report according to the representations made to him by the missionaries, that the 'Friends of Oregon' began to regard Lee's proposition as feasible. But where were they to find the man for their purpose? It was desirable that the prospective governor should be thoroughly familiar with Oregon affairs, and as such Lee himself would probably have been the first choice; but he was on the other side of the continent, and they wanted their candidate on the spot, in order that he might personally plead his cause with the government, and also that he might take direction of an emigrant scheme which they had in contemplation.

In January 1842 White, who had for a year past been living at his old home in Lansing, chanced to visit New York, and while there called on Fry and Farnham, owners of the *Lausanne*, to whom he was favorably known. Here was the very man the Friends of Oregon needed. In the consultation which followed, it was arranged that White should proceed at once to Washington. He shortly afterward set out, armed with introductory letters from persons of note to President Tyler, Webster, and Upsher. On reaching the capital, he was presented to Senator Linn of Missouri, J. C. Spencer, secretary of war, and other high officials who were interested in the Oregon Question, and disposed to remedy the evils complained of by the colonists by adopting Lee's suggestion to send out a person to act as governor and Indian agent, though they recognized the fact that the commissioning of such an official was, under the existing treaty with Great Britain, a matter of much delicacy.

The plan was only partially successful. After considerable discussion the government decided that as the United States made pretensions to the territory lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, they might venture to send a sub-Indian agent

into the country to look after the intercourse between the natives and citizens of the United States. But as to the office of civil magistrate or governor, that was a commission the president was not prepared to issue; though the settlers, if they chose to do so, could by mutual consent sustain the sub-Indian agent's claim to be regarded as a magistrate among them without definite authority from the United States.

All this having been explained to White, he was commissioned sub-Indian agent, with a salary of seven hundred and fifty dollars, and the guaranty that if Linn's bill, then before congress, passed, his pay should be raised to the full pay of an Indian agent, or fifteen hundred a year. He was also verbally given permission to draw upon government funds for the payment of necessary expenses in the discharge of his duties.[2] His instructions were to lose no time in returning to Oregon, but to proceed at once overland, using by the way every reasonable effort to induce emigrants to accompany him. On reaching home the doctor arranged his affairs, and having been joined by two of his neighbors, and two sons of Thomas McKay, proceeded westward, making known his desire to raise a company for Oregon wherever he went, by advertising in the newspapers, and occasionally lecturing to interested audiences.[3] At St Louis everything relating to Oregon was heard with attention, and the farther he progressed in the direction of Independence, the former recruiting rendezvous of the now disbanded fur companies, the greater was the interest evinced. From this latter place White made excursions through the country, travelling over the counties of Jackson and Platte, from which a large number of immigrants

[2] See bill for relief of Elijah White, and report of committee of the senate dated Feb. 2, 1846, in *White's Concise View*, 64–6.

[3] White gives the following glimpse of his emigration efforts: 'Last night all the other appointments were taken up to hear me lecture on Oregon, and as the weather was fine and travelling good, the noble church was filled, the pulpit lined with ministers of all denominations, and I talked an hour and a half with all my might.' *Ten Years in Or.*, 142–3; *White's Early Government*, MS., 22, 24.

was gained, while others appeared at Elm Grove, the appointed rendezvous twenty miles south-west of Independence, who had come from Illinois and Arkansas, so that by the 14th of May one hundred and twelve persons were assembled,[4] fifty-two being men over eighteen years of age.[5]

White's company was not so favorably circumstanced as those which had preceded it and had travelled under the protection of the American Fur Company. He says that his heart sank when he began to realize what he had undertaken; and that it was not made more buoyant when Sublette assured him that there would be much difficulty in organizing and governing such a large party, and in conducting it successfully such a distance through a wilderness in-

[4] It is not to be believed that these emigrants from afar came at the doctor's call. Probably they had already begun to move in the direction of Oregon, and hearing of White's party, joined it for safety. This opinion is sustained by Crawford.

[5] Their names are as follows: Thomas Boggs, Gabriel Brown, William Brown, James Brown, Hugh Burns, G. W. Bellamy, Barnam, Winston, Bennett, Vandeman Bennett, Bailey, Bridges, Nathaniel Crocker, Nathan Coombs, Patrick Clark, Alexander Copeland, Medorum Crawford, A. N. Coats, James Coats, John Dearum, John Daubenbiss, Samuel Davis, Allen Davy, John Force, James Force, Foster, Joseph Gibbs, Girtman, Lansford W. Hastings, John Hoffstetter, J. M. Hudspeth, Hardin Jones, Columbia Lancaster, Reuben Lewis, A. L. Lovejoy, S. W. Moss, J. L. Morrison, John McKay, Alexander McKay, Dutch Paul, Walter Pomeroy, J. H. Perry, Dwight Pomeroy, J. R. Robb, T. J. Shadden, Owen Sumner, Andrew Smith, A. D. Smith, Darling Smith, A. Towner, Joel Turnham, David Weston, Elijah White. Of these, 10 had families, as follows: Gabriel Brown, Mr Bennett, James Force, Mr Girtman, Columbia Lancaster, Walter Pomeroy, J. W. Perry, T. J. Shadden, Owen Sumner, and Andrew Smith. But Hastings gives the force of armed men as 80; and Frémont as 64. Crawford says the whole number of emigrants was 105. The largest number given by any authority is 160. Lovejoy says about 70 were able to stand guard. White's statement that there were 112 persons in the company when it organized, and that this number was augmented on the road until it reached 125, is probably the most reliable, and agrees with the account given in *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 257. McLoughlin, in his *Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser. 7, puts the number at 137, but he probably includes a party of mountain men who joined the emigrants at Fort Laramie. The authorities on the subject are: *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 144; *White's Emigration to Or.*, MS., 18; *Strong's Hist. Or.*, MS., 33; *Hastings' Or. and Cal.*, 6; *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS., 20; *Lovejoy's Founding of Portland*, MS., 4; Bennett's Narrative, in *San José Pioneer*, May 26 and June 2, 1877. Gray says there were 42 families, and makes the whole number of persons 111, but only names two of them. *Hist. Or.*, 212. The names of many of the adult emigrants must have been forgotten, the register having been lost after the death of the secretary, N. Crocker, soon after reaching Oregon. Mrs Ann Perry, wife of J. W. Perry, died in June 1879. *Salem Weekly Farmer*, July 4, 1879.

fested with hostile Indians tribes; but Sublette gave valuable advice with regard to outfit and regulations.[6]

The train of eighteen large Pennsylvania wagons, with a long procession of horses, pack-mules, and cattle, set out on the 16th, White having been elected to the command for one month from the time of starting. According to the regulations, camp was made at four o'clock every afternoon when wood and water were convenient. After the wagons had been drawn up so as to form a circular enclosure, the animals were turned loose to feed till sunset, when they were brought in and tethered to stakes set about the camp. Every family had its own fire, and prepared meals in its own fashion. The evening was spent in visiting, singing, and whatever innocent amusement suggested itself. The women and children slept in the covered wagons, and the men under tents on the ground. A guard was stationed at night, and at the dawn, at a given signal, every one arose and went about his duties, the cattle being collected while breakfast was being prepared. When all were ready, the wagon which had taken the lead the previous day was sent to the rear, so that each in rotation should come to the front.

In this manner all progressed amicably until the

[6] The resolutions adopted were substantially as follows: That every male over 18 years of age should be provided with one mule or horse, or wagon conveyance; should have one gun, 3 pounds of powder, 12 pounds of lead, 1,000 caps, or suitable flints, 50 pounds of flour or meal, 30 pounds of bacon, and a suitable proportion of provisions for women and children; that White should show his official appointment; that they elect a captain for one month; that there be elected a scientific corps, to consist of three persons, to keep a record of everything concerning the road and journey that might be useful to government or future emigrants. This corps consisted of C. Lancaster, L. W. Hastings, and A. L. Lovejoy. James Coats was elected pilot, and Nathaniel Crocker secretary. Moreover it was ordered that H. Burns be appointed blacksmith, with power to choose two others, and also to call to his aid the force of the company; that John Hoffstetter be appointed master wagon-maker, with like power; that the captain appoint a master road and bridge builder, with like powers; that a code of laws be draughted, and submitted to the company, and that they be enforced by reprimand, fines, and final banishment; that there be no profane swearing, obscene conversation, or immoral conduct allowed in the company, on pain of expulsion; that the names of every man, woman, and child be registered by the secretary. *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 145–6.

company had turned off from the Santa Fé trail in a north-westerly direction to the crossing of the Kansas River. At this point White startled the company by officially recommending that all the dogs in camp be forthwith killed lest they should go mad upon the arid plains which they were now approaching. King Herod's edict anent the slaughter of the innocents could scarcely have called forth a louder wail of lamentation from the mothers of Judea than was evoked from the women and children of White's party by this proposed immolation of their canine pets and companions. Many of the men, too, protested loudly against the sacrifice; and although when it came to a vote most of them yielded to their leader's wish, yet the measure was so unpopular that it contributed largely to the election of L. W. Hastings as captain at the end of the first month.[7]

At this same camp Columbia Lancaster lost a child, and as the mother was ill, the disheartened parents turned back to Platte City, their starting-point. The Kansas River, the South Platte, and other deep fords were made by placing boards across the tops of the wagon-boxes, on which the load was fastened, while above were perched the women and children. Soon after passing the South Fork, the company was overtaken by Stephen H. L. Meek, a brother of J. L. Meek, then in Oregon, and one Bishop, who was travelling for his health.

After Hastings was elected to succeed White, harmony no longer prevailed. The determination of the new commander to "govern and not be governed"[8] divided the party into two factions, who marched in separate columns till Fort Laramie was reached on the 23d of June. Here they spent a week in refitting, and during that time Mr Bissonette, who was in charge of the post, managed to bring about a reunion by

[7] *Lovejoy's Portland*, MS., 3. It appears that after all the measure was only partially carried out.

[8] *Hastings' Or. and Cal.*, 6, 9.

urging that the company would need its full strength while passing through the hostile tribes between Laramie and Fort Hall.

As the emigrants were told that it would be impossible for them to take their oxen and wagons through to Oregon, many sold or exchanged them for horses, the advantage being generally on the side of the fort people.[9] They also laid in a fresh stock of provisions, for which they had to pay at the rate of a dollar a pint for flour and a dollar a pound for coffee and sugar. Before leaving Laramie the company was joined by F. X. Matthieu and half a dozen Canadians, who had been in the service of the fur company east of the Rocky Mountains, and were now going to settle in Oregon. They had few supplies, but depended on game for subsistence.[10]

The company had now no guide for the remainder of the journey, Coats' knowledge of the country extending no farther than Fort Laramie; but they had hardly proceeded a mile from that post before they met Bridger and Fitzpatrick, of the fur companies, the former being on his way to the States with a large

[9] They disposed of their wagons and cattle at the fort; selling them at the prices they had paid in the States, and taking in exchange coffee and sugar at one dollar a pound, and miserable, worn-out horses, which died before they reached the mountains. Mr Boudeau informed me that he had purchased 30, and the lower fort 80 head of fine cattle, some of them of the Durham breed.' *Frémont's Expeditions*, 40–1.

[10] F. X. Matthieu was born in 1818, and in 1837, at the time of the Canadian rebellion, was clerk in a store in Montreal. Being a rebel, he employed his leisure in purchasing and shipping arms to the centres of rebellion, and was obliged at last to quit Canada, which he did in 1838. He went first to Albany, New York, and afterward to St Louis, where he engaged with the American Fur Company to trade in the Yellowstone country; and subsequently made an expedition to Santa Fé, from which place he rejoined the fur company at Fort Laramie in 1841, and traded for one year with the natives in the Yellowstone region. But the natives being furnished with rum became too savage and dangerous to deal with, and Matthieu decided to go to Oregon with the emigration. Two of the Canadians with him were Peter Gauthier and Paul Ojet. Matthieu went to Étienne Lucier at Champoeg, where he remained two years, working as a carpenter or farmer as circumstances required. In 1844 he married and settled at St Pauls as a farmer. When the gold fever broke out he went to California for a time. He was afterward elected constable and justice of the peace under the provisional government of Oregon. In 1878 he dictated to my stenographer an account of his adventures, which, under the title of *Matthieu's Refugee*, MS., furnishes several items of interest and importance to this work.

quantity of furs, and accompanied through the hostile country by the latter. As Bridger no longer required his services, Fitzpatrick was induced by White, who claims to have acted with authority, to guide the company to Fort Hall at the expense of the government.[11]

The new guide soon had an opportunity to show his skill in dealing with the natives; for while at Independence Rock, where some of the party were ambitious to inscribe their names, Hastings and Lovejoy, who had fallen behind, were cut off by a party of Sioux, and narrowly escaped to camp after several hours of detention, the savages following, and being met by Fitzpatrick, who succeeded in arranging matters.[12]

The Sweetwater was reached on the 13th of July, and here one of the company, a young man named Bailey, was accidently shot by another of the party. At this place all remained for several days to hunt buffalo and to dry the meat. The Sioux, who infested the country in considerable numbers, caused the hunters great annoyance, frequently robbing them of both horses and game, though they were kept at a safe distance from the camp. The last that was seen of them was on a tributary of the Sweetwater, where the principal chiefs were invited to camp and conciliated with presents.

As soon as they were clear of the enemy, White and a dozen others who were well mounted pushed on before, taking Fitzpatrick with them. This left Hastings in charge of the heavier portion of the train, without a guide, and accordingly caused much dissat-

[11] Hastings says that White had no authority to employ a guide at the expense of the government. *Or. and Cal.*, 9. Lovejoy, who was Hastings' lieutenant, says the same. *Founding of Portland*, MS., 7. White undoubtedly had verbal assurances that the necessary expenses of his expedition would be paid, see Letter of J. C. Spencer, in *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 322–5, and was encouraged to expect the protection of Frémont's exploring expedition, which did not, however, leave the frontier until the 10th of June, nor arrive at Laramie until the 15th of July, when White's party had been a week gone.

[12] *Lovejoy's Portland*, MS., 9–18; *Hastings' Or. and Cal.*, 11–17; *White's Ten Years*, 155–7

isfaction. At Green River another division occurred. About half the original number of wagons was still retained; and now part persisted in cutting up their wagons and making pack-saddles, and travelling henceforth with horses. Heavy rain-storms hindered both parties, who arrived at Fort Hall about the same time. Here the emigrants were kindly received by Grant, who sold them flour for half the price paid at Laramie, taking in payment the running-gear of the wagons, which all now agreed to dispense with.[13]

The company remained at Fort Hall about ten days, except White's party, who started a few days in advance. They lost a man, Adam Horn, the unfortunate cause of Bailey's death, at the crossing of Snake River below Salmon Falls.[14] The doctor and his companions started with McDonald, a Hudson's Bay trader; but the pack-animals not being able to keep up with the fur company's cavalcade, the greater number of the party fell behind, while White and a few others proceeded with McDonald to Walla Walla. The route taken by McDonald and White after leaving Fort Boisé was the same as that described by Farnham, through Burnt River Cañon, and Grand Ronde Valley, and thence over the Blue Mountains, which they crossed in two days. From the foot of the mountains an Indian guided White to Whitman's mission. Hastings' party avoided the crossing of Snake River, proceeding along the south side of that stream as far as the lower crossing at Fort Boisé, where they came into the trail of the advance party. They also turned aside to visit Waiilatpu, where they were warmly welcomed by Whitman about the middle

[13] *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 164; *Hastings' Or. and Cal.*, 20; *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS., 24. Attempts have been made to show that the Hudson's Bay Company's officers did what they could to obstruct immigration from the States, and purposely exaggerate the difficulties in order to induce the emigrants to sell their oxen and wagons at a sacrifice. That such was not the case is proved by Grant's kindness to White's and other parties. He sold them provisions low, and so far from trying to get their wagons, he assured them that they could travel with them as far as Walla Walla without serious interruption. It was their own fault that they did not take his advice.

[14] *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS., 23.

of September. Here they halted several days to recruit, and were kept busy answering the eager questions of the isolated missionaries concerning affairs in the States.[15]

From Waiilatpu the emigrants proceeded without accident to the Willamette Valley, which they reached on the 5th of October, some by Daniel Lee's cattle trail from the Dalles, and others by the trail on the north of the Columbia, swimming their cattle to the south side when opposite the mouth of Sandy River.

White, who appears to have been anxious to reach the settlements as early as possible, arrived at Vancouver about the 20th of September. Considering the circumstances of his departure from Oregon, it was but natural that he should have some feeling of self-importance and exultation on returning as the first officer of the United States appointed in that country. But as his commission as governor, or rather magistrate, was only verbal, and depended on the will of the colonists, it was prudent at least to ascertain the sentiment of the people, and that, too, before the arrival of the Hastings wing of the immigration, whose influence was likely to be thrown against him.

The position in which White found himself on presenting his credentials to the colonists was not an enviable one. A meeting was called at Champoeg on the 23d of September, which was addressed at some length by the doctor, who gave such information as he felt himself authorized to give, as he expressed it, concerning the intentions of the government in regard to the colony, and the feeling of the people of the United States toward it. Resolutions were then passed, to the effect that the people of Willamette Valley were happy that the government had mani-

[15] Lovejoy, who was of Hastings' party, had been left behind to search for a lost companion. When he reached Walla Walla, Hastings had gone, so he remained at the mission, and in the following month was engaged to accompany Whitman to the States.

fested its intention, through its agent, Doctor White, of extending jurisdiction and protection over the country; gratified that an Indian agent had been appointed to regulate and guard the interests of the natives; and pleased with the appointment of White, with whom they promised to cordially coöperate. They were also grateful for the liberal design of the government to lend its support to education and literature among the colonists. It would give them the highest satisfaction to be brought as soon as possible into this happy estate, and they desired that their views expressed in their resolutions might be transmitted to the government.[16] There was nothing unfriendly in these guarded expressions, but it was soon remarked, with different degrees of acrimonious criticism, that White assumed powers not belonging to him, claiming to be virtual governor of the colony, whereas he had no commission except a letter of instructions as sub-agent of Indian affairs.[17] The embarrassments of his anomalous position constantly increased. The missionary colonists, as has already been shown, were divided amongst themselves. Those who differed from Jason Lee as to the proper business of men in the employ of missionary societies had already begun to leave the country. Those who remained, especially those in the Willamette Valley, belonged to the Lee faction, and were opposed to the pretensions of White because Lee was opposed to them. The settlers belonging to the Mission were governed, as the uneducated classes usually are, by the opinions of the man with the best facilities for making himself popular, and although Jason Lee's popularity with this class was not what it once had

[16] *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 168–70.

[17] Hines says: 'The subject of organizing a government was again revived in September 1842; but Dr White, who was now in the country as sub-agent of Indian affairs, contended that his office was equivalent to that of governor of the colony. Some of the citizens contended that the doctor's business was to regulate the intercourse between the Indians and whites, and not to control the whites in their intercourse among themselves.' *Or. Hist.*, 421; *Applegate's Views*, MS., 36; *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 4.

been, he still controlled the majority of American minds in the Willamette Valley. This being the position of affairs, it required no little skill to avoid the rocks placed in the current which White was obliged to navigate by the determined and often underhand opposition of his former associates of the Methodist Mission.

The importance of White's immigration has never been fully recognized. First, the missionary historians, Hines and Gray, were inimical to White, each in his way damning him either with faint praise or loud condemnation. After them, writers on immigration, finding White ignored, fell into the habit of speaking of the company of 1843 as the first immigrants. Against this injustice the authors of several manuscripts protest.[18] Hastings, who wrote so minutely about the journey, and who succeeded White in command of the company, mentions the name of his rival but once in his account of the migration, and then only to doubt his authority to employ a guide. From all of which we may learn that if a man desires to be properly represented in history, he must avoid coming in conflict with the ambitions of other men. equally aspiring who may undertake the record of affairs.

Upon the same authority it is said that most of the immigrants were disappointed in the country. They found themselves more than two thousand miles from the land of their birth, without houses to shelter them, destitute of the means of farming, without provisions or clothing, surrounded by unfriendly natives, and without the protection of their government. What wonder, then, if discontent prevailed?[19] McLoughlin did his best to relieve this feeling, engaging many in labor at fair wages, and furnishing goods on credit to those who could not make immediate payment. The Mission, also, which was in need of laborers for

[18] *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 10, 11; *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS., 17; *White's Early Government*, MS., 19.
[19] *Hastings' Or. and Cal.*, 22.

the contemplated improvements, employed many mechanics. Thus out of the industry of this handful of energetic Americans sprang up Oregon City in the winter of 1842–3. There were thirty buildings in the spring of 1843, where before the immigration there had been but three or four.[20] From this it would seem that most of the men with families, and some without, settled at Oregon City.[21]

But there were others among the immigrants who could not be prevented from leaving Oregon by proffers of well-paid labor or other consideration. Why, it is difficult to say. They had had as yet no opportunity of estimating the resources of the country or the advantages which might accrue to them by settling in it. Possibly Hastings was responsible for it. He and White had been at enmity throughout the overland journey, and as the latter carried a govern-

[20] *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 29.

[21] Medorum Crawford went to Salem, and taught the Mission school during its last session, after which he returned to Oregon City and entered upon the business of transporting goods around the Falls with ox-teams for the greater convenience of the settlers above the portage. He was born in the state of New York, being 21 years of age when he came to Oregon. He married in 1843 Miss Adeline Brown, who came in the same company. Mrs Crawford died in June 1879, leaving 6 children. *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS., 4. This manuscript was dictated from memory. It agrees in the main with other accounts of the emigration of 1842, and refers to many Oregon matters. Sidney W. Moss assisted in building the original Oregon Institute on Wallace's prairie. He was born in Bourbon County, Indiana, March 17, 1810, was a stone-mason by trade, and finally took up his residence at Oregon City. He appears, from his *Pictures of Pioneer Times*, to have been a man of strong biases, giving his opinions incautiously, though in the main his statements were correct. He was of a literary turn, and was interested in founding the first association for mutual improvement in Oregon in the autumn of 1843, called the Falls Debating Society. Moss says that while on the way to Oregon, and during the winter of 1842, he wrote a story called the *Prairie Flower*, which he gave for publication to Overton Johnston, an emigrant from Indiana, who returned to the States in 1843; and that it fell into the hands of Emerson Bennett, who polished it, and published it as his own, securing considerable fame thereby, as it was the first of a series of those sketches of border life which afterward became popular. Bennett subsequently wrote a sequel, *Leni Leoti*. *Moss' Pioneer Times*, Oregon City, 1878, is a valuable manuscript treating ably of a great variety of historial topics, chiefly relating to Oregon City. David Weston, a blacksmith associated with Hubbard, with born in Indiana, July 4, 1820. He became a worthy citizen of the young commonwealth, serving though the Cayuse war. He died Dec. 19, 1875. *Salem Farmer*, Jan. 1876. Manning settled on a farm near the old Mission, where he lived 7 years, but went to California in 1849. *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 612. Crocker was drowned in the Willamette in February 1843, as mentioned in a previous chapter.

ment appointment, Hastings may have thought that his ambition would be more fully gratified by seeking fresh fields. Wherever Hastings went his adherents were willing to follow, and the result was that he started for California in the spring with about a third of the adult male members of the original company, together with a number of women and children.[22] The party rendezvoused at Champoeg, and began their march on the 30th of May. Nothing occurred to interrupt their journey until Rogue River was reached, where the savages crowded about them in large numbers, proffering the use of their canoes in crossing. The travellers accepted the offer, but prudently divided their armed men into two parties, half being on the farther side to receive and protect the goods, and half left to protect the families which had not yet crossed. In this manner, by great watchfulness, and occasionally driving the natives back by discharging a gun, this dangerous point was safely passed.

Several days' travel below Rogue River they encountered a company en route to Oregon, headed by J. P. Leese and John McClure. The meeting was the occasion of serious discussion, both parties encamping in order to consider the relative merits of the two countries. The result was, that about one third of Hastings' party turned back to Oregon with Leese and McClure.[23] Hastings' company, reduced to six-

[22] Hastings gives the whole number as 53, and of men bearing arms 25. J. M. Hudspeth, who was born in Alabama February 20, 1812, 'a civil gentleman,' as Moss says, was one. *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 478–9. N. Coombs, who settled in Napa Valley, was another He died December 1877. *Antioch Ledger*, Jan. 5, 1878. T. J. Shadden is also mentioned. He returned to Oregon and settled in Yamhill County. *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS., 29. Among the rest were W. Bennett, V. Bennett, O. Sumner, A. Smith, A. Copeland, G. Davis, S. B. Davis, John Daubenbiss, G. W. Bellamy, H. Jones, and Mr Bridges. Four of these had families. *San José Pioneer*, May 26, 1877. Gray remarks that Hastings relieved the colony of a number of not very valuable settlers, referring to the fact that they were furnished by McLoughlin with supplies for their journey to California, for which the most of them neglected to make payment to Mr Rae at San Francisco as agreed. *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser. 8. But the subsequent career of these men proved them no worse in this respect than some who remained in Oregon.

[23] McClure was from New Orleans, where, according to Moss, something happened to cause him to leave that part of the world. He settled at Astoria,

teen armed men, proceeded to their destination, being twice attacked by Indians, once at Shasta River, and again on the Sacramento, with no other damage than the wounding of Bellamy, and the loss for several days of two men who became separated from the company, and who, having exhausted their ammunition narrowly escaped death from starvation. At Sutter Fort all were kindly received and cared for, and Hastings, after remaining a short time in California, during which he gathered much floating information regarding the country, published a narrative of his travels and observations for the benefit of succeeding emigrations.[24]

his land claim forming a part of the town site, and married a native, a sister of the wife of George Winslow, colored, of the many aliases, whose business as 'medical doctor' was so unfeelingly broken up by Dr Barclay, at Oregon City. James John, M. C. Nye, James Dawson, and Benjamin Kelsey, his wife Nancy and one daughter, were of the California emigration to Oregon. The Kelseys did not long remain, but returned to California; and Dawson was drowned in the Columbia River in 1847. *San Joaquin Co. Hist.*, 15; *Sutter Co. Hist.*, 25.

[24] *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California, Containing Scenes and Incidents of a Party of Oregon Emigrants; A Description of Oregon; Scenes and Incidents of a Party of California Emigrants, and a Description of California, with a Description of the Different Routes to those Countries, and all Necessary Information Relative to the Equipment, Supplies, and the Method of Travelling.* By Lansford W. Hastings, leader of the Oregon and California emigrants of 1842. Cincinnati, 1845. This compendious title to a book of 152 pages sufficiently explains the nature of its contents, which are written in a fair style. Hastings was from Detroit, Michigan. He is described as a man of practical talent, but of a selfish and arbitrary disposition, and is charged with having wormed himself into the command. *Lovejoy's Portland*, MS., 3. He headed an expedition, says Moss, to some southern island, *Pioneer Times*, MS., 8; and Lovejoy adds that he married a Spanish lady. *Hastings' Emigrant Guide* was republished in 1849 at Cincinnati, and bound with a number of other pamphlets on the same subject, under the title of *A History of Oregon and California.*

CHAPTER XI.

WHITE'S ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

1842–1845.

THE INDIAN AGENT'S TROUBLES—HIS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CAYUSES AND NEZ PERCÉS—A CODE OF LAWS FOR THE INDIANS—THE PEACE BROKEN AGAIN, AND AGAIN PATCHED UP—WHITE'S TROUBLES WITH ILLICIT DISTILLERIES—THE KILLING OF COCKSTOCK—THE OREGON RANGERS—YELLOW SERPENT'S DISASTROUS EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA—DEATH OF HIS SON ELIJAH—WHITE'S INTERVIEW WITH CHIEF ELLIS—HIS CONCILIATORY PROMISES, AND HOW THEY WERE KEPT—HIS DEPARTURE FROM OREGON.

THE new Indian agent had not been many weeks in Oregon before he was called upon to act in his official capacity. Word came to Fort Vancouver that the Cayuses had burned a mill at the Waiilatpu mission, besides insulting Mrs Whitman, and that the Nez Percés had threatened violence and outrage at Lapwai. This news greatly alarmed the colonists, as it seemed to confirm a rumor then prevalent that all the Oregon tribes were preparing for a general attack on the settlers.[1]

New to office, White acted with promptness. He consulted with the veteran McKay, by whose advice it was decided to visit the disturbed localities without delay. Accordingly, on the 15th of November, White and McKay set out, accompanied by six well-armed men and two interpreters, Cornelius Rogers and Baptiste Dorion. At the Dalles they found Mrs Whitman, who had abandoned her home, together with Littlejohn and his wife, and Geiger. Littlejohn and

[1] *Matthieu's Refugee*, MS., 13; *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 176–7; *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 142.

Geiger joined White's party, who received another important addition at Walla Walla in the person of McKinlay, who declared that he would make common cause with the Americans in dealing with the Cayuses. But few natives were found at Waiilatpu, and those were shy; so leaving an appointment for a meeting with the Cayuses on their return, the party proceeded to Lapwai. A courier had been sent in advance to collect the Nez Percés, and when Spalding's station was reached on the 3d of December, White was received by the assembled chiefs with gravity and reserve. Wishing to gain the confidence and goodwill of the natives before meeting them in council, White began by visiting and prescribing for the sick, and holding informal conversations with the chiefs, in the course of which he took care to praise the performance of their children at school, and otherwise to judiciously flatter them.

At the general conference which followed, he made an appropriate and well-turned speech explaining the nature of his office. He told them that the object of his visit was to show them the friendly intentions of the United States government, which would protect them in their rights, even against white men who would do them wrong; he dwelt upon the high esteem in which the missionaries were held by their great chief, the president of the United States, and the offence which would be given by injuring them in their persons or estate.

McKinlay also addressed them, alluding to the former good understanding between the Nez Percés and the fur company; and assuring them that English, French, and Americans were one in interests and feelings, and allied in the same manner as were the confederated tribes, the Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Nez Percés. Rogers next made an appeal to them, as their former teacher, and hoped they would avoid the troubles into which some of the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains had fallen through unreasonable

resistance to the just measures of white men. But perhaps the most effective speech of all was that made by McKay, who addressed the chiefs in their own tongue and picturesque style of oratory. He reminded them of the tragical death of his father, and of the many years he himself had spent among them, during which they had fought and suffered together, and enjoyed their peaceful sports in common. Now, however, he was growing old, and thinking to enjoy repose, had settled on a farm in the Willamette. But at a moment when all was quiet, the voice of his white brethren had aroused him, and he had come in haste to tell them, his former friends and associates, to be advised, and not to stop their ears, for the children of the great chief were as numerous as the stars in the heavens or the leaves on the trees, and they, who were not fools, as their advancement in learning showed, surely would not refuse to hearken to the voice of wisdom.

When McKay had ended, several of the leading chiefs replied, avowing friendliness toward the white men, and expressing their gratitude to the United States government for sending an agent to look after their welfare. White next proposed that for their better government and organization the Nez Percés elect a head chief, with authority to control the young men and punish them for wrong-doing, the sub-chiefs acting as his aids, each with a suite of five men to execute his orders. He also read to them, clause by clause, a code of laws which he suggested they should adopt.[2]

[2] Following are the offences named and penalties attached: Murder and purposely burning a dwelling, hanging. Burning an out-building, six months imprisonment, 50 lashes, and payment of damages. Burning property through carelessness, payment of damages. Entering a dwelling without permission of occupant, punishment left to the chiefs. Theft of property of the value of a beaver-skin or less, pay back twofold, and 25 lashes. Theft of property worth more than a beaver-skin, pay back twofold, and 50 lashes. Using another's horse or other property without permission, 20 to 25 lashes, as the chief directs, and payment for use of the horse. Injuring crops or fences, payment of damages, and 25 lashes. Only those travelling or living in the game country might keep a dog. If a dog kill a domestic animal, the owner must pay the

Although this code was specially levelled against the class of misdemeanors from which settlers and missionaries suffered most annoyance at the hands of the Indians, yet its provisions were readily approved and accepted by the chiefs, who even proposed that in some instances the penalties should be made heavier. But they were by no means so unanimous in the matter of electing a head chief. The canvassing caused much agitation, on account of jealousies among themselves, but after a great deal of anxious consultation with one another and the Americans, who endeavored not to give advice in this important matter, Ellis, the educated son of the Bloody Chief, was at length chosen, to the general satisfaction of the tribe.[3] Appreciating the truth that the shortest road to an Indian's heart lies through his stomach, White had provided a fat ox for a barbecue, together with abundance of corn and pease. After the feast the pipe was smoked, and then both the civilized and savage gave themselves up to song and merriment. On the fifth day of the visit a final council was held, when White took occasion to lecture the savages on their begging propensities, explaining to them as well as he could the low estimation in which beggars were held by white people. Fifty garden-hoes were then presented to the chiefs and Mr Spalding for distribution among the industrious poor; together with some medicines, to be given as needed. Then, with a parting admonition not to disagree among themselves or with their teachers, and an intimation to the chiefs that they were to be held responsible for the good conduct of

damage and kill the dog. This law was suggested by the Indians themselves. Raising a gun against a white man, to be punished at discretion of chiefs. If a white man do the same to an Indian, he is to be punished by white men. An Indian breaking these laws is to be punished by his chiefs; a white man breaking them is to be punished by the Indian agent. *White's Or. Ter.*, 181–4.

[3] Hines describes Ellis as having 'a smattering of the English language, and a high sense of his own importance,' and says that after he was appointed he pursued a very haughty and overbearing course. *Oregon Hist.*, 143. White describes him as 'a sensible man of 32, reading, speaking, and writing the English language tolerably well;' that he had a fine small plantation, a few sheep, some neat stock, and no less than 1,100 head of horses. *Ten Years in Or.*, 186–7.

their people, the agent and his party returned to Waiilatpu, being escorted several miles upon their way by the Nez Percés.

On reaching Whitman's station, White found only a few of the Cayuse chiefs assembled, and the people still shy. Hearing that the Nez Percés had so readily accepted laws, and chosen a high chief, they were much distressed. It seemed to them as if their relatives and allies had turned against them, while the presence of McKinlay, and especially of McKay, warned them that all the white people, English and Americans, were likely to combine for their punishment. McKay spoke first and was followed by Rogers. Their earnest reproaches had considerable effect upon their hearers, one of whom, Tauitau, formerly head chief of the tribe, made a long speech deploring the incorrigible wickedness of his people, and expatiating upon his own sincere but fruitless efforts to control them. White replied in terms of encouragement, taking care, however, to warn the savages that there was trouble in store for them unless they mended their ways. Finally, it was arranged that a meeting between the agent and the Cayuses should take place in April, when it would be expected that a satisfactory settlement of the existing troubles should be had.

Returning to the Dalles on the 25th of December, and finding the natives much excited between the warlike rumors they had heard and curiosity about the mission of White, several days were spent in instructing and inducing them to accept the laws instituted for the Nez Percés, to which they finally consented. Having thus smoothed the way, White recommended that Mr and Mrs Littlejohn should proceed to Lapwai to reënforce the Spaldings, which they did immediately after the winter holidays, while he returned to the Willamette Valley.[4]

[4] The only child and son of Littlejohn was drowned in the mill-race at Lapwai the following summer. *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 212.

White had hardly reached home when he was called to the mouth of the Columbia to take measures for the arrest and punishment of George Geer, a sailor who had deserted from an American vessel which had been in the river selling liquor to the natives.[5] Geer had acted as agent in this nefarious business, which had occasioned battles and bloodshed among the Clatsops and Chinooks; and Frost had protested somewhat warmly, as his own life as well as the lives of the contestants was endangered. This so enraged Geer, who was, as White expressed it, "a fool as well as a villain," that he offered a bribe of five blankets to the natives to murder Frost. White arrested the man, but not knowing what to do with him in the absence of any law, prevailed on McLoughlin to allow him to accompany the Hudson's Bay Company's express across the mountains, on a promise never to return to the country.

By the 1st of April, 1843, White had eight prisoners on his hands, mostly Indians, guilty of various crimes, principally horse-stealing and petty larceny of articles of food. He says in his report that "crimes are multiplying with numbers among the whites, and with scarcity of game among the Indians." The crimes of which the white men were guilty seem to have been few, and were probably violations of the laws of the United States regulating intercourse with the natives. In his zeal to perform his whole duty, White may have sometimes listened to complaints which might have been disregarded. He was confessedly in doubt as to his authority to prevent certain acts which he found injurious to the general peace, and was compelled to ask the commissioner of Indian affairs for specific instructions in the premises.[6] Letters received from Spalding and Brewer testified to the better behavior of the natives at their stations during the winter, but

[5] This was the *Blanche*, Capt. Chepman, from Boston. *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser. 7; *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 322.

[6] *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 200.

it was rumored that at the Jesuit stations the priests had been robbed of their cattle and were in fear for their lives.[7] The peace at the Protestant missions was not, however, of long duration. In the spring White received information from Lapwai, Waiilatpu, and the Dalles that the natives were again threatening the extinction of the settlers, assigning as a reason that the white men intended to take away their lands. The Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Nez Percés were exasperated because there were so many strangers in the country, and rumor had it that they contemplated cutting off Whitman, who was expected soon to return from the States with a party of colonists.[8]

The alarm was great and general. Almost every man had a plan of his own for averting the impending catastrophe, for should the savages combine, it was probable that the settlers would be exterminated. Several isolated families abandoned their homes and sought the settlements. Some urged the Indian agent to erect a strong fortification in the midst of the colony, and furnish guns and ammunition. Others thought it better to go with an armed force into the midst of the conspirators and bring them to reason with words, if possible, and if these failed, to use force. White himself wished the settlers to pledge themselves, under forfeiture of a hundred dollars in case of delinquency, to keep on hand, ready for use, a good musket or rifle, and a hundred rounds of ammunition; and to hold themselves ready to march at a moment's notice to any part of the country, not to exceed two days' travel, for the purpose of repelling the savages should they attempt to invade the settlements. But no plan could be formed upon which all would unite.

To add to the general excitement, the Indians in the Willamette Valley became unusually insolent,

[7] No hint of this is given by the Catholic authors, except the acknowledgment of having built a stockade about one of their stations. Their policy was to represent the natives as being everywhere rejoiced at their advent.

[8] *Hines' Or. Hist.*, 143–4; *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 213–14.

owing to a quarrel between some Molallas and the negro George Winslow, or Winslow Anderson as he now called himself. Moreover there was hostile agitation among the Calapooyas because White had ordered some of them to be flogged for stealing from the missionaries.[9]

On the 20th of April White received a letter from Brewer urging him to come up to the Dalles without delay, and endeavor to quiet the excitement among the natives. He was under an engagement to visit them this month, and immediately began to prepare for the expedition, which involved the raising of both men and means. On all other occasions when the Americans lacked anything, they had obtained whatever they needed at Fort Vancouver, and from the Canadians. But Spaulding's report and the Abernethy-Shortess petition had given great offence to McLoughlin, who declared that henceforward he would extend no favors to the authors of that memorial, whoever that might be. Nor did McLoughlin favor White's proposal to go among the Indians with an armed force. Such a step he thought might bring on a conflict, whereas to remain quiet might soothe their excitement—an opinion which he communicated to White by letter.

The Americans, however, held different views. But when White was ready to proceed, not a Canadian could be induced to accompany him, so that when he set out only Le Breton, one Indian, and an Hawaiian servant were with him. Nor were the requisite equipments at hand, or the funds to procure them at Fort Vancouver. On arriving at the fort, where according to Hines they "found it rather squally,"[10] White requested provisions, ammunition, and arti-

[9] *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 146.

[10] Hines says he inquired of McLoughlin if he had refused to grant supplies to those Americans who had signed the memorial against him, when the doctor replied that he had only said that of its authors. 'Not being one of the authors, but merely a signer of the petition, I did not come under the ban of the company; consequently I obtained my outfit for the expedition.' *Or Hist.*, 149–50.

cles for presents, on an order on the United States treasury,[11] which request was granted, notwithstanding the late affront to the company and its chief officer in Oregon, and on the 29th the party proceeded by canoe to the Dalles. There White was visited by a deputation of Indians from near the mission of Lee and Perkins. The chiefs complained that they had much difficulty in enforcing the laws, as the people resisted the whipping penalty. The chiefs, however, were in favor of continuing the code on account of the authority it gave them. As for those who had been whipped, they inquired of White what benefit the whipping system was going to be to them; they had been flogged a good many times, they said, and had received nothing for it. If this state of affairs was to continue, the law was bad and they did not want it. But if blankets, shirts, and gifts were to follow, they had no objection to its continuance. When White told them not to expect pay for being whipped if they deserved it, they laughed and dispersed, giving their guardian plainly to understand that they did not propose to suffer the penalties of civilization for nothing.

White found on coming nearer to the seat of disturbance that rumor had not overstated the seriousness of its aspect. The Indians, to justify themselves, asserted that Baptiste Dorion, while acting as White's interpreter on his first visit, had told them that the Americans designed taking away their land. The young Cayuses were in favor of raising a war party at once, surprising the Willamette settlements, and cutting off the colony at one blow, which by concert of

[11] Of course the Hudson's Bay Company found no one in Washington to honor Dr White's bills, amounting, in all, to $6,000. By a proper representation of the facts, the friends of Oregon in congress, after some years' delay, procured the passage of an act authorizing the payment of these bills. In the mean time the board of management in London passed an order, which, besides being an imperative command for the future, was a sarcastic rebuke for the past. The orders informed their traders in Oregon 'that they did not understand government securities,' and forbade them to deal in them, and for the future to 'stick to their beaver-skins.' *Applegate's Views of Hist.*, MS., 37; *White's Or. Ter*, 64–6.

action could easily have been done. But the older chiefs counselled more cautious measures, pointing out the lateness of the season, and the difficulty of crossing the mountains in the snow. It would be wiser in any case, they added, not to be the first to attack, but to be prepared for defence should the Americans attempt their subjugation. So impressed were they that such design was in contemplation, that they could not be induced by Geiger to prepare the ground for cultivation, as usual, early in spring, and could with difficulty be made to believe that White's small party was not the advance guard of an armed force.[12] The Cayuses declared that the laws introduced by White among the Nez Percés had effected more harm than good, being made an excuse for petty tyranny to such an extent that the new code was regarded by the Indians as a device of the white people to accomplish their subjection. They were uneasy also because McKinlay and McKay had intimated their determination to act with the Americans, if the Indians exhibited a hostile purpose.

In their perplexity they had sent Peupeumoxmox to ask McLoughlin what course he intended to pursue in case they were attacked by the Americans. For answer McLoughlin advised them to keep quiet, assuring them that they had nothing to fear from either the Americans or the Hudson's Bay Company so long as they behaved themselves.

News now reached White that seven hundred Nez Percés, fully accoutred for war, were coming to the appointed rendezvous at Waiilatpu. It was thought important to prevent a conference or a quarrel between them and the Cayuses, by holding a council with the latter at once, and every endeavor was made by the whole company of the Americans, which now embraced Geiger, Perkins, and Mrs Whitman, to bring about

[12] 'I actually found them, says White, 'suffering more from fears of war from the whites, than the whites from the Indians—each party resolving, however, to remain at home, and there fight to the last—though, fortunately, some 300 or 400 miles apart.' *Ten Years in Or.*, 214.

this object, but without success; the Cayuses would not talk until they had seen Chief Ellis. When White proposed to go to Lapwai, and bring the Nez Percés at once, they were suspicious that his intention was to prevent the coming of Ellis, and objected. At length White and his aids were allowed to go, and were received with a grand parade, such as had been given to the missionaries in the Rocky Mountains in 1836, and were escorted back to Waiilatpu by several hundred of the principal men of the tribe with their families, Ellis signifying his intention of influencing the Cayuses to accept the laws adopted by the Nez Percés.

It was not until the 23d of May that the chiefs on both sides were ready for council, the meeting being opened by Tauitau. The savages were assured that the white men had not come there with the design of deceiving or injuring them. If they would be united, would cultivate the ground and obey the laws, they might become a great and happy people; but if they persisted in disorder, disobedience, and an unsettled manner of life, their condition could never be bettered.

On the laws being called for and read, Peupeumoxmox arose and inquired: "Where are these laws from? Are they from God, or from the earth? I would that you might say they were from God; but I think they are from the earth, because, from what I know of white men, they do not honor these laws." When told that the laws were recognized by God, and imposed on men in all civilized countries, the chief expressed himself pleased to hear that it was so, because many of his people had been angry with him when they were whipped for crimes, and had declared that he would be sent to hell for it. Therefore he was relieved to know that his conduct was pleasing to God. Here Tiloukaikt, jealous of the apparent consent of Tauitau to the proceedings, and thinking he might be looking forward to a high chieftainship, inquired why the laws were read to them before they

had indicated a desire to adopt them. "We do not take the laws because Tauitau says so," said the chief, angrily. "He is a Catholic, and as a people we do not follow the Catholic worship."[13] But White explained that the Americans had different modes of worship, yet obeyed one law.

A Nez Percé sub-chief, called the Prince, complained that the white people had not given them cattle, but they had been compelled to pay for them. He wanted something tangible, cattle and presents, because his people had been kind to Lewis and Clarke. Illutin, also a Nez Percé, declared that he was wearied with the wickedness of the young men, and asserted that it was because they had stolen property in their possession that they objected to the laws. But the prince argued that the white people had long since been promising them benefits, though they passed on and left no blessing behind. If the Americans designed to do them good, why did they not bring presents, like the British traders, who not only promised but performed. To this very pointed argument White replied that the Americans among them were missionaries, and not traders. Thus the first day passed without anything definite being accomplished. After the meeting adjourned Ellis and Lawyer came privately to the sub-agent to tell him that they expected pay for being chiefs. The former had counted the months he had been in office, and thought there must be enough due him to make him wealthy. It certainly was a singular civilization, this of White's, which allowed officials no salary, and criminals no recompense.

On the following day it was found somewhat easier to proceed with the business of the council. The

[13] This was true, though the Cayuses were pretty evenly divided between Protestantism and Romanism. Of the chiefs, only Tauitau was a Catholic. His brother, Five Crows, was a Protestant; Tiloukaikt was a Protestant; and so was Sticcas. Peupeumoxmox of the Walla Walla Cayuses was also a Protestant. Parrish calls Peupeumoxmox a magnificent man, but gives no better reason for this opinion than that he sent his son Elijah Hedding to the Methodist Mission to be ducated. *Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 95. He seems to have been an intelligent savage, and being rich as well, possessed great influence.

Cayuses accepted the laws, and Tauitau was elected high chief, these matters being probably expedited by the prospect of the feast which followed. But on the following morning Tauitau, remembering what Tiloukaikt had said, when the natives were assembled voluntarily resigned the chieftainship, saying that it was better so, on account of the difference in religious matters between himself and the majority of the people. His brother, Five Crows, was thereupon elected in his place, the day closing with another feast of fat beef. On the 27th of May, White took leave of the Nez Percés and Cayuses, well satisfied with having averted the thunderbolt of war. Mrs Whitman returned to the Dalles with the fur company's brigade, just down from the upper forts, and there remained till the return of her husband in the autumn.

Thus ended, more fortunately than might have been anticipated, White's second official essay for the protection of citizens of the United States in Oregon. But though he was frequently called on to interpose his authority in conflicts between the white inhabitants and the natives, or where the laws of the United States concerning intercourse with the natives were being violated, he was no nearer being recognized as governor of the colony than on his arrival, the missionary influence being directed against him, and the number of aspirants for that office belonging to the Mission party causing the other colonists to oppose the election of such dignitary.[14]

During White's administration the colony adopted a provisional form of government—an action which was undoubtedly hastened by missionary jealousy of White's pretensions in connection with another matter,

[14] The only one of the missionaries who seemed disposed to give White a fair indorsement was Hines, who at White's request wrote a letter to the secretary of war, declaring that he had discharged his duties with diffidence, but with energy and decision; for the performance of which he was entitled to the 'warmest respect of this infant and helpless colony,' and to the confidence of the department. *White's Or. Ter.*, 4, 5.

of which I shall give the history in its proper place. In January 1844 complaints were made to the Indian agent that a distillery was in operation at Oregon City. His authority for interfering was supposed to be derived from the laws of Iowa touching the sale of liquor in the Indian territory, the colonists having adopted the Iowa code. Since the United States had not extended the laws of Iowa over Oregon, he had really no authority. But he was sustained by public sentiment, and even required by the colonists to proceed in the matter. Accordingly, he seized and destroyed the distillery, and placed[15] the offender under bonds to the amount of three hundred dollars. Before the summer was over another distillery was in operation. This also was promptly suppressed. Conner, who was owner in both adventures, challenged White to fight a duel, for which he was fined five hundred dollars by the circuit court and disfranchised for life, but was restored to citizenship by the legislature of 1844.[16]

Considering that he was waging this war on whiskey with no better warrant than the sanction of those settlers who did not care to buy or drink it, one would think that White would at most have taken notice only of cases where the liquor was supplied directly to the natives. But this did not satisfy his zeal, which several times led him into embarrassing positions. On one occasion he boarded a vessel of which J. H. Couch was master, and attempted to search for liquors, but Couch, knowing his rights and duties better than the Indian agent, ranged his guns fore and aft along the

[15] This distillery, the first attempted since 1836, was owned by James Conner, who had been in the country since 1838. It consisted of sheet-tin pipes—the tin purchased from Abernethy—joined like a worm-fence, and placed in a large wooden trough with water flowing through it, the whole being covered with boards placed in the form of a house gable. *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 53-4.

[16] This second distillery belonged to James Conner, Richard McCrary, and Hiram Straight. It consisted of a large kettle, with a wooden top, and a worm; and the whiskey, called 'blue ruin,' was distilled from shorts, wheat, and molasses. *White's Or. Ter.*, 40; *Watts' First Things*, MS., 10, 11; *Oregon Laws*, 1843-9, 83.

deck, whereupon the search was relinquished as hastily as it had been begun. Private individuals also came in for a share of his officious attention. For instance, F. W. Pettygrove, described as "a merchant of good habits," was put under bonds in the sum of one thousand dollars for having in his house wine and brandy for his own use. White also attempted to confiscate the whiskey-barrel of an Englishwoman named Cooper, but thought it advisable to desist when the Amazon vigorously protested "in the name of Great Britain, Ireland, and Scotland."

There was but one instance of serious trouble with the Indians in the Willamette, and that was brought about by the quarrel between the negro Winslow and the Molallas, to which I have already alluded. It appears that Winslow overreached an Indian named Cockstock in some business transaction. To right the account, the latter appropriated a horse belonging to the negro, but was compelled by White to restore it. Thereupon Cockstock, who was a bold and vicious fellow, vowed vengeance against Winslow and another negro named James D. Saules, who was in some way involved in the dispute. Saules complained to White, who offered a reward of a hundred dollars for the safe delivery of the Indian into his hands, intending to send him to the Cayuses and Nez Percés to be tried by their laws. This so enraged the turbulent Cockstock that on the 4th of March, 1844, he called together a few followers, and putting on his war-paint, rode into Oregon City with many hostile demonstrations. After creating some alarm, he crossed the river to a village in search of recruits. When shortly afterward he reappeared on the Oregon City side, his landing was opposed by a confused crowd of white men, who, without a leader, or concert of action, endeavored to capture him, some for the reward, and others with a more deadly purpose. Fire-arms were discharged on both sides simultaneously, and in the mêlée

Cockstock was killed, and three Americans wounded, George W. Le Breton and a Mr Rogers mortally.[17]

The death of Le Breton, who was an active young American, and conspicuous in the early politics of the colony, was severely felt; and a public meeting was called at Champoeg to consider the subject of the outbreak, the result of which was the formation of a volunteer company of mounted riflemen under the name of Oregon Rangers, this being the first military organization in the territory.[18] Resolutions were passed indorsing and supporting the measures taken by White in his official capacity, the reason for this step being that McLoughlin had censured the conduct of the Americans, alleging that the killing of Cockstock was an assassination, a view which, however well founded in the fact that the citizens had not waited for the overt act,[19] was extremely offensive to the Americans. An investigation was ordered by the executive committee, and White cited to appear before the colonial judge, O. Russell, to vindicate himself, and remove the stigma from the fair name of the American colonists.[20] Probably the trial never took

[17] *Boston Miss. Herald*, Nov. 1844. Blanchet, in his *Hist. Cath. Ch. in Or.*, 145–7, gives a different version, intended to make it appear that the killing of Cockstock was a deed of unprovoked brutality on the part of the Americans; but as White, in his report to the secretary of war, gives the correspondence and particulars, I see no reason to depart from that record. A part of Blanchet's bitterness is accounted for where he says, 'Le Breton will pay dearly for his apostasy.' Le Breton had become a convert to the Catholic faith at St Pauls in 1842, but seeing he could not get the girl he expected, he withdrew gradually from the church. *Id.*, 141; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 371; *Waldo's Critiques*, MS., 5, 6; *Bacon's Mer. Life Or.*, MS., 25.

[18] This meeting was called by the executive committee of the colony, and was held at the house of La Chapelle, on French Prairie, March 9, 1844. W. H. Willson was chairman, and T. D. Kaiser, secretary. *Grover's Or. Archives*, 36–7. The men enlisted at the time were T. D. Kaiser, who was elected captain; J. L. Morrison, 1st lieutenant; R. J. Cason, ensign; Charles P. Matt, Ira C. Hutchins, R. H. Ekin, Peter Brainard, Nathan Sutton, William Delany, James R. Patterson, John Edmonds, Nineveh Ford, William J. Martin, James Martin, Webley Hauxhurst, John Anderson, Joel Turnham, J. M. Garrison, Joseph Holman, John Ford, Charles E. Pickett, John B. Kaiser, Daniel Waldo, Lindsey Applegate, and W. H. Gray. Commissions were issued to the officers April 3d, signed by D. Hill, J. Gale, and A. Beers, executive committee, and Overton Johnson, secretary. *Or. Archives*, MS., 10, 12.

[19] *Blanchet's Hist. Cath. Ch. in Or.*, 147–8.

[20] The letter of Mr Beers of the executive committee is to be found in *Or. Archives*, MS., 5–7.

place, as no record of it exists. It is likely enoug that when the excitement had died away, and all th circumstances were known, it became apparent tha the encounter might have been avoided by the exe cise of coolness and moderation.

Not long after the affair of the 4th of Marc Saules, the negro who had complained of Cockstoc was himself arrested for joining the Clackamas India in making threats against the life and property Charles E. Pickett. There being no prison in whic to confine him, he was permitted to go to Clatso with his Indian wife, where he was employed abou the Mission until its suspension in 1846, soon aft which he was arrested on the charge of murderin his wife, but the necessary proof being wanting, h was discharged.[21] The trouble occasioned by Winslo and Saules aroused a strong prejudice against perso of African blood, which was exhibited in a commun cation sent by White to the secretary of war, inqui ing if the emigration of negroes could not be prohibite and in the subsequent legislation of the colonists.

As to the Indian relatives of Cockstock, they we pacified by McLoughlin paying to the widow of th chief, on White's order, some blankets and oth goods,[22] and there the matter ended, so far as the were concerned.

The executive committee, however, being dete mined to oppose the policy and advice of McLoug lin, declared that "the idea should be hooted out countenance, that they allowed Indians to be mu dered, and paid for it with blankets." If White foun it necessary to take such measures as he had take he should go on, and the committee would "suppo

[21] *Oregon Spectator*, Dec. 24, 1846.

[22] *Pettygrove's Or.*, MS., 6, 7; *Or. Archives*, MS., 13. About 70 Dall Indians, according to White, presented themselves as relatives of the de chief, and demanded indemnity, according to their customs; but Whi showed them that as the Americans had lost two men, by their rule the would be due the Americans twice what they claimed, on which represent tion they consented to accept a present for the widow. *Or. Ter.*, 36.

him with thirty mounted riflemen."[23] This was easy to promise, but the riflemen themselves must have a voice in the matter. The officers of the rangers wrote to the committee demanding to know if after all there had been any cause for raising troops, or if there existed any need of their services at that moment. They were also anxious to be informed where the military stores, provisions, and pay were to come from, and concluded by remarking that if they were expected to fight at their own expense, they had enough to do to fight their own battles.[24] The formation of the company was in fact a mere piece of braggadocio, intended quite as much to alarm the Hudson's Bay Company as to awe the natives. The only service in which the rangers were engaged was in the pursuit now and then of a band of hungry savages who had stolen a beef. White himself ridicules the course of the committee in calling out the troops because a miserable party of natives, whose single gun was broken and unserviceable, had been tempted to kill an old ox which chanced to stray in their vicinity, and for which they were forced to pay the gun and eight horses. Several of these small affairs signalized the existence of the Oregon Rangers. The last of the kind occurred in July 1846, when a small party of natives from east of the Cascade Mountains, being encamped on the Santiam River, near Looney's place, and suspected of stealing some horses belonging to him, were surrounded and fired on without further inquiry, though, as afterward transpired, they were innocent of the theft.[25]

The next serious trouble with the natives came from an unexpected source. Early in the spring of 1845 White received a communication from Whitman at Waiilatpu, informing him of the return of a party

[23] Letter of A. Beers, in *Or. Archives*, MS., 5–7.

[24] Letters of Kaiser, Morrison, and Brainard, in *Or. Archives*, MS., 12, 13.

[25] *Oregon Spectator*, Aug. 16, 1846; *Minto's Early Days*, MS., 38–40; *Kaiser's Nar.*, MS., 12–14; *Kaiser's Emigrant Road*, MS., 7–9.

of Spokanes, Cayuses, and Walla Wallas from Califo
nia, under circumstances which led him to fear for th
safety of the settlers in the upper country,[26] as Elija
Hedding, the son of Peupeumoxmox, had been kille
by an American. Before the excitement caused b
this information had subsided, White was surprise
by a visit from Ellis, high chief of the Nez Percé
who came to recount to him the particulars of th
unfortunate affair. The story told by Ellis was tha
the natives had seized upon the idea of procurin
cattle from California, and taking their surplus fu
and horses to exchange for cows, had set out on th
expedition under the leadership of Peupeumoxmo
or Yellow Serpent, who was accompanied by hi
converted son, Elijah Hedding. The journey wa
fraught with danger, as they were obliged to pas
through a country inhabited by tribes with whom
they were not friendly; but being well mounted an
equipped, they reached California in safety, and wer
well received by the white population at Sutter For
An agreement to trade was entered into; all wen
well until the natives in hunting met with a band o
freebooters from whom they took a prize of twenty
two stolen horses. On returning with them to th
settlements, the animals were claimed by their forme
owners. The Oregon chiefs remonstrated, saying tha
in their country the horses, having been recovere
from an enemy at the risk of life, would belong t
those who recaptured them. But the others insiste
that according to the laws of California the animal
must bear a transfer mark before they ceased to b
the property of their original owners. As the Indian
refused to take that view of it, a ransom of first te
and then fifteen cows was offered for the capture
estrays. But Peupeumoxmox was sulky, and woul
not reply, so the negotiations were broken off.

A day or two later, an American, seeing a mul
which had been stolen from him among the animals

[26] *Honolulu Friend*, iv. 29.

roughly demanded his property, and declared that he would take it himself if it was not promptly surrendered. Thereupon Elijah Hedding deliberately loaded his rifle, and turning to the American said significantly: "Go, now, and take your mule." The white man, considerably alarmed, asked Elijah if he intended to kill him. "O, no," carelessly replied the young chief, "I am only going to shoot that eagle on yonder tree." But his looks and manner belied his tongue, so the American thought it best to leave the mule.

On the following Sunday some of the natives attended religious services at Sutter Fort. After the close Elijah was invited into another apartment, together with his uncle. Here they were menaced, and subjected to much wordy abuse. Finally the man who had had the dispute about the mule said to Elijah, "Yesterday you were going to kill me; now you must die," at the same time drawing a pistol. Elijah said, "Let me pray a little first;" and dropping on his knees, was shot dead in that attitude.

Such was the story as told by Ellis to White,[27] and as reported by the latter to the secretary of war. As Elijah was a convert, the same version was generally accepted by the missionaries;[28] but the truth of the matter is, that Elijah was a turbulent fellow, and met his death in a quarrel which he himself provoked. This side of the story I have, however, related in detail elsewhere.[29]

Having made the most of his story, and put forth his finest arts to impress White with a proper sense of the enormity of the crime which had been committed, the wily Ellis went on to talk about the

[27] *White's Or. Ter.*, 49–50.

[28] *Parrish's Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 90; *Mission Life Sketches*, 203. This latter is a work of 229 pages, 16mo, and appears to have been published as a contribution to Sunday-school literature. The author's name is not given, but from what he says of himself I infer he was H. K. W. Perkins, who came with the mission family of 1840. His account of Elijah's death is substantially the same as White's.

[29] *Hist. California*, this series. See also *Revere's Tour of Duty*, 154; *Larkin's Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iii. 227.

retaliation which might be expected. Yellow Serpent, he said, had returned to Oregon burning with rage and grief, and swearing to avenge the murder of his son in the near future.[30] Not only the bereaved chief's own tribe, but others that were allied, related, or friendly to it, were furiously excited against the white men, both on account of the murder of Elijah and because certain persons from the Willamette Valley, now settled in California, had called the Oregon Indians 'dogs' and 'thieves.' So furious was the indignation of the tribes, continued the envoy extraordinary, that a scheme was on foot to raise two thousand warriors among the Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Nez Percés, Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, and Shoshones, and march at once into California to exact retribution by pillage and slaughter. There was an influential party among the natives, Ellis added, who were for holding the Americans in Oregon responsible for Elijah's death, since it was one of their countrymen who had killed him. Should this be avoided, however, he was specially charged to learn whether the Oregon settlers would remain neutral while the people of California were being swept from the face of the earth.

Such a relation was enough to make one shudder; and it was all the more alarming when the hearer was officially responsible for any trouble that might occur with the natives. Perhaps White showed agitation; at all events, the envoy pushed his advantage by referring to another source of discontent which had nothing to do with the matter immediately in hand. It seems that when the immigration of 1844 was expected, White had sent to the natives a number of ten-dollar drafts, presumably made payable by the government, with which he said cattle might be bought from the immigrants. This he claims to have done in order to deter the natives from plundering the new-comers. But the immigrants had declined to accept the drafts,

[30] This threat was never fulfilled, though the Californians subsequently had cause to remember that it had been made. See *Hist. Cal.*, this series.

and now chief Ellis was anxious to know how White was going to compensate his people for their disappointment.

At his wit's end how to conciliate and prevent the threatened destruction, the unhappy agent resorted to flattery and fair promises. He feasted his savage guest to his soul's content, showed his library, personally conducted him over his plantation, and in every way treated him with great consideration. Besides this, he promised to write to the governor of California and Captain Sutter concerning the recent disturbance, and also to address the United States government on the subject. Furthermore, he gave Ellis letters for the chiefs, sympathizing with them for the wrongs they had suffered, and inviting them all to visit him in the autumn of 1845 and exchange their worthless drafts for a cow and a calf each out of his own herds. Finally he promised them that if they would defer their invasion of California for two years, and assist him to the amount of two beaver-skins each, he would establish a good school for the children, adjust favorably all their grievances, and at the end of that time would give them five hundred dollars out of his own purse with which to buy cattle in California.

Flattered by the attentions he had received, and elated by the success which he imagined had attended his mission, Ellis returned home to use his influence for peace with the chiefs of the Walla Wallas and Cayuses. But his triumph was not of long duration, for before the autumn of 1845 White was on his way to the States, caring little for his engagements, and leaving no one behind to redeem his promises to pay.[31]

The sub-Indian agent, from the moment he entered upon his duties in Oregon, encountered serious difficulties. So awkwardly did he find himself situated,

[31] In his report to the secretary of war White bestows praise upon the good conduct, progress, industry, and prosperity of Ellis and his people with an enthusiasm which his own experience certainly did not call for. Such a report, however, reflected credit on his own efforts.

that in 1844 he wrote that he was strongly inclined to leave the country, but was deterred by the thought that his presence was beneficial, and the hope of being relieved from his embarrassments. Whatever were his schemes, it is due to him to say that in opposing the introduction of intoxicating liquors, and in settling difficulties between the white inhabitants and the natives, his services to the colony were of importance.[32]

Not the least of White's embarrassments arose from the fact that the men in Washington who had become, verbally at least, responsible for the payment of his salary and expenses, were no longer in a position to befriend him. Before his accounts were settled there was a change in the administration, and persons who did not know White were in the places of Webster, Tyler, Spencer, and Linn. Being solicited by the legislative assembly of the provisional government in 1845 to go to Washington as the bearer of a memorial to the United States government, he presented himself at the capital, and was requested to continue in his office of Indian agent. He was obliged, however, to remain at the east until a bill should be passed by congress for the payment of debts due the Hudson's Bay Company, and granting him additional compensation for services. A year was consumed in waiting, during which time certain representations were made by his political enemies in Oregon which lost him the position, and closed his conneetion with Oregon affairs.[33] He returned in 1850 and engaged with James D. Holman to build a town on the claim of the latter, which he called Pacific City, which was afterward trans-

[32] *Applegate's Marginal Notes*, in *Gray's Hist.*, 259.

[33] *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 322-5; *White's Or. Ter.*, 64-6; *Niles' Register* lxix. 407. The occasion of White's loss of place was the belief in Oregon that he would make an effort to get a seat in congress as delegate from the territory, whenever the expected settlement of boundary was consummated and a territorial government established. That he so intended in 1845 seems probable, from the fact that on passing through Missouri, the St Louis *Era* spoke of him as a delegate from the self-constituted government of Oregon going to ask for a seat in congress.

ferred to other hands. He then went to reside at San Francisco, where he died in March 1879.[34]

[34] While on a tour through Oregon in 1878 I was informed that Elijah White, a most important witness in the early annals of the state, was living in San Francisco, and there on my return I found him practising medicine, his office being within a stone's throw of my Library. He was exceedingly affable, with an intelligent though not very intellectual face, with bright, penetrating eyes, and for one so well advanced in years, active on his feet and well preserved, though how much of him was padding, and what was the true color of his well-dyed hair and whiskers, I cannot say. Thereafter until his death he was a frequent visitor at my Library, and there gave me an exceedingly valuable dictation, which I called *Emigration to Oregon*, filling many gaps left open by the printed material especially concerning the immigration of 1842. His *Ten Years in Oregon*, Ithaca, N. Y., 1850, contains the incidents of his journey to and residence in Oregon, as physician to the Mission, his return to the States, subsequent emigration, his labors as Indian agent, explorations, etc., with an account of the formation of the provisional government, and some extracts from Frémont's journal of explorations in Oregon. Previous to the publication of this book he issued a pamphlet in Washington City, containing his correspondence with the Indian commissioner and other documents, the object of which was to assist the passage of a bill reimbursing him for expenses incurred in the administration of authority as Indian agent. This book is called a *Concise View of Oregon Territory, Its Colonial and Indian Relations*, etc., 72 pages. Another pamphlet called *White's Testimonials* contains some of the same matter, with other letters, and was apparently intended to assist him in a reappointment to Oregon.

CHAPTER XII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

1843.

METHODIST OFFICIALS—A PROBATE COURT NEEDED—MEETING OF THE SE TLERS—OFFICIALS CHOSEN—WITHDRAWAL OF THE FRENCH CATHOL ELEMENT—FURTHER POLITICAL ELEMENTS—THE OREGON LYCEUM- FRESH OVERTURES TO THE CANADIANS—THE LAND LAW—ANOTHE METHODIST MOVEMENT—THE 'WOLF' ORGANIZATION—THE CANADIA BROUGHT IN—NEW SELECTION OF OFFICIALS—REPORT OF THE LEGISL TIVE COMMITTEE—GOVERNMENT EXPENSES—THE FOUR GREAT DISTRIC —MEASURES AGAINST MCLOUGHLIN—INFLUENCE OF SHORTESS ON POLI ICAL AFFAIRS.

I HAVE already mentioned that as early as 183 the Methodist Missions furnished the colonists wit a magistrate and constable, not so much becaus the services of those officers were needed as becaus the Americans were determined not to be behind th British fur company in the exercise of civil juris diction. The arrival of the great missionary reën forcement of 1840, by increasing the colony, made apparent that some form of government would soone or later be necessary. Still such quiet and good orde had hitherto prevailed,[1] that it is difficult to say ho long the attempt to institute even a primitive form o government would have been postponed had not a unexpected event furnished particular occasion for i This was the death of Ewing Young in the winter o

[1] Up to this time the only serious crime that had been committed was t murder of McKay by some Indians at the Hudson's Bay Company's fishery Pillar Rock, on the lower Columbia, Aug. 16, 1840. A party from Fort N qually shot one of the murderers and captured another. The latter was trie convicted, and hanged at Astoria on the 29th, and in the presence and wi the aid of a great number of settlers. *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 274; *Tolmie's Pug Sound*, MS., 8, 9; *Fitzgerald's H. B. Co. and Vanc. Isl.*, 174.

1840–1. This audacious pioneer left a large property, to which there were no legal claimants or known heirs; and as there was no probate court, the administration of his estate became a perplexing question. Murder, theft, and whiskey-making might be managed without law, but property for which there was no owner—alas for the luck of it! The thrifty settlers could not see it go to waste. And so the needed excuse to those who were anxious for legislation was at hand, and without delay a committee of arrangements called a mass-meeting of the settlers to be held at the Methodist Mission the 17th and 18th of February, 1841.[2]

The meeting on the 17th was composed chiefly of the members of the Mission, Jason Lee being chosen chairman, and Gustavus Hines secretary. The only business transacted was the passing of resolutions to elect a committee of seven to draught a code of laws for the government of the settlements south of the Columbia; to admit to the protection of those laws all settlers north of the Columbia not connected with the fur company; and the nomination of candidates for the several offices of governor, supreme judge with probate powers, three justices of the peace, three constables, three road commissioners, an attorney-general, a clerk of the courts and public recorder, a treasurer, and two overseers of the poor.[3]

The second day's meeting being attended by the French and American settlers, the proceedings took a less sectional tone. To propitiate and to secure the coöperation of the Canadians were the aims of the leading Americans; as without them, or opposed by them, there would be difficulty in organizing a government. David Leslie being in the chair, with Sidney Smith and Hines as secretaries, the minutes of

[2] According to Hines, the committee of arrangements was chosen at Young's funeral. *Oregon Hist.*, 418.

[3] In the proceedings of the first day's meeting, found in *Oregon Archives*, no mention is made of the men nominated; but from their number, seventeen, there must have been an officer to about every other American in the Mission colony. Two overseers of the poor sounds like irony.

the previous meeting were presented, and accepted s
far as choosing a committee to frame a constitutio
and code of laws was concerned. The committe
named consisted of F. N. Blanchet, Jason Lee, Davi
Donpierre, Gustavus Hines, Charlevon, Robert Moor
J. L. Parrish, Étienne Lucier, and William Johnso
The only one of the number who had any practica
knowledge of legislation was Moore, and most of th
others were probably ignorant of even the theory
law. By making Blanchet chairman of the con
mittee, the Mission party hoped to secure the Frenc
Catholic influence, and harmonize sectarian difficulties
while the settlers were to be cajoled by the libera
bestowment of small offices.

It was found expedient to defer the election of
governor to a more convenient season, owing to th
jealously of several missionary aspirants, and th
opposition of the settlers to a governor from tha
party. This matter being settled, I. L. Babcock wa
chosen supreme judge with probate powers, Georg
W. Le Breton clerk of the courts and public recorde
William Johnson high sheriff, and Zavier Ladaroo
Pierre Billique, and William McCarty constables.
resolution was then passed that until the code of law
should be draughted, Judge Babcock should be "in
structed to act according to the laws of the state
New York."[4] The convention then adjourned t
meet again on the 7th of June at St Pauls.

But when that day arrived, and the people wer
gathered to hear the report of the committee on con
stitution and laws, it was found that no report ha
been prepared, as Blanchet had not called that bod
together, and that he now desired to be excused fro
serving as chairman. This request being granted, W
J. Bailey was chosen in his place, and the committe
were instructed to meet on the first Monday of Au
gust for the transaction of business, and to report t

[4] *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 419. At this time there was but one copy of th
laws of the state of New York in the colony.

an adjourned session of the convention on the first Thursday in October. In the mean time they were advised to confer with the commander of the United States exploring expedition, then in the Columbia River, and with John McLoughlin of Fort Vancouver. Resolutions were then passed rescinding the nominations made at the previous meeting, and instructing the committee on constitution and laws to "take into consideration the number and kind of offices it will be necessary to create in accordance with their constitution and code." The report of the nominating committee was to be referred to the legislative committee. An adjournment was then taken to the October meeting at the Methodist Mission.

The withdrawal of Blanchet from the chairmanship of the legislative committee was taken, as was probably intended, to signify that the Canadians would take no part in the organization of a government; hence the rescinding of the nominations embracing a number of their names This revived the discussion as to the necessity of a governor, and in fact threw many difficulties in the way of the scheme for an organization. Moreover, some of the most influential persons in the country and some of the members of the legislative committee were opposed to the idea of a government so long as peace and harmony existed without it.[5]

Besides this formidable opposition, Wilkes, on being consulted, condemned the scheme, on the grounds that only a small minority of the inhabitants desired to establish a government, that laws were not necessary, that they would be a poor substitute for the moral code they all followed, that there would be great difficulty in enforcing them within any definite limits,

[5] William Johnson, who was the only one of the settler class not French on the committee, said that there was as yet 'no necessity for laws, lawyers, or magistrates.' Blanchet 'was of opinion that the number of settlers in the Willamette Valley would not warrant the establishment of a constitution, and as far as his people were concerned, there was no necessity for one, nor had he any knowledge of crime having been yet committed.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, iv. 373–4.

that the majority of the population being Catholics, they would elect their officers, which would be displeasing to the Protestants, and that an unfavorable impression would be produced in the United States concerning the influence of missions which were obliged to resort to a criminal code.

Finding themselves baffled at every turn, but encouraged to believe that the United States government would soon extend its jurisdiction over them, the missionary party now reluctantly consented to let drop their political scheme for the present, and for a year there was no more agitation of the subject of an established form of government in Oregon.

The arrival of White in 1842, with the commission of sub-Indian agent and a provisional claim on the governorship of the colony, stirred afresh the advocates of legislation. The idea of White becoming the civil head of the community was intolerable, but on the other hand, the fact that he was indirectly recommended for that position by the United States government was a great point in his favor; so, with characteristic discretion, the missionary party quietly used their influence to snub his pretensions without openly working against him, and by this course succeeded, as we have seen, in confining his authority to the management of Indian affairs.

But though the mass of the colonists appeared to be satisfied with the existing state of things, the advocates of a temporary government continued to agitate the question during the winter of 1842–3, discussing it in a debating society said to have been established in Oregon City for no other purpose.[6]

[6] Gray, *Hist. Or.*, 260, has confounded the 'Falls Association' with the Oregon Lyceum, and calls it the 'Multnomah Circulating Library,' a name not in use till long after. The library was not formed until January 1844. W. H. Rees, an immigrant of that year, relates that when the immigration of 1843 arrived, finding the people deprived of reading matter, having no newspapers and few books, there was formed at Oregon City the 'Pioneer Lyceum and Literary Club,' which met 'to discuss the whole round of literary and scientific pursuits.' The names on the roll of this club were John

The question of establishing an independent government for Oregon was also discussed by this body. The scheme is said to have been favored by McLoughlin, and openly advocated by several influential American colonists. Hastings went so far as to offer a resolution in favor of the plan, but George Abernethy, then residing in Oregon City, met this with another, to the effect that: "If the United States extends its jurisdiction over this country, within four years it will not be expedient to form an independent government." This resolution was warmly discussed and finally carried.[7]

In the autumn of 1842 overtures were again made to the Canadians to assist in forming a temporary government, and meetings to consider the matter were held at French Prairie. But the Canadians declined, presumably by the advice of McLoughlin and their spiritual adviser, Blanchet. The position of the former at this junctnre was embarrassing. It was evident that some form of political legislation must before long grow out of the persistent consideration of the subject. To aid or countenance the establishment of a government owing exclusive allegiance to the United States would be disloyal to his country and to the interests of the company. An independent government would be preferable to this, though there

H. Couch, F. W. Pettygrove, J. M. Wair, A. L. Lovejoy, Jesse Applegate, S. W. Moss, Robert Newell, J. W. Nesmith, Ed. Otie, H. A. G. Lee, Fred. Prigg, C. E. Pickett, Wm C. Dement, Medorum Crawford, Hiram Straight, J. Wambaugh, Wm Cushing, Philip Foster, Ransom Clark, H. H. Hide, John G. Campbell, Theophilus Magruder, W. H. Rees, Mark Ford, Henry Saffron, Noyes Smith, Daniel Waldo, P. G. Stewart, Isaac W. Smith, Joseph Watt, Frank Ermatinger, A. E. Wilson, Jacob Hoover, S. M. Holderness, John Minto, Barton Lee, Gen. Husted, and John P. Brooks. C. E. Pickett was secretary of the club. Annual Address before the Oregon Pioneer Association, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1879, p. 27. See also S. W. Moss, in *Pioneer Times*, MS., 17, 18, where the 'Falls Debating Society' is spoken of. Applegate says the library was got together in the winter of 1843–4, and that he contributed *The Federalist*, and several scientific works. Marginal notes in *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 260. No two authorities call the institution by the same name. The *Oregon Spectator* of April 16, 1846, calls it the Falls Association, but it was the fashion of the Methodists to speak of Oregon City as 'The Falls,' merely to discountenance McLoughlin's right to name the place. The proper name of the debating society of 1842 was the Oregon Lyceum.

[7] Abernethy's Letter, in *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 269.

was danger that such an organization, being American, might enact laws depriving him of his property rights south of the Columbia. Plainly the most prudent course he could follow was to avoid the issue if possible until the two governments claiming jurisdiction had settled the matter. It was with this end in view that he, directly or indirectly, influenced the Canadians to reject the overtures of the American settlers. This they did in a formal reply, evidently prepared by Blanchet, which though written in very imperfect English, sufficiently explains the views of the French settlers. They professed cordial sentiments toward the Americans and the gentlemen who had invited them to participate in forming a government, and declared that they were in favor of certain regulations for the protection of persons and property, and were willing to yield obedience to the officers chosen at the meeting of February 18, 1841,[8] although they did not approve of all their measures. They declined to address a petition to the United States, as solicited, until the boundary should be established. They were opposed to the land law in contemplation by the supporters of the government scheme, because they had no guaranty that all would not be changed by the succeeding government. They objected to a provisional form of government as being cumbersome instead of helpful to the colony. Men of laws and science, they said, were still few in the country, and had enough to do without legislating.

[8] The answer of the Canadians as it appears in the *Oregon Archives*, MS., is not dated; but it is addressed to 'The meeting at Champoeg, March 4, 1843,' which shows that there was an appointment for that date, when their answer was expected; and as, owing to the population being scattered over a large area, with slow and difficult modes of communication, it was the custom to make appointments months in advance, to allow time for the people to consider the matter proposed, and prepare their opinions, the invitation was probably given late in the previous year. McLoughlin says, in his *Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser. 7, that a formal proposition was made to the Canadian settlers in the spring of 1842, to unite with the Americans; but on comparing this with other authorities, I am convinced it was in the autumn of 1842. Another evidence is, that the address of the Canadians refers to the 'measures taken last year,' which could only mean the choosing of a judge and other officers in 1841.

They proposed, however, that a council or senate be chosen for the judgment of offenses, except capital ones, and to make suitable regulations for the people; that the council be elected and composed of members from all parts of the country to constitute a parliament, the president of the council and another member being empowered to act as justices of the peace in each county, with the privilege on the part of the people to appeal causes to the whole council. The members, they said, should be influenced by a desire for the public good, and not for their own gain. Taxation they pronounced inexpedient, and especially onerous to new arrivals in the colony; and they would not consent to be taxed. As to militia, they declared it needless, and the occasion of suspicion to the natives, as well as a hinderance to necessary labor and an expense to the people. The country, they contended, was open to all nations, until its sovereignty should be determined, and people might settle in it without being called upon to declare to what government they would give allegiance in the future. They desired to be in unison with all respectable citizens, or else to be left free to make such regulations as appeared most necessary to themselves, until the coming of some lawful authority, to which they would cheerfully submit. While they did not forget that some laws might be profitably adopted even then, they held that the more laws there were the greater the opportunity for roguery and for subsequent changes which might not be profitable. Besides, in a new country the more men employed and paid by the public the fewer remained for industry. The address concluded with the assurance that none could be more desirous of the peace, prosperity, and liberties of the colony than themselves, and with good wishes for "all those who are or may become our fellow-countrymen."[9]

[9] *Grover's Or. Archives*, 14–15. Unfortunately for the perfect continuity of history, the *Oregon Archives* do not contain either the invitation which called out this answer, or the proceedings of the meeting at Champoeg of the 4th

Although McLoughlin had taken no open part in these proceedings, he was naturally and rightly supposed by the rebuked and offended originators of the provisional government idea to be responsible for the attitude taken by the French settlers, and a feeling of hatred toward him had much to do with the drawing-up of the Shortess-Abernethy petition, the history of which has already been given.

Meetings were likewise held in other parts of the colony; one at the Oregon Institute, where Gray resided, being ostensibly called for the purpose of devising means of protecting the herds of the country from wild animals,[10] but really as a device by which the settlers, French and American, might be brought together, and the plan of a provisional government broached.[11] The minutes of the meeting occupy less than half a page, the only business accomplished being the appointing by Babcock, the chairman, of a committee of six, to give notice of a general meeting to be held at the house of Joseph Gervais on Monday the 6th of March.

of March, to which it was addressed. Gray, *Hist. Or.*, 273, says that he is sure this address was not brought before any public meeting of the settlers. This suggests an explanation of the absence of records touching this portion of the proceedings of the missionaries, namely, that when they found these reasonable objections of the Canadians so well stated, they quietly suppressed their reply so that it might not affect the feeling of the American settlers, whom they had more hope of bringing over. A compilation of the public documents of the provisional government of Oregon was made in 1853 by Lafayette Grover, by order of the legislative assembly. Here is what Grover says about his work: In the 'preparation for publication of the *Oregon Archives*, the commissioner has met with many obstacles to the perfect success and early completion of the important work assigned him. Within the proper depository of the public papers he had not been able to find entire and satisfactory records of all that, he is satisfied, has transpired in Oregon of a public, general nature, and which would be of eminent historic importance. In this case, he has spared no pains to search out from other authentic and reliable resources all such information as would fill existing blanks or furnish sufficient explanation of seeming discrepancies and wants.' Preface to *Grover's Or. Archives*.

[10] 'When we came here the wolves ate up many horses—fourteen for one company. Cattle would fight them, but horses would run, and the wolves would run them down.' *Waldo's Critiques*, MS., 11. Parrish also remarks upon the loss of stock of every kind by panthers, wolves, and cougars. *Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 99. White speaks of being driven into a tree by wolves, and of being rescued by his wife and hired man. *Ten Years in Or.*, 88–9.

[11] Applegate remarks: 'It is new to me that Gray was a prime mover in this matter.' Marginal notes in *Hist. Or.*, 264.

Gervais had always been the active helper and friend of the Methodist Mission, of which he was a sort of lay member; and it was customary to hold meetings of a religious or secular nature at his house, which was a convenient centre of business for the settlers, about half-way between Salem and Champoeg. As almost every settler had suffered from the ravages of wild beasts, the meeting was fully attended. James O'Neil was chosen chairman, and George W. Le Breton secretary. The business for which the people had come together was conducted to a satisfactory conclusion; a bounty being fixed for every species of animal killed. A committee was appointed to receive the proofs, a treasurer chosen, and regulations were established. The association thus formed was known as the 'Wolf Organization,' and was what it purported to be, a measure for the protection of domestic animals.

At the close of the day's business a resolution was offered and passed, "that a committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony," and another that it should consist of twelve persons, who were accordingly chosen. The choice of the meeting fell on I. L. Babcock, Elijah White, James O'Neil, Robert Shortess, Robert Newell, Étienne Lucier, Joseph Gervais, Thomas J. Hubbard,[12] W. H. Gray, Sidney Smith, and George Gay. The passage of this resolution was brought about by considerable manœuvring, Le Breton and Smith being previously employed to ascertain who could be relied upon to support it. Moreover it is hinted that certain men, notably the clergy, were absent through prearrangement, lest their presence should alarm the settlers, who were not in favor of a government by the missionaries.[13]

[12] Some new names appear on the journal, J. C. Bridges, McRoy Torn, Barnaby, and Martin, though the latter may have been H. Martin who came to the country in 1840, and of whom not much is known. Bridges went to California with the immigrants of 1842, a few weeks later.

[13] W. H. Gray is responsible for these statements. In 1870 he published a *History of Oregon* from 1792 to 1849; a book of 624 pages; sold by subscription,

The caution used not to provoke opposition is apparent in the wording of the resolution itself, which only proposes to consider the propriety of taking measures. But the committee, or those of them who were managing the business under the direction of the Mission, held stated meetings, at which they discussed more than anything else the question of how to make a governor, and whom to place in that position. They also drew up a report which was an acceptance of a form of provisional government, and a list of the officers they proposed to the people to elect. In the mean time the subject was skilfully agitated among the settlers, French and American, who were convinced that an organization was inevitable, and taught to believe that unless they would be ruled entirely by the missionary class, they must take the matter of the proposed government into their own hands. Among other arguments urged was the attitude of the natives in the interior, the need of a military organization, and the benefit to be derived from having a land law. These were the ruling motives with the American settlers; but that they did not influence the Canadians to any great extent, their

in Portland, San Francisco, and New York. As a book of reference, when compared with other authorities, the work is valuable, containing many facts and important documents. It has, however, three faults—lack of arrangement, acrimonious partisanship, and disregard of truth. A notable instance of its mendacity is the dramatic account given of Whitman's visit to the United States, its cause and purpose, and the alleged instrumentality of Whitman in raising the emigration of 1843, almost the whole of which must be relegated to the domain of fiction. Gray had a popular style of writing, however, as is shown by the reluctance of the public to give him up as an authority even after fair examination by critics had shown him to be unreliable. He is charged by Robert Newell with resorting to his imagination in giving the history of the proceedings of the early provisional government. See *Strictures on Gray*, in *Portland Democratic Herald*, Oct. 1866, et seq., in which Newell repays with interest some of Gray's rather broad caricatures of him. Criticisms of Gray's *History*, on the ground of unfairness, may be found in the writings of several of his contemporaries, viz.: *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 16, 17; *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS., 8; *White's Early Government*, MS., 40; *Waldo's Critiques*, MS., 4; *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 17; *Tolmie's Puget Sound*, MS., 24–5; and in the writings of Evans, Victor, Strong, Blanchet, Burnett, and Applegate. As an exhibition of the feeling entertained by certain persons in Oregon 40 years ago, toward the subjects of Great Britain, and professors of the Catholic faith, it is striking, though perhaps somewhat overdrawn, and is all the more impressive in that the writer speaks as if those past days were still present to him.

formal address is evidence. However, if there was to be a government, the latter wished to share its benefits, and anxiously conferred on the subject among themselves. The time being now ripe for action, the committee called a mass-meeting, to be held on the 2d of May at Champoeg, to hear their report.

On the appointed day, about an equal number of French and American settlers being assembled, the meeting was organized in the open air by the election of Ira L. Babcock as president, and Le Breton, Gray, and Willson as secretaries. The report of the committee was then read, and of course proved to be in favor of a political organization, to continue in force until the United States should establish a territorial government. This, on a motion to accept, was thought to be rejected on the first vote, when considerable confusion followed, occasioned by the speaker being unable to determine on which side was the majority.[14] The ayes and noes being called for, there was still a doubt, when Le Breton moved that the meeting divide in order to be counted. Gray seconded the motion, and the order was given for those in favor of organization to file to the right, while the opposite party took the left.

The first to step to the right was Joseph L. Meek, his splendid figure clad in the ragged habiliments common to the improvident mountain men.[15] With a sparkling eye, a voice of command, and the air of a major-general, the hero of many wild adventures in the Rocky Mountains stepped to a niche in history as he strode to his position, crying out, "Who's for a divide! All in favor of the report and of an organization follow me!"

Meek could always influence his comrades, and several took their places in his column, but half an hour elapsed, with some sharp remarks on both sides,

[14] *Evans' Newell's Strictures on Gray*, p. 4—a compilation of Newell's articles in the *Portland Democratic Herald*, 1866.

[15] Barnett says that Meek wore a rich vest of white silk, while the remainder of his clothing was exceedingly shabby. *Recollections of a Pioneer*, 160.

before the count could be taken. When every man had at length decided, it was found that a small majority were in favor of organizing a temporary government. Not quite half the Americans voted for the organization, and but for the aid of a few Canadians who were friendly to the missionaries, the victory would have been on the other side.[16]

The dissenters having withdrawn, the report of the committee was taken up and disposed of, article by article. The result of the proceedings was the election upon the spot of the following officers: A. E. Wilson, supreme judge with probate powers; G. W. Le Breton, clerk of the court, or recorder; J. L. Meek, sheriff; W. H. Willson, treasurer; Hugh Burns, L. H. Judson, Charles Campo, and A. T. Smith, magistrates; G. W. Ebberts, Reuben Lewis, J. C. Bridges, and F. X. Matthieu, constables; John Howard, major; Wm McCarty, C. McRoy, and Sidney Smith, captains; David Hill, Robert Shortess, Robert Newell, Alanson Beers, Thomas J. Hubbard, W. H. Gray, James O'Neil, Robert Moore, and Wm M. Doty, were chosen to constitute a legislative committee, whose duty it was to draught a code of laws for the government of the colony. The legislative committee were required to complete their work in six days, and had their salaries fixed at a dollar and a quarter a day, the money to be raised by subscription. The 5th of July was appointed for receiving the report of the committee.

The object for which so much striving and scheming had been carried on for two years was at last accomplished. The people had consented to a provisional government. By judiciously keeping out of sight

[16] The journal in the archives says that there was a 'large majority. Gray says two; Newell, five. Gray also says that none of the Canadians present voted for the organization; but Newell names Gervais, Lucier, Billique, Bernier, Donpierre, and Latourette, who did so, besides some others. Gervais and Lucier were on the committee, and could not have voted otherwise. It is probable, therefore, that Newell's account is correct. J. L. Parrish, in his *Or. Anecdotes*, MS. admits that Latourette voted with those in favor of a government.

the cost of the experiment, by yielding the point of taxes, and promising to get along without a governor, the missionary party had won the day. It was only, however, by encouraging the settlers to believe that it was their own government that this success was secured. J. S. Griffin was suggested as a member of the legislative committee, but his nomination was opposed on the ground that clergymen should have nothing to do with making secular laws, as their calling disqualified them from fully comprehending the wants of the community. They had been tried and found wanting. They had thus far controlled the affairs of the colony, but failed of the objects of government, which were the protection of the people.

The legislative committee held their sessions on the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th of May, and the 27th and 28th of June, Moore acting as chairman, and Le Breton as clerk. Their deliberations were carried on with open doors, in an unoccupied granary belonging to the old Mission. Few of them had any experience in legislation, and few books on law existed in the country.[17] Moore, the chairman, and Shortess were better informed than their colleagues, though Gray, Newell, Hill, and O'Neil were active in suggesting what ought to be done. Gray, Shortess, and Newell prepared the rules for the business of the house, which were adopted. The following committees were then appointed: judiciary, Beers, Hubbard, and Shortess; ways and means, Shortess, O'Neil, and Doty; military affairs, Hubbard, Newell, and Gray; land claims, Shortess, Doty, and Hill. A committee on the division of the country into districts, consisting of Gray, Doty, and Beers, was also formed. This completed the labors of the first day. Of the deliberations of the legislative body only the barest skeleton is in existence. Newell relates that Gray wished the speeches taken down by the clerk, and advocated

[17] *Strong's Hist. Or.*, MS., 61.

a movement to declare Oregon independent of the United States, a measure which Newell opposed in another speech, and which was defeated by one vote.[18] On the other hand, Gray relates that Newell offered a resolution that a committee be appointed to prepare a paper for the signatures of all persons wishing an organization, as if he still doubted the will of the people on the subject. Perhaps this resolution was intended to settle the question of an independent government.

However these forensic contests may have originated or been supported, the work progressed well and was completed in the prescribed time. The judiciary committee, which was embodied in Shortess, finished the organic laws; the other committees performed their work, and the whole was submitted to the people on the 5th of July at Champoeg. Among the usual exercises on the 4th was an oration delivered by Hines, who, while dwelling on the glorious deeds of the founders of the republic of the United States, was careful, in view of the work to be done on the morrow, to avoid offending the proper pride of the other nationalities present.

At an early hour on the 5th the meeting was opened. In the absence of Babcock, chairman of the meeting of May 2d, Hines was called to preside; Robert Moore, chairman of the legislative committee, then presented his report, which being read by the clerk, Le Breton, was accepted, and the adoption of article after article begun.[19]

[18] *Evans' Newell's Strictures on Gray's Hist. Or.*, 6. If Gray did not advocate an independent government at this time, it is certain that there were those who did, as well among the Americans as the British subjects. See *Hines' Oregon Hist.*, 422.

[19] Report of the legislative committee upon the judiciary. The legislative committee recommended that the following laws upon judiciary be accepted:

'Sec. I. We, the people of Oregon Territory, for purposes of mutual protection, and to secure peace and prosperity among ourselves, agree to adopt the following laws and regulations, until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us. Be it therefore enacted, by the free citizens of Oregon Territory, that the said territory, for purposes of temporary government, be divided into not less than 3, nor more than 5, districts; subject to be extended to a greater number, when an increase

The minutes of the meeting show that a son of John McLoughlin named Joseph McLoughlin, who lived on a farm in the Willamette Valley, moved the adoption of Article I., L. H. Judson, of Article II.,

of population shall require it. For the purpose of fixing the principles of civil and religious liberty, as the basis of all laws and constitutions of government that may hereafter be adopted. Be it enacted, that the following articles be considered as articles of compact, among the free citizens of this territory.

'Art. 1. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments.

'Art. 2. The inhabitants of said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings, according to the course of common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for the capital offences, where the proof shall be evident, or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate, and no cruel or unusual punishments inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; and should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And in the just preservation of the rights and property, it is understood and declared that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in said territory, that shall in any manner interfere with or affect private contracts, or engagements, bona fide, without fraud, previously formed.

'Art. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians. Their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars, authorized by the representatives of the people; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing injustice being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

'Art. 4. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

'Sec. II., Art. 1. Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the officers elected on the 2d of May, inst., shall continue in office until the second Tuesday in May 1844, and until others are elected and qualified.

'Art. 2. Be it further enacted, that an election of civil and military officers shall be held annually, on the second Tuesday in May, in the several districts of such places as shall be designated by law.

'Art. 3. Each officer heretofore elected, or hereafter to be elected, shall, before entering upon the duties of his office, take an oath or affirmation, to support the laws of the territory, and faithfully discharge the duties of his office.

'Art. 4. Every free male descendant of a white man of the age of 21 years and upwards, who shall have been an inhabitant of this territory at the time of its organization, shall be entitled to vote at the election of officers, civil and military, and be eligible to any office in the territory—provided, that all persons of the description entitled to vote by the provisions of this section, who shall have emigrated to this country after organization, shall be entitled to the rights of citizens after having resided 6 months in the territory.

'Art. 5. The executive power shall be vested in a committee of 3 persons, elected by the qualified voters at the annual election, who shall have

C. McRoy, of Article III., and Joseph Holman, o
Article IV., showing that the adoption of a govern
ment did not depend entirely on the Americans.

The subject of an executive had troubled the legis
lative committee not a little. It was necessary t

power to grant pardons and reprieves for offences against the laws of the te
ritory, to call out the military force of the territory to repel invasion,
suppress insurrection, to take care that the laws are faithfully executed, an
to recommend such laws as they may consider necessary, to the represent
tives of the people, for their action. Two members of the committee sha
constitue a quorum to transact business.

'Art. 6. The legislative power shall be vested in a committee of 9 pe
sons, who shall be elected by the qualified electors at the annual electio
giving to each district a representation in ratio of its population, excludi
Indians; and the said members of the committee shall reside in the distri
for which they shall be chosen.

'Art. 7. The judicial power shall be vested in a supreme court, consis
ing of a supreme judge and 2 justices of the peace. The jurisdiction of th
supreme court shall be both appellate and original. That of the proba
court and justices of the peace as limited by law—provided that individu
justices of the peace shall not have jurisdiction of any matter of controver
when the title or boundary of land may be in dispute, or where the su
claimed exceeds $50.

'Art. 8. There shall be a recorder elected by the qualified electors, at th
annual election, who shall keep a faithful record of the proceedings in th
legislative committee, supreme and probate courts; also, record all boundari
of lands presented for that purpose; and all marks and brands used for mar
ing live-stock; procure and keep the standard weights and measures require
by law; seal weights and measures, and keep a record of the same; and al
record wills and deeds, and other instruments of writing required by law
be recorded. The recorder shall receive the following fees, viz.: for recordi
wills, deeds, and other instruments of writing, 12 cents for every 100 word
and the same price for copies of the same; for every weight or measure seale
25 cents; for granting other official papers and the seal, 25 cents; for servi
as clerk of the legislative committee, the same daily pay as the members
the legislature; and for all other services required of him by this act, th
same fees as allowed for similar services by the laws of Iowa.

'Art. 9. There shall be a treasurer elected by the qualified electors of th
territory, who shall, before entering upon the duties of his office, give bo
to the executive committee, in the sum of $1,500, with 2 or more sufficie
securities, to be approved by the executive committee, conditioned for th
faithful discharge of the duties of his office. The treasurer shall receive a
moneys belonging to the territory, that may be raised by contribution
otherwise, and shall procure suitable books in which he shall enter an a
count of his receipts and disbursements.

'Art. 10. The treasurer shall in no case pay money out of the treasury b
according to law, and shall annually report to the legislative committee
true account of his receipts and disbursements, with necessary vouchers f
the same, and shall deliver to his successor in office all books, money, a
counts, or other property belonging to the territory, so soon as his success
shall become qualified.

'Art. 11. The treasurer shall receive for his services the sum of 5 p
cent of all moneys received and paid out, according to law, and 3 per cent
all moneys in the treasury when he goes out of office, and 2 per cent up
the disbursement of money in the treasury when he comes into office.

'Art. 12. The laws of Iowa shall be the laws of this territory, in civ
military, and criminal cases, where not otherwise provided for, and where

have such a head, yet they were instructed by the people against it, and against taxation for the support of a government. They had evaded the issue by recommending to the public the appointment of an executive committee of three, which plan was finally adopted, but not without considerable discussion and amendment.

statute of Iowa Territory applies, the principles of common law and equity shall govern.

'Art. 13. That the law of Iowa Territory regulating weights and measures shall be the law of this territory—provided, that the supreme court shall perform the duties of the county commissioners, and the recorder shall perform the duties of the clerk of the county commissioners, as prescribed in said laws of Iowa—and provided, that 60 pounds avoirdupois weight shall be the standard weight of a bushel of wheat, whether the same be more or less than 2,150 2-5 cubic inches.

'Art. 14. The laws of Iowa Territory respecting wills and administrations shall be the law of this territory, in all cases not otherwise provided for.

'Art. 15. The law of Iowa respecting vagrants is hereby adopted, as far as adapted to the circumstances of the citizens of Oregon.

'Art. 16. The supreme court shall hold two sessions annually, upon the third Tuesdays in April and September; the first session to be held at Champoeg, on the third Tuesday of September 1843, and the second session at Tualatin plains, on the third Tuesday of April 1844. At the sessions of the supreme court, the supreme judge shall preside, assisted by 2 justices--provided, that no justice shall assist in trying any case that has been brought before the court by appeal from his judgment. The supreme court shall have original jurisdiction in cases of treason, felony, or breaches of the peace, where the sum claimed exceeds $50.

'Art. 17. All male persons, of the age of 16 years and upwards, and all females of the age of 14 and upwards, shall have right in engaging in marriage, provided that where either of the parties shall be under the age of 21, the consent of the parents or guardians of such minors shall be necessary to the validity of such matrimonial engagement. Every ordained minister of the gospel, of any religious denomination, the supreme judge, and all justices of the peace, are hereby authorized to solemnize marriages according to law, to have the same recorded, and pay the recorder's fee. All marriages shall be recorded by the territorial recorder, within one month from the time of such marriage taking place and being made known to him officially. The legal fee for marriage shall be $1, and for recording the same 50 cents.

'Art. 18. All offices subsequently made shall be filled by election and ballot in the several districts, in the most central and convenient place in each district, upon the day appointed by law, and under such regulations as the laws of Iowa provide.

'Art. 19. Resolved, that a committee of 3 be appointed to draw up a digest of the doings of the people of this territory, with regard to an organization, and transmit the same to the United States government, for their information. Resolved, that the following portions of the laws of Iowa, as laid down in the statute laws of the territory of Iowa, enacted at the first session of the legislative assembly of said territory, held at Burlington, A. D. 1838-9; published by authority, Du Buque, Bussel, and Reeves, printers, 1839; certified to be a correct copy by William B. Conway, secretary of Iowa Territory—be adopted as the laws of this territory;' then follow the titles of the laws alphabetically arranged, with the pages where they are to be found in the above-described edition of the Laws of Iowa. *Grover's Oregon Archives.* 28-32· *Hines' Oregon Hist.* 426-31; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 353-7

The question of government expenses was met by a subscription, pledging the signers to pay annually certain sums affixed to their names, provided the subscriber might withdraw his name on paying arrearages and notifying the treasurer. The country was divided into four districts, the first to be called Twality district, comprising all the country south of the northern boundary line of the United States west of the Willamette or Multnomah River, north of the Yamhill River, and east of the Pacific Ocean. The second was Yamhill district, and embraced all the country west of the Willamette or Multnomah River, and a line running north and south from said river south of the Yamhill River to 42° north latitude, or the boundary line of the United States and California, and east of the Pacific Ocean. The third, Clackamas district, comprehended all the territory not included in the other three districts. The fourth, or Champooick[20] district, was bounded on the north by a line supposed to be drawn from the mouth of the Anchiyoke River running due east to the Rocky Mountains, west by the Willamette or Multnomah River, and a supposed line running due south from said river to the 42d parallel, south by the northern boundary line of California, and east by the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Collectively, these districts were to be designated Oregon Territory.

The military law provided that there should be one battalion of militia in the territory, divided into three or more companies of mounted riflemen. This law contained nothing deserving of comment, except in its tenth and last article, which made the militia, "with the advice and consent of the executive committee, subject to the call of the authorized agents of the United States government, until troops should be sent to support the same;" which meant that with the consent of the executive committee, White might

[20] This spelling of Champoeg was quite common in the early occupation of the Willamette Valley, as Twality was of Tualatin.

call on the military companies to put down uprisings among the natives. The manner in which White and the soldiers used their authority has been given in a previous chapter.

The law of land claims, the most important of all to the original agitators of a provisional government, required that the claimant should designate the boundaries of his land, and have the same recorded in the office of the territorial recorder, in a book kept for that purpose, within twenty days from the time of making his claim; unless he should be already in possession of a claim, when he should be allowed a year for recording a description of his land. It was also required that improvements should be made, by building or enclosing, within six months, and that the claimant should reside on the land within a year after recording. No individual was allowed to hold a claim of more than one square mile, or six hundred and forty acres in a square or oblong form, according to natural surroundings, or to hold more than one claim at one time; but having complied with these ordinances, he was entitled to the same recourse against trespass as in other cases provided by law.

The fourth and last article of the land law forbade all persons to hold claims upon city or town sites, extensive water privileges, or other situations necessary for the transaction of mercantile or manufacturing operations. Like all the important acts of the legislative committee, the land law was the work of Shortess, who was, at this period of his history, in close sympathy with the Methodist Mission. The fourth article was directly designed to take from John McLoughlin his claim at Oregon City, but when the motion was put to adopt the law as a whole, there arose considerable argument, the Mission having also laid claim to a portion of the land at Oregon City, and having erected mills on the island at the falls. In order to quiet this discussion and satisfy the Mission, a proviso was proposed "that nothing in these

laws shall be so construed as to affect any claim of any mission of a religious character, made previous to this time, of an extent not more than six miles square."[21]

The reports of the various committees having been adopted, Jason Lee, Harvey Clark, and David Leslie were chosen a committee to draught and administer an oath of office to the persons elected on the 2d of May, and to the supreme judge, who should thereafter qualify all civil and military officers elected by the people. Burns having resigned his office as justice of the peace, Moore was chosen in his place. James O'Neil was also chosen justice of the peace for Yamhill district, and Amos Cook constable. Joel Turnham was elected constable for Champooick district, in place of Bridges, who had gone to California.

The choice of an executive committee was a matter of more moment, and the subject of active canvassing; it finally fell on David Hill, Alanson Beers, and Joseph Gale. None of these men had influence enough to be dangerous to the peace of the community; two belonged to the settler class, and the third was but a lay member of the Mission. The oath of office was administered the same day, by motion of the meeting, and thus the whole business of starting the machinery of the first government of Oregon was concluded.

With regard to the influence of the Methodist Mis-

[21] In a letter to the *Oregon Spectator* of Aug. 5, 1848, Gray affirms that this proviso was suggested by Jason Lee himself, and offered by Le Breton, and that none of the legislative committee were responsible for it; and to this he says he has made oath. In his *History*, 338, he informs us that Le Breton had been chosen secretly to the legislative committee, the members agreeing to pay his per diem if necessary. Newell, in his *Strictures on Gray*, says that the word 'Protestant' was inserted in the proviso before 'missions,' but that he argued for the American right to worship God according to his conscience, and succeeded in having the obnoxious word stricken out. Gray admits that Newell was opposed to the fourth article of the land law, but only because he favored McLoughlin's claim. Gray also affirms that the legislative committee were opposed to the large claims of the Mission, but feared to oppose them lest they should combine against the organization. They were, besides, satisfied that the Protestant missions would finally give up a portion of their claims in order to force the Catholics to do the same, and this, he says, is what actually took place. *Hist. Or.*, 347. As if the United States had nothing to do with the matter

sion on the organization of a temporary government, the student of history can arrive at but one conclusion. The first object of the Missions was to secure large tracts of land. Having made their choice, finding the United States government slow to act in the matter of boundary and title, and fearing the encroachment of immigrants who might dispute with them their right to a land monopoly in certain localities, it was their only recourse to secure the establishment of a temporary government, or even an independent one, which should confirm by law the claims already taken or that might be taken under the law. It was not their policy to seem to be more anxious than other men, but rather to strive to make the settlers anxious about their welfare, and to use them to promote their own ends.

The scheme of government framed by the legislative committee of 1843 had a political significance imparted to it by Robert Shortess, which was not comprehended by the majority of American settlers who voted for it. By making its basis the ordinance of 1787, passed by congress for the government of the territories north of the Ohio River, besides its other excellent provisions, it was intended to settle the question of slavery west of the Rocky Mountains, as had been done in the north-western states. Also by extending jurisdiction over the whole of Oregon up to the time the United States should take possession of the country, the right of Great Britain to any part of it was ignored—a step in advance of the position publicly taken at this time by the government itself.

It is doubtful if, when all was done, the British residents of the territory, even McLoughlin himself, fully recognized the importance of what had taken place.[22] This was the mistake which he often made in regard to American enterprises. He was slow

[22] Says Roberts, 'I was present in the fall of 1842 at a political meeting at Champoeg; but like Toots, I thought at the time it was of no consequence' *Recollections*, MS., 64

to learn the difference between men trained to subserviency, and the quick reasoning and alert independence of the Americans, who though sometimes dressed in skins possessed the faculty of making themselves masters of whatsoever destiny fortune laid upon them.[23]

[23] The authorites from which this chapter has been drawn, besides those already quoted, are *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875, 61; Evans' Address, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1877, 32; *Brown's Willamette Valley*, MS., 31; *Atkinson's Or. Colonists*, 3, 4; *Or. Spectator*, May 12, 1847; *Grover's Or. Archives*, 5–7; *Deady's Hist. Or.*, MS., 14, 74; *Thornton's Oregon Hist.*, MS., 6; *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 265–71; *Matthieu's Refugee*, MS., 19; *Marysville Appeal*, Nov. 4, 1865; *Burnett's Recollections*, MS., i. 184; *Strong's Hist. Or.*, MS., 61; *Grover's Pub. Life*, MS., 23–5; J. Q. Thornton, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1874, 70; Burnett, in *Niles' Register*, lxviii. 393.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CATHOLIC MISSIONS—MORE OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.

1838-1847.

CALL OF THE FRENCH CANADIANS—COMING OF BLANCHET AND DEMERS—THE VICAR-GENERAL AMONG THE CAYUSES—ST FRANCIS XAVIER ON THE COWLITZ—PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC RIVALRY—LANGLOIS AND BOLDUC—THE JESUITS IN THE NORTH-WEST—LABORS OF FATHER DE SMET—POINT AND MANGARINI—ST MARYS ON THE BITTER ROOT—MISSION OF THE SACRED HEART—DE VOS AND HOEKEN—JESUIT REËNFORCEMENTS—BLANCHET MADE ARCHBISHOP—ST PAULS—AFFAIRS AT WAILATPU AND LAPWAI—INSOLENCE OF THE SAVAGES—WHITMAN'S WINTER JOURNEY TO THE EAST—HIS TREATMENT BY THE BOARD—RETURN AND DISAPPOINTMENT.

AFTER the free French Canadians of the Valley Willamette had become fairly settled in their new home, they found time to turn their attention to the moral and educational advancement of their little community. Their first effort in this direction was made July 3, 1834, when they wrote to J. N. Provencher, bishop of Juliopolis in the Red River settlement, asking that religious teachers might be sent to Oregon. The arrival of the Methodist missionaries early in 1835 made the Catholics more anxious than ever to have among them instructors of their own faith, and on the 23d of February they addressed a second appeal to the bishop. To these petitions Provencher replied by enclosing to McLoughlin a letter of advice and consolation, in which he regretted that no priests could be spared from the Red River settlement, but promised to obtain help from Europe or Canada as soon as possible.

The following year the governor and a committee

of the Hudson's Bay Company in London were asked passage for two priests to Oregon by the company's annual express from Montreal, the object being to establish a Catholic mission in the Willamette Valley. The company would grant the request on one condition, namely, that the proposed mission should be established in the Cowlitz Valley, the reason given being that the sovereignty of the British north of the Columbia was unquestioned, while the right to the country south of the Columbia was still undecided.[1]

No objection being made to this requirement, the archbishop of Quebec appointed the Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchet, then curé des Cédres, Montreal district, to the charge of the Oregon Mission, with the title of vicar-general, and for his assistant gave him the Rev. Modeste Demers of the district of Juliopolis. They left Montreal in May 1838, with the company's express, which also had a number of other travellers under its protection. All went well till the Little Dalles, on the Columbia, was reached. While the party were descending these dangerous rapids one of the boats was wrecked and nearly half the company were drowned.[2]

At Fort Colville the priests were received with the same demonstrations of pleasure that had given encouragement to the Protestant missionaries in eastern Oregon on their first appearance. During a stay of four days nineteen persons were baptized, mass was said, and the natives appeared to take great interest in the sacred rites.[3] At Fort Okanagan they met

[1] *Simpson's Letter*, in *Blanchet's Hist. Cath. Ch. in Or.*, 24–5. Simpson of course knew that the country north of the Columbia was still in dispute, but he probably believed that the British had a better chance of eventually getting it than the southern territory. Hence his desire to strengthen the claim by inducing the Canadians to settle north of the river.

[2] Those drowned were: Wallace and wife, English tourists; Banks, a botanist, and his wife, a daughter of Sir George Simpson; Mrs Williams; two little girls named Tremblay, and five others. *Tod's New Caledonia*, MS., 45–6; *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 215; *Cariboo Sentinel*, ii. no. 12, 3; *Portland Oregonian*, April 19, 1879; *Blanchet's Cath. Ch. in Or.*, 32–3.

[3] *Blanchet's Cath. Ch. in Or.*, 35. Afterward Demers wrote: 'Experience has taught us not to rely too much on the first demonstrations of the Indians, and not to rely much on the first dispositions they manifest.' *Id.*, 102.

with similar success, and baptized a number of persons. At Fort Walla Walla a few natives were baptized, but having been recently taught by Whitman, they were less demonstrative, though, at the same time, more observant and critical. On witnessing mass, with all those accessories which appeal most powerfully to the imagination of the savage, they were, according to the vicar-general, "struck with amazement." Had Blanchet been more fully informed concerning the religious antecedents of the Cayuses, he would have been able to account for the interest exhibited by them in this mysterious ceremony, which brought to their recollection all they had ever heard from their Iroquois teachers, or learned from their intercourse with the French trappers and voyageurs, and which they were now wonderingly contrasting with the less decorative and more coldly ideal worship of the Presbyterian missionaries.

The appearance of the priests in their dark robes, their frequent mystical signs of reverence, their chastity, their apparent indifference to secular affairs, all impressed the natives with the sublimity and gravity of the faith. The Umatilla branch of the Cayuses especially showed a strong leaning toward this religion, so that already the 'blackgowns,' as the priests were called, began to divide the natives against themselves in things spiritual. On arriving at Fort Vancouver the Catholic missionaries were waited upon by a delegation from the Canadian settlement, consisting of Joseph Gervais, Étienne Lucier, and Pierre Belleque; but no promise of an establishment on the Willamette was given them at this time. Mass was first celebrated at the fort on the 25th of November; and it is related that many of the Canadians were affected to tears, not having enjoyed this religious privilege for many years. After remaining some time at Vancouver, Blanchet visited the Canadian settlement on the Cowlitz. On returning he spent a month in the Willamette Valley.

One of the first steps taken by the Catholic fathers was to separate for a short time the Canadians from their Indian wives, after which they were married according to the rites of the church. The vicar-general sums up his labors for the winter under the head of baptisms one hundred and thirty-four, sepultures nine, and marriages forty-nine. Not only did he marry the unmarried, but remarried those before united by the Protestant ministers, to the unutterable disgust of the latter. He also withdrew a number of persons from the temperance society formed by the Methodists, and from their prayer-meetings.

In the summer of 1839 Demers paid a visit to the interior. For thirty days he taught the natives in the vicinity of Fort Colville, after which he spent two weeks at Fort Walla Walla in the same manner. In the mean time the vicar-general had established himself among the Cowlitz in a log house twenty by thirty feet in size erected for his use, and had received the first-fruits of the mission farm, which amounted to six bushels of wheat and nine bushels of pease. His farmer had fenced twenty-four acres, and ploughed fifteen besides for the autumn sowing. His house was used both as a residence and a chapel, and the establishment received the name of St Francis Xavier. A visit was made to the natives at Nisqually during the summer, and in the autumn both Blanchet and Demers repaired to Fort Vancouver, where they received permission from Douglas, McLoughlin not yet having arrived from England, to form an establishment in the Willamette Valley, the governor and committee having withdrawn their objections. On what grounds the prohibition was removed does not appear; but it is probable that McLoughlin represented to the directors in London that the Canadian families in the Willamette were permanently settled, and being free, had a right to live where they liked, and choose their own teachers.

The vicar-general repaired immediately to the

Canadian settlement on the Willamette, where a log church was already awaiting him, four miles above Champoeg, having been built in 1836 when the French began to entertain the hope of having priests among them.[4] Here Blanchet took up his residence October 12th. On the 23d of December he blessed the bell he had brought with him, and on the 6th of January, 1840, the humble edifice was formally dedicated to St Paul, and mass was celebrated for the first time in the Willamette Valley. The next three weeks were chiefly devoted to religious exercises, the men being examined to ascertain if their prayers were remembered, the women and children instructed in their duties, and all made to confess their sins. The fourth week was occupied in visiting the settlers at their homes, and in selecting a square mile of land for the Catholic establishment.

In the mean time, Demers, having finished his visit to Nisqually, was assigned to the charge of the Cowlitz establishment, where he arrived the 13th of October, 1839. Next day he hung and rang out the first church-bell ever heard in the territory. There were at this time but eight families on the Cowlitz, including altogether forty-six persons, which number was occasionally augmented as more men were required by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. To these persons Demers gave religious instruction during the early portion of the winter; and endeavored in the spring to impart a limited knowledge of farming to the natives within reach. in the hope of ameliorating their condition.

During the earlier part of 1840 the jealous rivalry between the Catholic and Methodist missionaries was shown with much bitterness on both sides. The former regarded it as impudent intrusion that Protestant ministers should preach their heretical creed to

[4] This, the first building erected for public religious services in Oregon, was 70 by 30 feet in size. I suppose it to be identical with that in which Jason Lee and his associates preached to the settlers.

the Catholic Canadians, or even attempt to convert the natives; while the latter naturally took an exactly opposite view of the matter. This feeling was frequently the cause of mutual recriminations which were generally without foundation in fact, while in some cases the missionaries so far forgot the dignity of their calling as to proceed to acts of mild hostility against each other. Thus Blanchet relates in his history[5] that Leslie, in revenge for his action in remarrying those persons already united by the Methodist ministers, instituted a revival, which was, however, barren of fruits; that Daniel Lee endeavored to make proselytes by praying in the houses of the Canadians, and that the Methodists circulated among the Catholics an obscene book,[6] which pretended to give awful disclosures concerning conventual life in Montreal. Further, that a complaint was made to Douglas by the Methodists, because the Catholic missionaries were using their influence "to keep the lambs of the flock out of the clutches of the Wesleyan wolves," and that the governor told his informant very curtly that "it was none of his business."

Blanchet then proceeds artlessly to laud his own zeal by describing how he meddled with Waller's missionary work at the falls of the Willamette in 1840, on which occasion he claims to have christianized the most degraded company of savages in Oregon in seven days, though he was obliged every day to run after the lazy Indians to bring them to his tent. Finally he baptized eleven children, and as the result of his week's labors found that "nine families out of ten had

[5] *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon*, Portland, 1878. This work is not gracefully written, owing probably to the author's imperfect knowledge of the English language. Its contents for the most part appear puerile to the general reader, though the blame of this may be charged to the nature of its themes. The historical value of the work is great, though impaired by the coarsely abusive tone adopted by Blanchet when referring to the Protestant missionaries, which only serves to throw discredit upon his own statements. So far as the Methodists have written of the Catholic missions, they have shown more charity and moderation.

[6] *Maria Monk*, a publication which at one time created a great stir in the religious world.

been rescued from brother Waller." In return for this interference with his mission, Waller pulled down a flag hoisted on Sunday by Blanchet's order. But the latter declares that he was consoled for this insult because some Clatsops, seeing the altar, ornaments, and vestments, spoke disparagingly of the Protestant missionaries, who had never shown them such pretty things.[7]

The childish quarrels, of which this is an example, might well be overlooked were it not necessary to refer to sectarian feuds hereafter to account for events of greater importance.

Despite their troubles with the Methodists, Blanchet and Demers labored industriously to disseminate their religion. They visited distant tribes and baptized a vast number of infant savages, attended to the spiritual wants of the fur company's servants, most of whom were Catholics and taught diligently at St Paul and St Xavier. Aside from their superabundant zeal, they were excellent men and faithfully discharged their duties as they understood them. If they drew away from the Methodist school the children of the French settlers, they did not neglect their education afterward, but were as zealous to establish institutions of learning as Jason Lee himself.[8] Nor were they behind in erecting mills and making improvements which might give them a title to the lands occupied by them when the United States should carry out its promise of free farms to actual settlers.

The immediate effect of the arrival of Blanchet and Demers was to unite the French settlers in a community by themselves, and thus weaken the power of the Methodist Mission as a political body. This is shown by the fact that the first two petitions of the settlers to the United States congress were signed equally by French and Americans, but the subsequent memorials by Americans only. It increased the hos-

[7] *Blanchet's Cath. Ch. in Or.*, 120–2.
[8] *Parrish's Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 33; *White's Or. Ter.*, 16; *Wilkes' Nar.*, iv. 374.

tility of the latter toward the fur company, and especially toward McLoughlin, to whose jealousy of them the Methodists attributed the action of the company in allowing, or as they believed in inviting, the Catholics to settle in the territory. This suspicion was strengthened when McLoughlin joined the Catholic church in 1842. It then began to be said of him that he had always been a Catholic, and a very Jesuitical one, and that he was plotting against Protestantism and American progress in every form; and though nothing could be further from the truth,[9] these accusations had great weight with those opposed to him from personal, sectarian, or political motives. That neither McLoughlin nor the fur company had any intention of covering the country with missions, as the Americans had done, was evident from the refusal of the committee to allow two other priests, Rev. A. Langlois and J. B. Z. Bolduc, to follow the first two to Oregon, by denying them a passage in their express in 1841, although this did not prevent their coming the year following by sea.

The reader will remember that a petition of the Flatheads for white teachers, sent to St Louis about

[9] Though McLoughlin's religion has been the subject of much rancorous dispute, there is really no mystery about it. He was brought up in the Anglican church; but his life in the wilderness had separated him so long from religious observances that at the time the first missionaries appeared at Vancouver he might be said to have had no specific creed. Naturally conscientious, he reproached himself that the free Canadians should have forestalled him in the direction of religious cultivation. Nevertheless he encouraged both them and the Methodists, and at the first opportunity suggested to the governor and committee in London the propriety of sending a chaplain to Vancouver. As we have seen, they sent Mr Beaver, of the Anglican church, who proved such a disagreeable and meddlesome member of the society, that McLoughlin was glad to be rid of him after a year and a half. This episode was followed by the Methodist war upon him at Oregon City, in the midst of which he chanced to read Dr Milner's *End of Controversy*, which seemed to him to establish the claim of the Roman Catholic church to be considered the true church, and he decided to unite with it at once. This he did November 18, 1842, to the end remaining a faithful Catholic, while never interfering with the religious sentiments of others. Blanchet, who was proud of this notable conversion, boasts on page 9 of his *Cath. Church in Or.*, of having accomplished it in 1841; but forgetting this statement, he gives the true date on page 69 of the same work. See also address of W. H. Rees, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1879, 30: *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series.

1832, or perhaps even earlier,[10] was really the original cause of the missionary movement into Oregon which followed. The earlier parties, however, either did not pass through, or did not remain in the region about the head waters of the Columbia, and it was not until 1840 that the Flatheads began to reap the benefits of religion which the western tribes had been enjoying for several years.[11] In the spring of 1840 Pierre J. De Smet, a Jesuit, left the Missouri at Westport in company with the large party of fur-traders, immigrants, and independent missionaries who crossed the Rocky Mountains in that year. At the rendezvous he was met by a party of Flatheads, who had heard of his arrival, and by them escorted to their country. De Smet was a worthy member of his order. Young, handsome, intellectual, educated, and energetic, he was well fitted to make a favorable impression upon the savages, and to succeed in a field which others had either shunned or abandoned. On becoming acquainted with the Flatheads, he was surprised, as Bonneville, Townsend, and Parker had been, at the similarity between their religious practices and those of his own creed, but this he accepted as a proof of the special power of his religion to impress itself at once upon the minds of the heathen. The evening of his first day among them was closed with a prayer and solemn chant, and prayer was again offered in the morning. On the second day he translated to them, with the aid of an interpreter, the Lord's Prayer, the creed, and the commandments. In a fortnight two thousand Flatheads knew the prayers. In two months six hundred were admitted to baptism.

This gratifying success led De Smet to think of procuring assistance and extending his labors among the savage nations of Oregon. But to his surprise he now for the first time learned of the presence in

[10] See p. 54, this volume.
[11] See p. 65, this volume, note 9.

the territory of Blanchet and Demers, and of their missions to the tribes on the upper Columbia. He forthwith wrote to Demers, and communicated his plans of bringing out more priests for the work of the Rocky Mountains, and at once set about carrying them forward by hastening to St Louis and returning the following year with the Rev. Gregorio Mengarini of Rome, Rev. Nicolas Point, a Vendean, and three lay brothers, good mechanics, who were needed to erect the buildings requisite for two mission establishments.

The site of the Flathead mission was selected on the Bitter Root River, September 24, 1841, the cross planted, and the mission of St Mary founded. De Smet then proceeded to Fort Colville for supplies, while the mechanics constructed a residence and chapel, and the natives were instructed by Point and Mengarini Failing to procure provisions for the winter, the natives were dismissed after Christmas, Point going with the hunters to the chase, and braving the danger of the Blackfoot, while De Smet and Mengarini remained to teach the remaining members of their charge. The lay brothers employed themselves in erecting a palisade about the mission buildings. They did not by any means pass a comfortable winter, but thanked God it was no worse. In the spring De Smet visited Fort Vancouver in the hope of procuring the requisite supplies to make the mission among the Flatheads a permanent one. On this journey he narrowly escaped death in the rapids at the Dalles, for, while he made the portage on foot, the boat with five persons in it, and his baggage, was swallowed by a whirlpool.[12]

At Fort Vancouver De Smet again failed to secure the required aid, and after conferring with Blanchet and Demers, determined to make a further appeal to St Louis for assistance. Returning to St Mary, he

[12] *De Smet's Or. Missions*, 38; *Shea's Hist. Cath. Miss.*, 474; *New Haven Courier and Journal*, July 1871.

directed Point to found a new mission, under the name of the Sacred Heart, among the Cœurs d'Alêne, and set out in August for the Missouri border to lay the wants of the savages before his superiors. The result of his appeal was, that in the following year, 1843, fathers Peter De Vos and Adrian Hoeken, with three lay brothers, were ordered to the Rocky Mountains, while De Smet himself was despatched to Europe to enlist other aid for the new field of Oregon.[13] In the same year seven lay brothers came from Canada with the annual brigade, Blanchet having made such representations to Simpson at Vancouver as to overcome his objections.[14]

De Smet's journey to Europe was eminently successful. He returned to Oregon July 31, 1844, accompanied by fathers Antonio Ravalli, Giovanni Nobili, Aloysius Vercruysse, Michele Accolti, several lay brothers, and six sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. They arrived, like the Methodist reënforcement of 1840, in a chartered vessel, the bark *L'Indefatigable*, from Antwerp, bringing money and material for the prosecution of their plans of establishing Catholic schools in the Willamette Valley, and Indian missions in the more remote parts of the territory.[15] The sisters took possession of a convent erected for them on French Prairie, called St Mary, on the 19th of October, and opened a school for girls soon after. A boys' college, named St Joseph, was already in operation, under the charge of Rev. J. B. Bolduc, who

[13] Burnett, in his *Recollections of a Pioneer*, 102, speaks of meeting De Smet and De Vos at the crossing of the Kansas River, but this is an error. De Vos and Hoeken were meant. They travelled in advance of the emigrants of 1843, a part of the time in company with a hunting party from New Orleans, under Captain Stuart. See *Niles' Register*, lxv. 70.

[14] *Blanchet's Cath. Ch. in Or.*, 131, 139. The archbishop is at fault again in his dates, writing 1842 for 1841. Sir George is also made to keep 'his promise of sending assistants,' as if he were part of the Catholic Mission, which he was far from being.

[15] The *Indefatigable* entered the south channel of the Columbia, an entrance not attempted before. Her commander was without any knowledge of the river, but having lain outside four days waiting for a pilot, decided to try the entrance, and sailed straight in, being several times in peril from shallows, but arriving safe at Astoria. Subsequently the channel deepened until it came into common use.

came from Canada by sea, in 1842, as previously mentioned.[16]

During De Smet's visit to Europe, Oregon was erected into an apostolic vicariate by Pope Gregory XVI., who appointed Blanchet archbishop of the territory, Demers succeeding him as vicar-general. The briefs were made out December 1, 1843, and reached Oregon November 4, 1844. Soon afterward Blanchet proceeded by sea to Canada, to receive his consecration at the hands of the archbishop of Quebec. He then made a voyage to Europe to devise means of increasing the resources of the Oregon mission. He met with great success in securing funds and volunteers,[17] and returned to Oregon in August 1847, with twenty-one recruits, among whom were seven sisters of Notre Dame de Namur; three Jesuit priests, Gaets, Gazzoli, and Menestrey, with three lay brothers; five secular priests, Le Bas, McCormick, Deleveau, Pretot, and Veyret; two deacons, B. Delorme and J. F. Jayol; and one cleric, T. Mesplie.[18]

[16] An offer was made by the Catholics to purchase the building and grounds of the Oregon Institute first erected on Wallace Prairie, and offered for sale by Gary, who was closing up the Methodist Mission; but that gentleman declined to sell to the successful rivals of Methodism, though the Methodist Society would have received double what it did receive for the property. *Hines' Or. and Ins.*, 161.

[17] Louis Philippe of France gave 3,000 francs, and ordered the ministers of the interior and marine to pay each 7,200 francs. The Leopoldine Society of Vienna gave 4,000 florins, and other societies or corporations different sums. *Blanchet's Cath. Ch. in Or.*, 157–8.

[18] The vessel which brought Blanchet's Catholic colony was *L'Etoile du Matin*, Captain Menes, belonging to V. Marzion & Co., of Havre de Grace, and was sent by them to Oregon, having a half-cargo for Tahiti. She was not, like the *Indefatigable*, obliged to cross the bar without chart or pilot, but was brought safely into the river by pilot Reeves, and ascended the Columbia to the mouth of the Willamette, where her cargo was unloaded. Proceeding immediately she finished her voyage to Tahiti, and returned to France, whence her owners once more despatched her to Oregon, where they designed establishing a French colony. On returning to the Columbia River in '49 or '50, Captain Menes, after waiting outside for a pilot several days, undertook to cross the bar without one, but his vessel struck on the sands, where she pounded for nine hours, and suffered serious damage. She was finally brought into Baker Bay by the assistance of Latta, a pilot of the Hudson's Bay Company, who with a number of natives went to her assistance, and constructing a box rudder brought her in. She was afterwards taken to Portland, where her cargo was landed, and the hull burned for the iron and copper. Captain Menes opened a French store at Oregon City for her owners, Marzion & Co. In

With the aid of his reënforcements De Smet did brave work, founding in rapid succession the mission of St Ignatius, among the Pend d'Oreilles, and the chapels of St Francis Borgia, among the Kalispelms, St Francis Regis in Colville Valley, St Peters at the Great Lakes of the Columbia, the Assumption on Flatbow Lake, and the Holy Heart of Mary among the Kootenais. De Vos and Accolti were placed in charge of St Ignatius, where a mission farm was opened. De Smet employed much of his time travelling among the aborigines; and as there was much despatch used in making converts, it was claimed that between 1840 and 1846 six thousand natives embraced the Catholic faith.[19]

During the absence of Archbishop Blanchet in Europe his vicariate had been erected into an ecclesiastical province, containing the three sees of Oregon City, Walla Walla, and Vancouver Island; the first being allotted to the archbishop, the second to his brother, the Rev. A. M. A. Blanchet, canon of Montreal, and the third to Vicar-general Demers. The bishop of Walla Walla proceeded from Montreal to Oregon by way of St Louis, where he was joined by nine others, among whom were the Oblate Fathers and two lay brothers, two secular priests, namely, J. B. A. Brouillet, appointed vicar-general of Walla Walla, and Father Rosseau; and a deacon, Guillaume Leclaire. Brouillet and Rosseau immediately took up

1850 McLoughlin became a partner in the firm, and so remained till 1853, when the business was closed. Captain Menes settled on French Prairie, where he resided up to his death in 1867. *Oregon City Enterprise*, March 21, 1868.

[19] The good missionary was fond of writing. His earliest published work seems to have been *Letters and Sketches*, written in 1841, after his first visit to the Rocky Mountains, printed in 1843, and marked by the novel impressions received from contact with savages. His *Oregon Missions*, New York, 1847, is a book of over 400 pages, and contains, besides a narrative of the mission work in the Willamette Valley and a brief sketch of the territory, a great number of letters filled with descriptive, scientific, and religious matter. He followed this with several works, little more than reprints, in French and Italian; and published in 1863 his *Western Missions and Missionaries*, a series of letters addressed to the editor of *Précis Historiques* at Brussels, containing more information of a general character concerning the country than his earlier works.

their residence at the Cayuse camp on the Umatilla, in a house provided by the chief Tauitau, while the Oblate Fathers went to found a mission among the Yakimas.[20]

By the 1st of November, 1847, the Catholic missionary force in Oregon Territory consisted of three bishops, fourteen Jesuit fathers, four Oblate Fathers, thirteen secular priests, including a deacon and a cleric, and thirteen sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, besides the lay brethren. Yet there was not a priest to spare to accompany Bishop Demers to Vancouver Island, and he was forced to make a journey to Europe in 1848, to raise funds, and enlist missionaries for his diocese.

In 1843 title was secured to a site for a church in Oregon City, which was completed and dedicated February 8, 1846. On the 24th of May the corner-stone of a new brick church at St Pauls was laid, which was opened for service on the 1st of November.[21] This edifice was 100 feet in length, by 45 in breadth, with wings 20 feet in length, used for chapels, and a belfry tower 84 feet in height.

That the Protestants of the Willamette Valley should be able to look upon the achievements of the Catholics without jealousy was not to be expected. Had they possessed the utmost liberality in religious matters, there was still the fear of foreign influences, and anti-American sentiments in their midst at a critical period of the colony's existence, which might defeat the most important ends at which they were

[20] Blanchet, from whose *Cath. Ch. in Or.* I have taken the account of the arrival of the bishop of Walla Walla, does not name the Oblate Fathers except Father Richard, who he says was their superior. But I gather from various authorities that two of the others were named Pandosy and Cherouse.

[21] This was the first church built of brick in Oregon, but not the first brick building erected, as Blanchet supposes. Previous to this George Gay built a small brick house on his farm, the bricks being made at a place now called Wheatland, opposite the old Methodist Mission, by John McCaddon, who also made the first bricks in Salem. Abernethy built a brick house at Oregon City in 1844, and opened a store in it. The bricks were made at Bull Creek in Oregon City. *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 33.

aiming. This feeling of apprehension served, on frequent occasions, to hold the balance even or to prompt certain conciliatory measures, when there was danger of a conflict of opinion dividing the population on colonial questions, as will be more clearly illustrated in a future chapter on government affairs. In the matter of religious differences, when the Methodist Mission was dissolved, the chief cause of irritation was removed, and Protestant and Catholic labored side by side with similar if not coincident aims, and without seriously interfering with one another. It was not, therefore, in the Willamette Valley that the intrusion of another form of religion was regarded with the greatest uneasiness, but in the unsettled Indian country east of the Cascade Mountains, where a few isolated families were endeavoring to teach the first principles of progress to wilful and capricious savages, and where any interference with their labors was sure to create a division among the natives, which might destroy the effect of all their efforts.

The experience of the Presbyterian missionaries was entirely different from that of their Methodist brethren. They had to deal with tribes yet in their primitive strength of mind and body, having their intelligence not yet weakened but sharpened by contact with white men, lordly in their ideas of personal dignity, but blind to the rights of others while insisting with the utmost pertinacity upon what they esteemed their own. To teach such beings required the exercise of extraordinary tact, firmness, and patience, and would have been difficult had the savages been constantly subject to the influence of precept and example. But their roving habits took them away from their teachers during a considerable portion of the year, and although eager and quick to learn, they gave little time to study.

To overcome these difficulties the missionaries worked hard to put themselves in sympathy with their pupils, by mastering their dialects, and endeav-

ored to attach them to certain localities by teaching them farming. The latter was a more difficult task than the former, as the natives, particularly the Cayuses, affected to believe that they were doing a favor to Dr Whitman[22] by receiving his instruction, and frequently demanded pay for what they did for themselves, as well as for the use of the ground which he cultivated for the support of the Mission. Split-lip, a chief of the Cayuses who lived near the Waiilatpu Mission, was often most insulting in his demands, occasioning difficulties which would never have been settled but for the good offices of Pambrun of Fort Walla Walla, who was usually able to manage the natives through the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the fear they had that if they exhibited hostility to white men who were friends of the company the trading posts would be withdrawn from their country.

The same state of affairs existed at Lapwai, except that Spalding exercised a more arbitary authority over the Nez Percés than Whitman could exert over the Cayuses, and established a system of laws, or rules of conduct, which rendered the natives liable to punishment for certain offences.

Though these laws were not without their advantages, yet, unless great discrimination was used in applying them, they were likely to breed mischief, as the following instance will show: A difficulty arose from the death of The Hat, the young chief who, while accompanying Gray to the States in 1837, was killed by the Sioux. The other two young chiefs, Blue Cloak and Ellis, who agreed to go with Gray, as I have before mentioned, turned back at the rendezvous, giving as a reason that the feet of their horses were sore, and that they would die upon the road. When they presented themselves in the autumn at Lapwai, Spalding, who had a quick temper, fearing for Gray's safety, and vexed at the failure of

[22] Whitman's letter, in *Boston Miss. Herald*, November 1840, 438.

a part of his plan, which was to exchange a herd of Indian horses for cattle on the frontier, severely reproved them, and exacted a horse from each for breach of contract. The young men not complying with this demand, Spalding took occasion when the Indians were assembled for instruction to order some of them to take Blue Cloak and whip him. Ellis was also present, but as he had a number of his band with him, he was not molested. For some time no one offered to execute the order, but at length one of the principal men arose, and having seized and bound Blue Cloak, turned to Spalding, saying, "Now you whip him." To this Spalding objected on the plea that he, like God, gave commands but did not execute them. "You are a liar," retorted the chief; "look at your picture"—pointing to a rude painting suspended against the wall—"there you have represented two men, with God behind them holding a bundle of rods with which to whip them. If you refuse to punish Blue Cloak, we will put you in his place and whip you." Not relishing the alternative Spalding laid on the lash,[23] after which the horse required was given him.

Had The Hat returned alive, this affair might have been forgotten. But when Gray appeared without him, Ellis accused him of having caused the chief's death, and declared that Spalding's wrath against him and Blue Cloak for turning back showed that it had been intended that they also should be killed. Ellis then assembled the Nez Percés, and kept Spalding and all the white people attached to the Mission prisoners in their house for several weeks, and it was not until Pambrun had several times sent messages from Walla Walla assuring them that Gray was not responsible for the death of The Hat, that they finally consented to release their prisoners.

The calm which followed was only the semblance of peace. In the following year, 1839, Smith, who

[23] *Brouillet's Authentic Account*, 25–6.

established a mission at Kamiah, obtained the assent of Ellis to build a house on his land, but was refused permission to cultivate the ground, Ellis telling him that if he dug a hole in the earth it should serve for his grave. In the spring of 1840 Smith made an attempt to plough, but was interrupted by the savages with the same threat, when he desisted, and soon after went to the Hawaiian Islands, the station Kamiah being abandoned.[24]

This much is the account of the Catholic authorities, and Gray does not deny it, although, having the means of knowing, he should have done so, if not true. But the Presbyterian missionaries were habitually reticent concerning their troubles with the savages, probably because they were reluctant to confess their failures to the religious world.[25]

Yet in truth there was little to be ashamed of in a lack of success in such a field of labor. For the

[24] Wilkes mentions meeting A. B. Smith and wife at Fort Vancouver in 1841, at which time it was said that they were leaving Oregon on account of Mrs Smith's health. He also learned from Smith that there were no natives in the neighborhood of Kamiah to demand a station. *Nar.*, iv. 354. But Smith, in his correspondence, declared Kamiah to be 'the most eligible spot for a station in the whole country. Three fourths of a year, autumn, winter, and spring, the people remain here permanently.' *Boston Miss. Herald*, Aug. 1840, 326. Gray attempts to show that Smith left the Nez Percé Mission because Spalding was 'ambitious and selfish,' and jealous of the superior ability of his coadjutors. *Hist. Or.*, 211. But again Smith writes in August 1839, in a tone to show that he is not a saguine missionary: 'No longer can we be borne along by the current of popular favor among this people. The novelty of having missionaries among them is now gone, and we must work against the current as much as in any other heathen country. In future it will be uphill work.' *Boston Miss. Herald*, 328.

[25] In this the example was set by the mouth-piece of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the *Boston Missionary Herald*, a monthly magazine, containing the proceedings of the missionary board and its foreign correspondence. Its publication began in 1805. It was seldom that a letter from its correspondents was published as written. The most favorable side of the subject was presented in an abstract of the communication; and where no favorable side could be found, the correspondence was practically suppressed. I have carefully searched the files which should contain the denial or confirmation of certain incidents related by Catholic writers as reflecting on the Protestants, without finding the most distant allusion to those events; but do find, nevertheless, sufficient evidence confirming the troubles of the missionaries with the Indians to justify belief in the incidents as related by writers who might otherwise be suspected of giving too partisan a tone to their statements. I say that it was the custom for eastern missionary journals wilfully to misrepresent the facts in order that the income from the supporters of missions might not be lessened.

natives at their best, with few exceptions, manifested scarcely more gratitude for benefits bestowed than is current in civilized circles. "I have no evidence to suppose;" says Spalding, speaking of the selfishness and ingratitude of the natives, "but a vast majority of them would look on with indifference and see our dwelling burned to the ground, and our heads severed from our bodies."[26] This was said by the most successful of the missionary teachers regarding the people whom he taught. Walker and Eells, at the Chemakane mission, while not having suffered the same indignities as teachers at the other stations, complained that the real object of the aborigines in professing interest in religion and learning was to secure the favor of their instructors and obtain presents, and Smith at Kamiah gave them the same character,[27] while all often referred to their untruthfulness.

Yet the missionaries continued to hope against hope that in time some good might be effected, and reported as their circumstances chanced to inspire them, sometimes cheerfully but oftener despondingly. Whitman wrote in March 1841, that the people were quiet, and appeared never to have been so well disposed toward him as at that time; assigning as a reason that the troublesome chief, Split-lip, had been removed by death.[28] But letters of the same date, from the other stations, gave disheartening accounts of opposition from savages.

In the previous year there had been a serious disturbance at Waiilatpu, occasioned by the Cayuses allowing their horses to damage the grain in the mission field. When reproved by Whitman, they covered him with mud, plucked his beard, pulled his ears, snapped a gun at him, threatened to pull down his house, and would have struck him with an axe had

[26] Letter to Dr White, 1842, in *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 238.
[27] *Simpson's Nar.*, i. 161; *Wilkes' Nar.*, iv. 484; *Boston Miss. Herald*, November 1840, 441.
[28] *Boston Miss. Herald*, October 1841, 436; *Id.*, September 1841, 405.

he not evaded the blow.[29] A report of this outrage reached the Sandwich Islands, and prevented J. D. Paris and W. H. Rice from joining the mission with their wives. They were about to depart for Oregon, but on hearing of the assault, determined to remain at the Islands, believing that Waiilatpu would be abandoned. Indeed, Whitman was strongly counselled by McLoughlin to quit Waiilatpu; being assured that should he do so temporarily, as if offended with the natives, they would repent of their conduct and ask him to return.[30] But the missionary was no ordinary man. I do not know which to admire in him most, his coolness or his courage. His nerves were of steel; his patience was excelled only by his absolute fearlessness; in the mighty calm of his nature he was a Cæsar for Christ. He would on no account give the Cayuses occasion to think he had feared them. So he resolved to stay. In 1841, while the Red River immigrants were at Walla Walla awaiting a change of horses, another assault was made on Whitman in consequence of Gray striking an Indian lad for some offence. The boy's uncle was the chief Tiloukaikt, a haughty and irascible man, who to avenge the insult to his nephew struck Whitman, knocked his hat off, and pulled his nose, all of which insults the doctor bore meekly, but without showing fear.

In former attacks of a similar nature, Pambrun had interfered to prevent further mischief; but the ruler of Fort Walla Walla was now dead, and Archibald McKinlay reigned in his stead. The Cayuses had agreed with McKinlay to furnish horses to take the Red River immigrants to the Dalles; but when the animals were brought, he refused them, saying he would have nothing to do with Indians who treated a white man, and his friend, as they had treated Dr Whitman. This was an argument they could under-

[29] *Brouillet's Authentic Account*, 25.
[30] *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 4.

stand. After making some delay and difficulty about it, he appeared to relent, and promised to accept the horses provided Tiloukaikt, and all concerned in the assault, should go and beg pardon of the doctor, which they consented to do.[31] So again the sky was clear over Waiilatpu.

Meanwhile Spalding was having similar trouble at Lapwai. The Nez Percés pulled down his mill, claiming it to be their own, and assaulted him with a gun, Mrs Spalding herself not escaping insult. There had not been one year in the five from 1837 to 1842, in which some of these occurrences had not taken place.

Surrounded by difficulties and dangers such as these, it is no wonder that the Protestant missionaries resented the advent of the Catholics. The natives could not fail to see that there was trouble between their teachers, and their mischievous nature made them quick to take advantage of the situation. They carried stories back and forth, taking a malicious delight in exaggerating such scraps of scandal as were blown about their ears upon the breezes of religious rivalry.

While A. B. Smith was at the Kamiah mission he reduced the Nez Percé dialect to grammatical rules. In the summer of 1839 the Lapwai mission received a visit from the printer of the Honolulu mission, E. O. Hall, who brought as a present from the first native church of Honolulu a small printing-press and some type. He remained long enough to teach the printer's art to Spalding and Rogers, and on this press were printed primers in the native language for the use of the pupils, a collection of hymns. and some

[31] *Tolmie's Puget Sound*, MS., 24–5. I have Tolmie's authority also for the story told by several others, that Gray, to prevent the native children from taking melons out of the gardon at Waiilatpu, inserted tartar emetic into several of the finest ones in order to make the thieves sick and destroy their craving for melon. Its evil effects were quickly perceived, and the suspicion naturally engendered that the missionaries were exercising *tamanowas*, or evil-eye, upon them, which led to further suspicions at a later date. See also the testimony of Augustine Raymond and John Young, in *Brouillet's Authentic Account*, 31.

chapters from St Matthew.[32] By the aid of these books in their own tongue, a number of the Nez Percés were taught to read, and also to reproduce their lessons, by printing with the pen, for the benefit of less advanced pupils. In the labor of translation, Smith was assisted by Lawyer, whom I have before mentioned as having obtained his sobriquet by his shrewdness in dealing with white men, and who had a sufficient knowledge of the English language to enable him to assist in the earlier efforts of the missionaries. This astute savage soon perceived that so long as the missionaries were in the field he could profit by siding with them in all disputes. Besides the books used, pictures drawn by Mrs Spalding, in water-colors, to illustrate sermons and lessons, were important aids. It was found that bible history was interesting to the natives, but they were opposed to the doctrine of original sin, and also to being made responsible as sinners. Yet they readily understood the meaning and the natural justice of the commandments, and had a love for laws, though each one evidently hoped to gain some advantage by them over his fellows. In addition to reading, writing, singing, and religious instruction, the men were taught farming and the women housekeeping, knitting, sewing, spinning, and weaving. The chief difficulty in the way of progress was the necessity of collecting food, the men spending a great portion of the year in hunting, and the women in digging roots or gathering berries. Their absence, however, gave the missionaries opportunities to perform the labor required for their own subsistence.

The mission at Lapwai after a few years consisted of a large and commodious dwelling with eleven fire-

[32] On this press, the first north of California, was also printed in 1848 the first periodical, not a newspaper, published in the Willamette Valley, the *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*, edited by J. S. Griffin. It was a sectarian and rabidly anti-Catholic journal. The press and type are preserved in the state-house at Salem. *Thornton's Or. Hist.*, MS., 25–6; *Newcomb's Cyclopedia of Miss.*, 623. M. G. Foisy was the first printer in Oregon after the missionaries. *Rocky Mountain Gazette; Thornton's Or. Relics*, MS., 4.

places, and Indian reception-room, weaving and spinning room, eating and sleeping rooms for the children, rooms for the family, and a school-house, all under one roof. There were, besides, a church, saw-mill, blacksmith-shop, granary, storehouse, and all necessary farm buildings. The mission farm, besides simply supporting the family, as was at first anticipated, became a source of supply to travellers the natives, and the other missions.[83]

The mission at Waiilatpu consisted of an adobe a story and a half high, sixty feet in length by eighteen in width, with library and bedroom at one end, dining and sitting room in the centre, and Indian room at the other end of the main building; the kitchen, school-room, and bedrooms being in a wing at right angles to it. A second house, called the mansion, stood at a little distance from the first, and was forty by thirty feet on the ground, and a story and a half high. Near these was a blacksmith-shop, and within four hundred feet of the dwelling was a small grist-mill. On one side of this group of buildings were the Walla

[83] Spalding had discovered as early as 1838 the fertility of the soil in the country east of the Cascades, and as early as 1845 that the plains were even more valuable for farming than the valleys. In a letter prepared by him in 1846 for the use and by the request of Joel Palmer, then on his way to the States, after giving the above opinion, he goes on to say: 'My place is one of the deepest valleys, and consequently the most exposed to reflection from the high bluffs around, which rise from 2,000 to 3,000 feet; but my farm, though prepared for irrigation, has remained without it for the last 4 years, I find the ground becomes more moist by cultivation. Three years ago I raised 600 bushels of shelled corn from 6 acres, and good crops of wheat on the same piece the 2 following years, without irrigation. Eight years ago I raised 1,500 bushels of potatoes from one acre and a half; measuring some of the bags in which they were brought to the cellars, and so judging of the whole amount. I gave every eleventh bag for digging and fetching, and kept a strict account of what every person brought, so that I was able to make a pretty accurate estimate of the whole amount. My potatoes and corn are always planted in drills. Every kind of grain or vegetable which I have tried in this upper country grows well. Wheat is sown in the fall, and harvested in June at this place; at Dr Whitman's in July, being in a more open country. Corn is planted in April and ripens in July; pease the same. *Palmer's Journal*, 167. In 1842, 140 Nez Percés cultivated the ground, in quantities of from ¼ of an acre to 5 acres each. One chief raised that year 100 bushels of corn, 176 bushels of pease, and between 300 and 400 bushels of potatoes. Another chief raised about the same amount; and about 40 Indian farmers raised from 20 to 100 bushels of grain of different kinds, besides potatoes, vegetables, and melons in abundance. *Boston Miss. Herald*, Oct 1843, 383.

Walla River and mill-pond; on the opposite side a ditch for discharging waste water from the mill, and for irrigating purposes. Willow, birch, and alder fringed the stream. A meadow lay in front stretching toward the west; apple-trees were growing in sight of the house, and flowers in the small enclosure in front.[34] A general air of thrift and comfort prevailed.[35] In 1839 the stock at Waiilatpu consisted of a yoke of oxen, two cows, an American bull, and a few hogs. In 1841, according to Wilkes, a considerable herd had come by descent. Sheep had been obtained from the Hawaiian Islands, and hogs had greatly multiplied. There was a saw-mill belonging to the mission twenty miles up Mill Creek, having a capacity of about three thousand feet a day, together with a house for the mill men.

It was first thought that the soil of the Walla Walla Valley was not fertile, but Wilkes found wheat standing seven, and corn nine, feet high in the mission fields at Waiilatpu, while the garden was filled with fine vegetables and melons. There was less cultivation by the Cayuses than by the Nez Percés, yet they brought into use many small patches of ground, some of them at Waiilatpu, but more on the Umatilla River, where at a distance of twenty to forty miles lived some of the most influential chiefs. Less grain was raised at Waiilatpu than at Lapwai, partly because of the manifold cares of the superintendent, and partly because, owing to the haughty and intractable disposition of the Cayuses, fewer of them could be employed as farm laborers.[36] Whitman's manner of teaching was similar

[34] *Victor's All Over Or. and Wash.*, 109.

[35] *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 166. Farnham gives a lengthy account of this mission. Among other things he says: 'When the smoking vegetables, the hissing steak, bread as white as snow, and the newly churned golden butter graced the breakfast-table, and the happy countenances of countrymen and countrywomen shone around, I could with difficulty believe myself in a country so far from and so unlike my native land in all its features. But during breakfast the pleasant illusion was dispelled by one of the causes which induced it. Our steak was horse-flesh!' *Travels*, 149.

[36] Wilkes relates how the Cayuses, when Whitman refused to allow them to use water from his irrigating ditches, stopped them up. This nearly oc-

to the method employed at Lapwai. On Saturday evenings he usually invited one of the most intelligent natives to his study, and translated to him the text to be used on the morrow, explaining carefully its meaning until the pupil could explain it in his turn, and assist in interpreting and teaching on Sunday.[87] Mrs Whitman taught reading and singing in the day school through the week, and relieved her husband of the elementary part of the labor.

At the Spokane mission of the Chemakane there was not the same improvement nor the same trouble experienced as at Lapwai and Waiilatpu. The Spokanes were said by Walker and Eells to be addicted to the usual Indian vices, and especially to lying, which they seemed to enjoy as a means of creating excitement, but were more peaceably disposed than the Nez Percés or Cayuses. In the winter of 1839–40, when the mission house was destroyed by fire, they rendered willing service, and even refrained from taking the goods of the missionaries. By their help, and that of the inmates of Fort Colville, who came and encamped upon the ground in several inches of snow to give their protection and assistance in rebuilding, the mission was soon restored, although many things of value in this remote region were destroyed.

Agriculture at Chemakane did not succeed as at Lapwai or Waiilatpu, on account of frosts, and it does not appear to have been attempted to any great extent.[88] Among the Spokanes was a chief named Garry, corresponding in character and influence to Lawyer among the Nez Percés. He had been taken to the Red River settlement, where he was taught

casioned a serious difficulty, which was averted, however, when they became convinced there was water enough for all if they would dig trenches for themselves. *Nar.*, iv. 423.

[87] *Hastings' Or. and Cal.*, 54; *Johnson's Cal. and Or.*, 271.

[88] De Smet says: 'It appears they are fearful that, should they cultivate more, they might have too frequent visits from the savages. They even try to prevent their encampment in their immediate neighborhood, and therefore they see and converse but seldom with the heathen they have come so far to seek.' *Letters and Sketches*, 212.

reading and writing, and obtained some knowledge of Christianity. So far as Garry's influence was felt among this people, it was on the side of progress.

Such was the general condition of affairs at the Presbyterian missions in the autumn of 1842. The uneasiness which was felt from the first appearance of the Catholics in their neighborhood was intensified by the establishment of De Smet's missions among the Flatheads, and his visits to Colville and Vancouver, followed by the arrival of two secular priests in the Willamette Valley, and the mission of De Smet to Europe, with the avowed purpose of bringing men and means to overthrow Protestantism among the natives. While representing his situation frankly to the board, Whitman had never asked to be released from it, but on the contrary, to have his hands strengthened by a reënforcement. He saw the great number of missionaries which the Methodist church was able to throw into the field in western Oregon, and the readiness of the Catholics to furnish aid where it was required, and was reluctant to yield. Of all the independent missionaries who, it would seem, should have been willing to aid him, none remained over a few months at the station, being either alarmed by the attitude of the natives, or allured by flattering reports of the Willamette Valley for settlement. Even those who were designed to assist him fled from the post, Smith, Rogers, and Gray having deserted in 1841 and 1842, and none having come to fill their places.

To the doctor's appeals for help from the board no encouraging response was given after 1840. It appears that the board thought the mission should be self-supporting; but to this intimation Whitman replied, that it was visionary to expect a mission so isolated, which could exchange no products to obtain foreign supplies, to support itself. Besides, he asked, who was to perform the labors of the missionaries if the latter were

to turn farmers and traders?[39] In this respect the Presbyterian missionaries differed from the Methodists, and were not prepared to accept the views of their own board of commissioners.[40]

In the midst of these perplexities there came upon them two unexpected events. In the first place, the board ordered the discontinuance of Lapwai and Waiilatpu stations, the missionary efforts to be confined to the Chemakane mission, and Spalding to return to the States.[41] The order was received late in September 1842, and a meeting was immediately called to consider it. Whitman and Spalding were much opposed to abandoning their stations, while Walker and Eells were in favor of carrying out instructions. Whitman urged the strong probability, that as soon as Lapwai and Waiilatpu should be left, the Catholics would come in and possess the fruits of their labors, both temporal and spiritual.[42] On the other hand, there was the possibility that the Catholic influence might overcome them though they remained, and drive them from the field *nolens volens*. Then there was the objection of the board to sustaining two stations which were never to become self-supporting. How was it to be overcome?

The second event to which I alluded furnished Whitman with a reply to the arguments of his brethren. This was the arrival, overland, of an immigration of over a hundred persons, men, women, and children, invited to make homes in Oregon by the government of the United States, and expecting to receive as a reward for their patriotism a liberal grant of land in the fertile Valley Willamette. "If these hundred have come this year," said Whitman, "more will come the next. These have left their wagons at Fort Hall, but very soon others will discover that they can bring

[39] *Boston Miss. Herald*, Aug. 1840, 329.

[40] *Applegate's Views of History*, MS., 32–4; *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 175–6; *Palmer's Journal*, 57.

[41] *Boston Miss. Herald*, Jan. 1843, 14.

[42] Letter of Dr Whitman, in *Boston Miss. Herald*, Dec. 1866, 374

them through to the Columbia. The moment that is accomplished, there will be a large immigration yearly; Lapwai and Waiilatpu will become supply stations to thousands of travellers, and the objections of the committee will be removed. Help can be obtained from the immigrants; a settlement can be formed, and a strong Protestant influence brought to counteract the efforts of the Catholics. Here again was earthly empire rising up to overshadow the spiritual. So sure did Whitman feel of the truth of his prophecy, that he proposed to start at once for Boston to procure a reversal of the unwelcome order recalling Spalding and closing the two most important stations, and to procure further assistance for the missions. In vain did his colleagues oppose the scheme. With the determination characteristic of the man, he set about making his arrangements for the journey.

As in all cases of exigency, Whitman now sought counsel of his friends of the fort.[43] McKinlay said that although the proposed expedition in the winter was likely to be attended with some hardships it was not impossible, if the southern route by Santa Fé were taken. Nothing remained but to hastily conclude arrangements for the care of the station during his absence, which he did by writing to Geiger and Mr and Mrs Littlejohn to spend the year of his absence with Mrs Whitman,[44] and by charging McKinlay also with her welfare.[45]

On the 3d of October Whitman left his home,

[43] *U. S. Ev., H. B. Co. Claims*, 173–5.

[44] *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 213, 257.

[45] There was a warm friendship between Whitman and McKinlay. I have also a letter written by D. Greene, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from McKinlay, dated December 27, 1842, which seems to have been written with a view of furthering the object of Whitman's visit, as it was in praise of Spalding's success as a missionary, and hoping he would not be recalled. The same refers to an order of McKinlay for books which Whitman left with Greene to be filled; all showing their kindly relations. See also note on page 221 of Gray's *Hist. Or.* But most of all I have seen the eyes of the old fur-trader fill with tears when speaking of the noble Presbyterian. In a letter written recently by McKinlay, he expresses the highest regard for Whitman, which opinion is also equally emphasized in *Tolmie's Puget Sound*, MS., 24.

accompanied only by a guide and A. L. Lovejoy of the recent immigration, who, being detained two or three weeks behind his company, was induced by the doctor's specious arguments to return to the States.[46] From Fort Hall they took the route by the way of Uintah, Taos, and Santa Fé, changing guides at each of these points, and experiencing sometimes bitter cold, and sometimes pinching hunger. They arrived at Bent Fort on the Arkansas in time to join a company going from Santa Fé to the border, when Lovejoy determined to remain at the fort till spring, and Whitman proceeded without him to his destination, which he reached in March 1843.

The reception given to the doctor by the missionary board was not cordial or even kind; it was frigid. They disapproved of his leaving his station, of the unnecessary expense of the journey, and of its object, especially as it asked for more money and missionaries. Whitman repeated the arguments advanced to his colleagues in the wilderness.[47] The board was cold; the savages of the inhospitable north-west were not just then in favor with the Sunday-schools. Nevertheless, these wise men of the east did finally consent to permit the doctor to continue the mission work there begun should he wish to do so without further help from them.[48] Further than this, the board refused to pay the expenses of his journey,[49]

[46] *Lovejoy's Portland*, MS., 20.

[47] This is the statement made of Whitman's object and arguments, by the prudential committee to whom they were addressed. See *Boston Missionary Herald*, September 1843, 356. Daniel Lee also says: 'Whitman visited the United States to obtain further assistance, in order to strengthen the efforts that had already been made.' *Lee and Frost's Or.*, 213. But Gray wickedly asserts that Whitman went to Washington with a political purpose, instead of going on the business of the mission.

[48] The *Missionary Herald* of Sept. 1843, after mentioning the doctor's desire to have 'Christian families to emigrate and settle in the vicinity of the different stations,' goes on to say: 'How far his wishes in these particulars will be responded to is at present uncertain'—showing that the matter was left to him to arrange. A man whose acquaintance he formed on the return journey says: 'He often talked with me about his want of success with the board, and expressed his fears of the consequences.' *Applegate's Views of Hist.*, MS., 35.

[49] I gather this from the statements of some of the immigrants of 1843, with whom he travelled. He certainly knew the requirements of a journey

and he was left to get back to Oregon as best he could. First repairing to his former home in central New York, he settled up some private business affairs, and taking with him a young nephew, hastened to the frontier, where was being collected for a final start the emigration of 1843, of which he probably heard as he journeyed east two months before. He arrived at the rendezvous of the emigrants just as they were about to organize on the 18th of May, and was invited to attend their meeting and make suggestions.[50] After this he visited some relatives near Westport, and the Shawnee mission, and overtook the emigration on the Platte River, travelling with them and rendering professional and other services, as required, on the way.[51]

Whitman reached home after a year of incessant and arduous exertion, to find that his absence, and the information the savages had of his intention to bring other white men to settle among them,[52] had occasioned trouble at his station. Hardly had he turned his back upon Waiilatpu before Mrs Whitman

across the plains; yet he was not properly provisioned, and seemed to have undertaken to get along by shooting game, which proved to be scarce. Daniel Waldo says that he had nothing but a boiled ham to start with, and that he fed him while they were in Kansas, and after they crossed Snake River. *Critiques*, MS., 17. J. B. McClane refers to his want of supplies after leaving Fort Hall, and his picking up a dropped calf, and putting in his (McClane's) wagon with the intention of eating it. McClane, however, threw it out, for which he was severely reproved by the doctor. *First Wagon Train*, MS., 4, 5.

[50] *Burnett's Recollections of a Pioneer*, 101. The *Missionary Herald*, last quoted, says that Whitman set out on his return 'about the 1st of June;' but as Burnett kept a journal, it is probable that he is correct as to date. The *Herald* may have made its statement from reference to a letter received from the doctor just before he quitted the Pawnee mission.

[51] Marginal notes to *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 289–90; *Ford's Road-makers*, MS., 7; *Waldo's Critiques*, MS., 1; *Boston Miss. Herald*, May 1844, 177; Nesmith, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875, 47.

[52] When excited by the misconduct of the Cayuse chiefs, Whitman had so far lost his self-control as to threaten them with white settlers. Toupin says he told them he would bring 'many people to chastise them.' White says, that, though a most estimable man, Whitman was 'the most unfit person in the world to manage Indian affairs;' because instead of treating them as children, he would become heated in an argument with them, as with his equals. *Early Government of Oregon*, MS., 12. This is confirmed by what is known of Whitman's dealings with the Cayuses, both before and subsequent to his visit to the States. Yet again he was a miracle of coolness and patience, which was his normal state, so contradictory is human nature.

was grossly insulted, and compelled to take refuge for the winter at the Dalles. A few days later the mission mill, with the grain stored in it, was destroyed, and a general warlike attitude assumed by the Cayuses,[53] which was only overcome by the united efforts of an authorized agent of the United States government and the British fur company, as before narrated. Owing to this intervention, order had been restored, and the savages were once more apparently friendly, receiving him with demonstrations of pleasure.

Yet there were present many disappointments. When he left the east, where, contrary to his expectations, not a single family had been obtained for settlement near the missions, he indulged the hope that some of the immigrants might yet be induced to take locations in his neighborhood; but we find him writing, shortly after his return, that all the help received by the mission was one man, hired by Mr Spalding, a Scotch school-teacher, and one family selected from the emigrants, all of whom he had sent to Spalding's assistance at Lapwai, none being found to go to the help of Walker and Eells. He also added a hope that the board would send one minister, fitted to preach to western men, to meet the Catholics, and to instruct the natives. "It is asking but little," he wrote, "to request two ministers for this [the Indian] language; as in the case of the death of Mr Spalding or myself, the knowledge of the language would be limited to so few that little could be done." He also referred to his protect of encouraging teachers to come out as

[53] It was about this time that McKinlay had his famous adventure with Peupeumoxmox of the Walla Walla branch of the Cayuses, who, on account of his son being seized by a clerk at the fort for a slight theft, was about to do violence to the chief trader, when McKinlay placed a keg of powder in the midst of the apartment, and stood over it ready to touch it off at the first hostile movement. Not wishing to be blown up, Peupeumoxmox became cooler, and was induced to listen to reason. White says, in one of his reports, that the insolence of the Cayuses had been growing ever since the visit of Bonneville, who paid them more for furs than the Hudson's Bay Company. This caused them to make similar demands on Pambrun, and these not being complied with, they seized him, stamped violently on his breast, beat him, and retained him prisoner, until they gained to some extent their object. *Ten Years in Or.*, 175.

emigrants, and labor for a time at the mission, and to the need of good men being settled, three or four in a place, to form a nucleus for religious institutions, and to hold Romanism in check.[54] The country must be occupied, he said, by Americans or foreigners; and if by the latter, they would be chiefly Catholics.

This alarm regarding the Catholics, who at the period when these apprehensions were felt had no station nearer than the Bitter Root and Willamette valleys, would appear disproportioned to the occasion, were it not that in a subsequent letter it is said there was an evident desire on the part of the natives to make use of the differences between the Protestants and Catholics for their own purposes, a danger which only those who understood Indian character could properly estimate. From the time of Whitman's return to Waiilatpu, it could not be said that there was any improvement in the moral character of the savages, though their temporal condition continued to mend chiefly through the increase in the number of those who cultivated the ground and raised cattle. As early as 1842 the Nez Percés owned thirty-two head of neat cattle, ten sheep, and forty hogs. The Cayuses owned about seventy head, chiefly cows, which they obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company, the mission of the American board, the Methodist mission, or the Willamette settlers, in exchange for horses. They had also a few sheep, earned by herding the flock belonging to the mission. The possession of cattle by their teachers had been a constant occasion of envy and of reproach by the natives, who demanded, in effect, that the missionaries should share their herds with them, instead of which they were shown how to procure them for themselves.

The advent of the immigrants produced a change for the worse in the savages for two reasons. It gave them plausible ground for declaring that the missionaries were leagued with other Americans to take

[54] *Boston Miss. Herald*, May 1844, 177.

possession of the lands which they claimed to be theirs; and it made them independent of the missionaries by furnishing them a market for the vegetables they raised, while it gave them an opportunity to obtain stock, which they were eager to do, cheerfully giving a good horse for a poor cow. Each year thereafter their riches increased in the same manner, and each year they grew more intractable, proud, and insolent. They complained that Whitman occupied lands belonging to them on which he raised wheat to sell to the immigrants; that he had a mill on their lands, yet charged them for grinding their grain; and often, when in bad humor, ordered him to leave the country. That they appreciated the benefits received through the missionaries seemed evident, but they appeared incapable of gratitude, and used the intelligence with which they had been furnished to make more conspicuous their indifference or their hostility.

Thus matters went from bad to worse at the Presbyterian mission, until Dr Whitman himself became convinced that there was nothing to be gained by remaining. No settlements had been formed in his neighborhood, though many immigrants had passed. If he was able to induce a few persons to winter at his station, they invariably left in the spring for the Willamette Valley. Little by little the savages departed, and now that he was ready to go, the difficulty was for time to withdraw, the chiefs being divided, and some desiring him to remain on purely sectarian grounds, that they might, as Protestants, triumph over the Catholics of the tribe. As this was the very ground on which he had proposed to the board to remain, he had no valid reason to give for abandoning the field. Had all the chiefs desired his departure, his way would have been plain.[55]

In this delay he was probably encouraged by the temporizing policy of the United States in the matter of the boundary of Oregon, and afterward in the

[55] Statement of Thomas McKay, in *Brouillet's Authentic Account*, 28.

neglect to establish a territorial government, and to extinguish the Indian titles. At last, in the autumn of 1847, acting upon the conviction that the Waiilatpu station would have to be abandoned, he purchased the Methodist station at the Dalles, intending to remove thence the following spring; and at the very moment that he decided upon this course, and had already commenced preparations by sending his nephew to occupy the Dallas during the winter, Archbishop Blanchet, the bishop of Walla Walla, and associate clergy of the Catholic church, arrived among the Cayuses, prepared to take the Presbyterians' place.

CHAPTER XIV.

OREGON BEFORE CONGRESS.

1820-1846.

OREGON'S EARLY CHAMPION—IRREPRESSIBLE DESTINY—CRUDE IDEAS OF THE COUNTRY—EXPEDIENCY OF OCCUPYING THE COLUMBIA—TORTUOUS COURSE OF FLOYD'S BILL—THE RUSSIAN UKASE—BAYLIES, TUCKER, COLDEN, MALLARY, WOOD, WALKER, BRECKENRIDGE, BUCHANAN, DICKERSON, BENTON, AND OTHERS EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS—END OF THE FIRST EPOCH OF LEGISLATION—LINN, CLAY, CALHOUN, PIERCE, CUSHING, AND PENDLETON, OF THE SECOND EPOCH—LINN'S BILL—POPULAR FEELING—PETITIONS FOR THE OCCUPATION OF OREGON—THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY.

I HAVE shown how, step by step, without the aid of congress, a hundred Americans established a government in Oregon, and while professing allegiance to the United States, were in fact independent. But congress was not indifferent to the movement; and whatever opinion in their isolation the colonists may have held, the archives of the national legislature contain the proofs of a watchful care over the United States claim to the Oregon Territory, and a determination not to relinquish it to any foreign power; the only doubt being as to the expediency of pressing that claim while other matters of immediate importance to the government and the commerce of the country were pending. Before proceeding further with the history of the Oregon colony, a brief review of the action of congress will tend to make clear the mutual action of the national representatives and the people in promoting the settlement of the disputed territory on the Pacific coast. It is not to be supposed that at the period of the convention of 1818, or

the Louisiana purchase of 1819, the people of the United States were much interested in or well informed as to the geography or history of that region, or that they understood the gounds of the controversy with Great Britain upon the sovereignty of the Columbia. But they were not long to remain in ignorance.

On the 19th of December, 1820, Floyd of Virginia, a member of the house of representatives, a man of ardent temperament, ability, courage, and persistent purpose, took up the Oregon Question with the determination to champion it in congress against whatever indifference, opposition, or ridicule it might meet.[1] From many years' residence in Kentucky, he understood the character of the men of the western states, each a pioneer of the Alexandrian type, sighing for more worlds to conquer, more wilderness to redeem to civilization by the sheer strength of brawny arm and independent will. Of the support of this portion of the people he was sure, as soon as they should be informed of the value of the territory in dispute, and the foundation of the American claim.

Encouraged by the well-understood sentiments of President Monroe and certain younger men of the Jeffersonian school, Mr Floyd began the contest by a motion in the house that a committee be appointed to inquire into the situation of the settlements on the Pacific, and the expediency of occupying the River Columbia, and procured the appointment of that committee with himself as chairman, the other members being Metcalf of Kentucky and Swearingen of Virginia.

On the 25th of January, 1821, Floyd presented his report, giving an abstract of the history of the United States from the discovery of the continent down through the mutations of more than two centuries, embracing in his review an account of the several

[1] *Benton's Thirty Years*, i. 13. See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series.

treaties by which the United States had enlarged their original boundaries since achieving independence. Following this was an able and suggestive examination of the profits of the fur-trade in the west and north-west over the territory acquired by discovery and treaty, but which was still almost a terra incognita to the citizens of the union.

As to the expediency of occupying the Columbia, Floyd was sanguine, for the reasons contained in his report on the fur-trade, the profits of that business, and the opportunities for greatly enlarging the commerce of the United States by direct communication with China by way of the Columbia and Missouri rivers, that idea of which the eccentric John Ledyard was author, President Jefferson, however, usually receiving the credit of it, and in whose mind it was confirmed by the expedition of Lewis and Clarke. The route recommended by Floyd was the same, namely, up the Missouri, across the mountains, and down the Columbia.

Accompanying the report was a bill authorizing the president to occupy the Oregon Territory, extinguish the Indian title, and provide a government.[2]

The bill was twice read, and referred to a committee of the whole for the following day, but was not taken up, and nothing further appears to have been said upon the subject till the 10th of December, when Floyd again made a motion for a committee to inquire into the expediency of the measure, with leave to report a bill. This was agreed to, and he was appointed chairman of the committee, with Baylies of Massachusetts and Scott of Missouri as associates. The report of the committee, accompanied by a bill authorizing the occupation of the Columbia, was presented to the house the 18th of January, 1822. This, like the previous bill, was twice read, after which it disappeared for the remainder of that session. Meanwhile Floyd had submitted a resolution requiring the

[2] *Annals of Congress*, 1820–1, 946–59.

secretary of the navy to report on the expense of examining the harbors on the Pacific, and shipping artillery to the mouth of the Columbia.

The secretary's estimate for the survey and transportation was $25,000. In February, in consequence of rumors that the emperor of Russia had promulgated a ukase in relation to the western limits of the United States, Mr Floyd offered a resolution requesting the president to communicate to the house whether any foreign government laid claim to any part of the territory of the United States upon the coast of the Pacific Ocean north of latitude 42°, and to what extent; whether any regulations of a foreign power existed, affecting the trade of the Pacific; how far the trade of the public was affected by it; and whether any foreign power had made any communication "touching the contemplated occupation of the Columbia River."[3]

In reply to this resolution, the president submitted a report by the secretary of state containing the correspondence with the ministers of Great Britain and Russia relative to the respective claims of those governments,[4] which communication was referred to the select committee of which Floyd was chairman, on the expediency of the occupation of the Columbia.

At the second session of congress for 1822, Floyd's bill of January previous was discussed in committee of the whole, and certain additions and amendments were made. Floyd made the opening speech, which was an exhaustive résumé of the values of certain articles of commerce to the countries which were so fortunate as to secure them, being the same which the settlement of the Columbia would secure to the United States; advocating its military possession, and the steamboat route to it before mentioned. As the first speech ever made in congress on this subject, it is

[3] *Annals of Congress*, 1821–2, 1034.
[4] See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, and *Hist. Alaska*, this series.

especially interesting.[5] But from the remarks of Wright of Maryland it evidently awakened no enthusiasm in the minds of his listeners; and it is shown by Floyd's admissions that he had been called fanciful and a bold projector, that few persons either in or out of congress were as yet much agitated over the United States claim to the Oregon Territory.

The second speech of importance was by Mr Baylies of Massachusetts, who began by saying that all the objections to the bill which he had heard had been outside of the house; and of these he was willing to admit that some were weighty, and all plausible. The first, that of the expense of the territorial establishment with no immediate prospect of a revenue, was, he thought, not valid: to prove which position he offered a correspondence with the collector of customs at New Bedford, showing the profits of the whale-fishery, and estimating its annual value in the Pacific, with the vessels already employed, at $500,000, while the profits of the same business to Nantucket were not short of $1,000,000 annually. "A settlement on the Columbia," said this correspondent, "if properly conducted, would insure to our nation an immense source of wealth," not only on account of the whale-fisheries, but of the lumber trade, it being known that a vessel loaded with spars from the Columbia River had recently arrived at Valparaiso.[6]

The objections that by extending the territory of the United States too far it would be exposed to dismemberment, and that by occupying the Columbia the chances of war would be increased, were met by Baylies with arguments not necessary to be reproduced here. He supported the position taken by Floyd of the value of the fur trade on the Northwest Coast, and advanced many proofs of the advantage of colonies to an empire; the arguments in favor

[5] December 17, 1822. See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series.
[6] *Annals of Congress*, 1822–3, 415.

of a settlement on the Columbia being chiefly of a commercial nature.

Tucker of Virginia expressed surprise that "three long and eloquent speeches" should have been made in support of a measure to which he had intended to give a silent negative. He did not object to the occupation of the Columbia River because it was visionary, but because he thought it too practicable, and likely to draw off population and capital to a point where they would be less useful than where they then were; and because the people of the Pacific coast would, by their local position, carry on their trade with China and the Orient rather than with the Atlantic states. He could not see what interest the Pacific and Atlantic states would have in common, and mentioned the appalling fact that the mouths of the Mississippi and the Columbia, by any route then known, were four thousand miles asunder! Colonies he declared were of no advantage to the parent country, unless that country enjoyed a monopoly of the colonial trade, which in this instance the United States could not hope to do.

The 13th of January, 1823, Colden of New York spoke, giving facts concerning seal-fishing designed to favor the bill; and also an interesting history of the trade with China, showing that although that country was said to be the sink of coin, the cargoes brought from there were sold in Europe at a profit of more than twice the cost in China, and for coin. He cited also the treasury report for 1821, which gave information of seventeen vessels from the United States sailing for the Northwest Coast, which he took to mean the vicinity of the Columbia River, carrying goods to the value of $400,000; and although he was not informed who were the purchasers, he thought under such circumstances the mouth of the Columbia must be a point of importance to commerce. Unlike his predecessors in the debate, Colden referred to the subject of title, and gave his views of the security of

the United States claim, which were entirely favorable to it.

Mallary of Vermont did not wish for the establishment of a civil government on the Columbia, before there were people in that territory over whom it might be exercised; but approved of occupation by a military force only, with encouragement to settlers. As to the rest, he was decidedly in favor of occupying the country, and entertained no fear of consequences. The smallest nation of Europe would not hesitate to plant her colonies in any part of the world; and yet American enterprise, so often vaunted, dared not venture beyond the Rocky Mountains. The subject, he declared, occupied a large share of the public attention, and the action of congress was anxiously looked for. The only objection he found to the argument which had preceded him was the advocacy of the colonial system by Baylies, to which he could not agree, as being foreign to the principles of the American republic.

Then followed Tracy of New York, and overturned all the specious reasoning of his colleague, Mr Colden, by giving information of the real nature of the country which would be embraced in the thirty square miles of territory over which the United States, it was proposed, should extend its laws and protection. Tracy chanced to have made the acquaintance of several gentlemen who had been at the mouth of the Columbia, from whom he had learned that the imaginary Eden of the gentleman who had spoken in favor of the bill was an inhospitable wilderness, confined within a rugged and iron-bound coast. The entrance to the Columbia was dangerous, and only with a fair and free wind could be undertaken; the climate was bleak and inhospitable; so humid and with so feeble a sun that the grains could hardly be raised, though the soil was deep and good. For a long distance from the ocean the country was so broken and rugged that no place could be found for a

settlement of more than a few families. Only the Willamette Valley afforded any prospects of an agricultural nature, and these were not alluring. And as for the country east of the Cascade Mountains, it was nothing but a waste of sand and gravel.[7]

Mr Wood, another member from New York, argued against the passage of the bill, because, first of all, there was no necessity for such a measure. No one had denied the jurisdiction of the United States government. None of the commercial portion of the public had petitioned for it; not a single memorial from any quarter could be found upon the table. No public interest demanded it; and it was not to the benefit of the country at large to force the settlement of the Columbia River. Such a settlement must result either in a colony, which would be of no advantage to the government, or an independent state, which would take to itself the commerce of the Pacific, to the permanent loss of the United States, both in citizens and trade. To these considerations must be added the expense attending the establishing of so remote a territory, and the danger of provoking Indian wars, which would retard the growth of the new states on the border. To effect a settlement, communication by land would be indispensable; and a chain of military posts must be extended from St Louis to the Columbia, where a strong fortification must be erected, and a considerable naval force maintained for its protection; all of which would more than exhaust the profits of the trade in that quarter. Wood's plan was to permit a company to occupy that region, to extinguish the Indian title, to form a settlement, and when they were able, to form an independent government;[8] but in his opinion the longer this was delayed the better.

[7] This account of the Columbia was probably given by some of the members of the Pacific fur company. Franchère mentions that they could raise nothing but roots at Astoria. It is not surprising that as the fur companies confined their explorations to the rivers, which were bordered by heavy forests, such opinions of the country prevailed.

[8] Precisely what happened, with this difference: The company occupying

At the close of this day's arguments some amendments were offered to the bill, Mallary moving to make the occupation merely military, over the territory north of the 42d parallel, and west of the Rocky Mountains, which section should be known as the Territory of Oregon; a fort was to be erected at the mouth of the Columbia River; as soon as expedient the Indian title to a tract of country not exceeding thirty miles square, including the place selected for the fort, should be extinguished. To every head of a family settling in the territory should be granted three hundred and twenty acres of land; to an unmarried settler, farmer, or mechanic, two hundred acres; this to apply only to citizens of the United States, and for six years only after the extinguishment of the Indian title. The president was authorized to open a port of entry for the territory, and to appoint officers for the revenue service, the revenue laws of the United States being extended to the territory. An appropriation of $60,000 was also made by the amendments, to carry into effect the provisions of the bill.

The consideration of Floyd's bill being resumed on the 24th, Walker of North Carolina made a motion to amend by inserting Columbia in place of Oregon as the name of the territory to be erected, which did not prevail; and Floyd amended Mallary's amendment, so as to call the tract of country over which the Indian title should be extinguished, and where the fort should be erected, the District of Astoria, the object of which was to restore the original name of the establishment at the mouth of the Columbia made under the auspices of Astor. This amendment was accepted. Smith of Virginia and others then spoke for and against the bill. Baylies replied at some length to the objections of the opponents of the bill that the Rocky Mountains were the natural boundary of the United States.

was British; the Indians, rather than their title, became extinguished; and the settlers (American) came in, and formed an independent government.

"As we reach the Rocky Mountains," said the advocate of the occupation of Oregon, "we should be unwise did we not pass that narrow space which separates the mountains from the ocean, to secure advantages far greater than the existing advantages of all the country between the Mississippi and the mountains. Gentlemen are talking of natural boundaries. Sir, our natural boundary is the Pacific Ocean. The swelling tide of our population must and will roll on until that mighty ocean interposes its waters, and limits our territorial empire. Then, with two oceans washing our shores, the commercial wealth of the world is ours, and imagination can hardly conceive the greatness, the grandeur, and the power that await us."

Baylies then reviewed the statements of his opponents that the country was sterile and the climate inhospitable; that the mouth of the Columbia was a bad entrance and worse departure, and the harbor indifferent, quoting from the official reports of Prevost, Lewis and Clarke, Cook, and Vancouver. He again presented the facts, as they appeared to him, connected with the commerce of the Pacific, present and to come. He reverted to remarks made in debate that there was nothing to fear from Russia, because the autocrat of that country had himself fixed the southern limit of his territory at 51°, and to other remarks that if Russia chose to enforce the limits set the United States could not successfully encounter that power; to both of which conclusions he took exceptions, and also to the prediction that the proposed settlement could not sustain itself against the savages, instancing the early New England settlers, who for fifty years maintained peace with the savages, and when at last they were compelled to fight, vanquished them.

On the following day, being the last of the discussion, Breckenridge of Kentucky made a speech in which he opposed the bill, because as it now stood it provided neither legislation nor courts; all the power

and authority being confided to a military chieftain, in whose hands were placed the legislative, judicial, and executive functions of the country, subject only to the control of the president; and this he denounced as unconstitutional, also denying the right of congress to colonize. Or if it was pretended that the step contemplated was preparatory to admission into the union within any short period, had the promoters of this scheme thought of the probable consequences? Were they prepared to go to war to protect the territorial or commercial rights of Oregon, and to extend to that state equal laws, and afford it equal rights and privileges, when there could not be any community of interest with the rest of the confederacy? He looked upon the proposition as impolitic and dangerous; upon the appropriation to carry it out as entirely inadequate; upon the troops who should be stationed on the Columbia as the prisoners in their own fort of the beleaguering Indians, unless, indeed, a naval force should be stationed there for their protection. He doubted if the possession of the country would add anything to the validity of the claim of the United States; or that if it should fall into the hands of a foreign power, that would weaken the title of the United States. He was opposed to emigration while the population of the states and territories was not yet sufficient to occupy the public lands within their boundaries. Not until their posterity, he said, should occupy the seats in congress which the supporters of the bill under discussion now filled would the measure proposed be justifiable.

On the 27th the yeas and nays were taken to decide whether the house were really determined to act upon the subject at that session, when it was found that the vote stood sixty-one for, to one hundred against, taking up the bill. The influence of the discussion was observable, however, when on the 22d of February Little of Maryland presented a memorial from eighty farmers and mechanics within his district, praying congress

to pass the bill, and intimating their desire to emigrate to, and for the improvement of, that country.[9]

At the next session of congress, in December, on motion of Mr Floyd, a committee on the expediency of occupying the Columbia was again appointed, consisting of Floyd, Gurley of Louisiana, Scott of Missouri, Hayden of New York, Bassett of Virginia, Frost of New York, and Baylies of the former committee, with leave to report a bill; and on the 19th of January, 1824, Floyd presented a bill to authorize the occupation of the Columbia or Oregon River, which was twice read, and referred to a committee of the whole house on the state of the union. This bill, unlike that immediately preceding it, authorized the president not only to establish a military colony, but to erect a territorial government whenever he might deem it expedient to do so—Floyd's first proposition, but one which was opposed by a majority of the friends of military occupation. The bill also granted a section of land to actual settlers, instead of the former amount.

On the 26th a resolution, of which Floyd was the author, was agreed to by the house, requesting the president to cause to be laid before the house an estimate of the expense which would be incurred by transporting two hundred troops from Council Bluffs to the mouth of the Columbia. The reply by the war department was that the transportation of the troops by the Missouri and Columbia rivers, with boats, horses, and equipments, would be $30,000; and the transportation by sea of the heavy baggage, ordnance, and supplies would amount to not more than $14,000 more; the report being referred to the committee on the occupation of the Columbia or Oregon River, and by them laid before the house. The estimates contained in this report were made by Thomas S. Jessup, quartermaster-general. He recommended a post to be established at the Mandan villages, to control the

[9] *Annals of Congress*, 1822–3, 355, 396, 411, 583, 602, 678, 691, 696, 700.

natives in that quarter, and hold in check the British fur companies; another at the head of navigation on the Missouri, to control the Blackfoot, and remove the British companies from that part of the territory, as well as to serve as an intermediate supply post, and a depot of trade for the Indian department. To keep open communication through the mountains, he advised the establishment of a small post between the Missouri and the Columbia; and on the Columbia and its tributaries three other posts. These were to give protection to American traders for the time being, and when the convention with Great Britain should have expired, to remove the traders of that nation from the territory. As to the expense, it would be trifling. Once established, in a few years the cost would be greatly diminished by farms, mills, and the good grazing of the country in the interior; and the posts on the Columbia could be cheaply supplied with beef and wheat from California, and salt from an island on the Lower California coast.

Floyd's bill did not come up for discussion till the following December. In the mean time much information had been gained concerning new routes to the Columbia by passes recently discovered by American fur-traders, and other matters of interest in debate. The speech with which Floyd opened the discussion was not only in answer to former arguments, but was loaded with accumulations of facts concerning the geography and topography of the country; but more than anything else, concerning the commerce of the United States between 1804 and 1822, interesting even at this day, and intended to exhibit the existing necessity for a port upon the Pacific coast to serve as the American mart for the precious goods of the Asiatic continent and islands of the oriental seas.

The message of President Monroe had contained a recommendation of the propriety of establishing a military post at the mouth of the Columbia, or at some other point within the acknowledged limits of the

United States territory,[10] for the protection of the increasing commerce of the Pacific; and of making an appropriation for employing a frigate, with an officer of the corps of engineers, to explore the mouth of the Columbia and the adjacent coasts, with a view to selecting the site for such a military station But Floyd contended that a territorial establishment was quite as necessary as a military one, it being evidently unjust to the settlers who should go there to place them under military law, or subject them to the caprice of the commander of a force of two hundred men, which it was proposed to station on the Columbia.

Considerable opposition was made by members to the proposed land grants, and by others that clause was defended half in derision. "After all," said Trimble of Kentucky, "what is the value of the land proposed to be given as a bounty to the first settlers? In that remote region the land as yet is worth nothing, it has no value...But, in the mean while, give your people the bounty land and let them go and make a settlement, and form a nucleus around which other emigrants may collect, and time will gradually consolidate them into a powerful community, and your treasury will be relieved from the annual expense of maintaining the proposed military post." Smyth of Virginia was opposed to the territorial establishment and grants of land, on the ground that too rapid an increase of the states, and bringing too much land into market, was already severely felt by the older communities, which were perpetually drained of the flower of their population—an evil which would increase the further the limits of the United States were extended. In his judgment, it would be well if the ultimate limit were fixed by a line far enough west of the Mississippi to include two tiers of states.

In reply to these and other objections, Floyd contended that, admitting them, and that the future state of Oregon should separate from the confederacy,

[10] *Congressional Debates*, 1824–5, i., app. 7.

it would still be better that the region embraced by it should be peopled from the United States than from other nations, with whom we might—nay, must —have to go to war; and peopled by other nations it would be unless the American people took measures to prevent it.

In none of the arguments was the question of title touched upon, except to suggest caution in coming in conflict with the terms of the existing treaty. No doubt was ever expressed of the validity of the claim of the United States. When Buchanan of Pennsylvania objected that the establishment of a port of entry would interfere with the treaty, Floyd explained that the section objected to directed the president to open a port of entry only whenever he should "deem the public good may require it;" and that it was intended to put the citizens of the United States as early as possible on an advantageous footing for prosecuting commercial enterprises. When it was feared that Great Britain might look upon the founding of a military establishment as an act of bad faith, Smyth replied that Great Britain at that moment had a military post on the Columbia, and that the rights of the two governments under the treaty were at least equal.

At length, after four years of constant effort, on the 23d of December, 1824, Mr Floyd had the satisfaction of seeing his bill for the occupation of the Columbia River and the establishment of the territory of Oregon passed in the house by a vote of one hundred and thirteen to fifty-seven, and sent to the senate.[11]

So far discussion had been confined to the house, except in February 1823, when Benton introduced a resolution in the senate that the committee on military affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of

[11] *Congressional Debates*, 1824–5, i. 13–26, 28, 36, 38, 39–42, 44, 58.

appropriating money to enable the president to take and retain possession of the territory of the United States on the north-west coast of America. Benton explained that his motive in offering the resolution was to prevent the territory in question from falling into the hands of another power.

When Floyd's bill was brought up in the senate, in February 1825, it found an advocate in Barbour of Virginia, who believed both in the right and the policy of the United States in forming an establishment on the Oregon River,[12] the arguments used being in essence the same as presented by the friends of the bill in the house. Dickerson of New Jersey took opposite grounds. He not only contended that the military occupation of the Oregon would justly lead to war with Great Britain, but that the territory would never, in any event, become a state of the federal union. He ridiculed the idea of a senator from Oregon to Washington City going and coming in less than a year, whether he travelled overland, or by sea around Cape Horn, or through Bering's Straits round the north coast of the continent. "It is true," he said, "this passage is not yet discovered, except upon our maps; but it will be as soon as Oregon shall be a state."[13] When Dickerson came to talk of cost, he had reason and common sense on his side. The appropriation of $50,000, he said, was a mere bagatelle. A sum ten times larger would be required to carry into effect the provisions of the bill; to prove which he cited the expense of the Yellowstone expedition, $255,000, besides other expenses which swelled the amount to $300,000. At that rate it would require a million of money to establish a post on the Oregon, and other posts at proper intervals across the continent. Besides the wrong to the natives of despoiling them of their territory, Oregon could never be of any

[12] The bill as it passed the house was amended so as to drop the words 'Columbia or' and to read 'the Oregon River.'

[13] *Congressional Debates*, 1824-5, i. 692.

advantage to the United States, and the best use that could be made of it was to leave it as a retreat for the red men. From Council Bluffs to the Rocky Mountains the country was sterile, without wood or water, and could never be cultivated.[14] The mountains were inhospitable, and altogether the only purpose to which this region could be devoted was a range for buffaloes, and to serve as a frontier to prevent the too great expansion of the settlements.

To this Benton replied by giving a résumé of the arguments for the United States title, with which the reader of my *Northwest Coast* is familiar; and thus closed the debates on the subject of the occupation of the Oregon Territory for a term of years, the bill being laid on the table, from which it was never taken to be voted upon in the senate.

From and after this session of congress, for a period of more than three years, the subject of the occupation of the Columbia was suffered to lie perdu in the minds of the people of the United States, except as attention was called to it by the writings of Hall J. Kelley, or by some more obscure person. For this silence there is an explanation in the probable desire of the president that the negotiations between Great Britain and the United States should not become more involved by any overt act. The negotiations being finally terminated in 1827 by an indefinite renewal of the convention of 1818, which could be terminated by either party on a year's notice, left the subject where it was before they were commenced.

In December 1828 Floyd returned to the contest, being, as he said, more convinced than ever before of the importance of the question. In a speech of some length he reverted to the movement of population westward, and the means resorted to by governments to prevent it private enterprise being always in the

[14] *Long's Exped.*, ii. 350-61.

advance. He referred as in former speeches to the commercial advantages of the Columbia; and warned congress of the loss with which the country was threatened through the occupancy of Great Britain, citing a fact, as he believed, of much significance, that an act of parliament of 1821 had extended the civil jurisdiction of the courts of Upper Canada, "within the Indian territories and other parts of America, not within the limits of Upper or Lower Canada, or of any civil governments of the United States;" including in this description not only the territory west of Canada, and north of latitude 49°, but all of the territory of the United States not yet erected into territorial organizations. "This insolent and outrageous act," exclaimed Floyd, "we ought promptly and efficiently to resist and repel."[15] A citizen of the United States, west of Arkansas, he said, under this act might be taken to Upper Canada, and tried for his life. The country ought not for a moment to submit to it. "If England has not yet learned to respect the sovereignty and rights of the confederacy, she must be taught that lesson; and, sir, it must and shall be taught her; and that, too, at no distant day, in a way which she will not easily forget." The remainder of Floyd's speech was devoted to an exposition of the profits of the fur trade, and to strictures on the tariff regulations, which prevented the American from realizing the same benefits enjoyed by the British trader, who introduced his goods free of duty, and sold them at an advance of more than a hundred per cent, while the American trader, selling at the same price, made no profit at all;[16] and to the importance of the mouth of the Columbia as a naval station, either for the protection of commerce, or in case of war as a port from

[15] *Congressional Debates*, 1828–9, v. 193.

[16] This difference operated in two ways against the American traders, as they found to their cost. Either they must sell inferior goods at the price asked by the English traders, or they must consent to sell without profit, either course being ruinous to their business, as the natives soon learned to know good articles, and to carry their furs where they brought the most.

which the vessels of the United States could annoy the East India trade of Great Britain.

In the course of the debate which followed, the result of the former agitation was strongly brought out in the fact that three several companies of emigrants were petitioning congress for land grants in Oregon, one of which in Massachusetts numbered three thousand persons,[17] farmers, artisans, and others. Neither of the three obtained a grant, because it was objected that two schemes of settlement, one by the government and another by private individuals, were incompatible; and because the plan of granting exclusive privileges to one class of citizens was not republican in spirit.[18]

The question was again discussed at length, occupying the greater portion of the time of the house for more than two weeks, from December 23d to January 9th. New men took up the discussion;[19] but new arguments were difficult to find. The expediency, and not the right of making settlements, was the subject of doubt, as it had been in 1821 and 1825. Yet it was acknowledged that delay, by strengthening the number of British posts, increased the difficulty. The question of the conflicting sovereignty claims was referred to oftener than in former debates; but only added to the more easily understood obstacles of expense, and the objections to making land grants before the boundary should be settled. At length, after amending the bill several times, it stood as follows, in four sections: First, authorizing the president to erect a fort or forts west of the Rocky Mountains, between latitudes 42° and 54° 40′, and to garrison them; second, authorizing

[17] This was the association formed by Hall J. Kelley. The others were a Louisiana company headed by John M. Bradford, and an Ohio company headed by Albert Town.

[18] The Louisiana company petitioned for a tract of 40 miles square, which Gurley of Louisiana insisted upon their right to have granted to them; and suggested that the Massachusetts company be granted permission to erect a fort on certain conditions.

[19] Everett of Massachusetts, Polk of Tennessee, Bates of Missouri, and other able men.

the president to cause the territory to be explored by engineers, selected by himself, accompanied by a military escort; and also authorizing the delay of the troops mentioned in the first article until the exploration should have been completed; third, enacting that any citizen of the United States who should commit any crime or misdemeanor in the territory should, on conviction, suffer the penalty attached to the same offence in any district of country under the sole jurisdiction of the United States; the trial to take place in the first district where he might be apprehended or brought, that was under the laws of the United States; the courts being by this act invested with the power to try such offenders in the same manner as if the crimes had been committed in the district; fourth, the sum of $25,000 was appropriated to carry into effect the provisions of the act.

But although this bill seemed free from the objectionable features of the previous ones, it was rejected when it came to a third reading, by a vote of ninety-nine to seventy-five.[20]

When Floyd's congressional term ended, no successor was found to take up the subject where he had left it. But he had succeeded in infusing into the minds of the American people a romantic interest in the Oregon Territory, and above all a patriotic feeling of resistance to the reputed aggressions of the British in that quarter, which eventually served the purpose for which he labored, the settlement of the country by citizens of the United States. American traders pushed their enterprises beyond the Rocky Mountains, and to the Columbia River, attempting to compete with the English company, but failing for the reasons he had pointed out. Through these traders the missionary societies heard of the superior tribes of red men in the Oregon Territory who sought a knowledge of the white man's God, and prepared to respond to the call, with the results which have

[20] *Congressional Debates*, 1828–9, v. 125–53, 168–75, 187–92.

been recorded in previous chapters of this history. The enthusiast Kelley, having failed in securing a grant of land, finally reached Oregon, sick, and in poverty and unmerited disgrace, to be rescued from perishing by the foreign company he had beforehand determined to regard with suspicion and hatred. But the little company he persuaded to accompany him from California as colonists really became such, and together with the missionaries, formed the nucleus round which grew a population which soon rivalled the fur company. I have shown how this little colony was encouraged and fostered by the heads of the government; how President Jackson sent Slacum to inquire into their condition; how the Mission colony was assisted; the commander of the Pacific exploring squadron ordered to examine into their causes of complaint; and how Elijah White was commissioned subagent of Indian affairs to keep up their courage and loyalty.

Between 1829 and 1837 the people as well as congress had become comparatively well informed as to the value of the Oregon Territory, its natural resources, independent of the fur trade, and its commercial position with regard to the coast of Asia; nearly every person known to have returned from that quarter having been put upon the witness-stand. On the 16th of October of the latter year, a resolution was passed in the senate, requesting the president to inform that body at its next session of any correspondence between the United States government and any foreign power relative to the occupation of the territory of the United States west of the Rocky Mountains. The president's reply, made in December, was, that since the convention of 1827 no such correspondence had taken place; those negotiations being communicated in confidence to the senate in the early part of the 20th session of congress.[21]

[21] *25th Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Doc.*, i. 39.

The 7th of February, 1838, Lewis F. Linn, senator from Missouri, introduced a bill for the occupation of the Columbia River, the establishment of a territory north of latitude 42° and west of the Rocky Mountains, to be called the Oregon Territory; the erection of a fort on the Columbia, and occupation of the coun try by a military force; the establishment of a port of entry, and requiring the country to be held subject to the revenue laws of the United States, with an appropriation of $50,000 for the purposes mentioned in the bill. This was referred to the committee on military affairs. After some discussion of the question of title, Benton procured the reference of the bill to a select committee of which Linn was chairman.

This led to a resolution that the secretary of war be requested to furnish the senate with all the information in his department relating to the Oregon Territory, and with a map embracing recent discoveries of all the country claimed by the United States in the region between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. Out of a mass of material obtained from this and every other available source, Linn prepared his report, which was presented to the senate on the 6th of June. After referring to the message of President Monroe recommending that a military post should be established at the mouth of the Columbia, or at some other point within the acknowledged limits of the United States, which should afford protection to American commerce on the Pacific Ocean, and his suggestion with regard to an armed frigate to explore the mouth of the Columbia and the coast contiguous thereto, for which he advised an appropriation by congress sufficient for the purpose; and after alluding to the subsequent negotiations with Great Britain which ended in nothing definite concerning title; and after referring to the mission of Slacum—he entered on a history of the several treaties with Great Britain affecting the title, and the correspond-

ence on the subject between the two governments having adverse claims, taking the American view of the question that the line between them could not fall below the 49th parallel.

He pointed out that the occupation by the United States of the Columbia River would secure the sources of vast wealth in the fur trade, the fisheries, the trade with China, Japan, and the Orient generally, and with the Hawaiian Islands and California. He dwelt on the importance of a harbor on the northwest coast of America, where the whaling fleet of the Pacific might refit, and prophesied that direct communication between the Atlantic and Pacific would soon be opened by a canal across the isthmus of Darien, by which the whole trade of the eastern hemisphere would be changed in its course, which would then be toward the shores of North America. He spoke of the ease with which the Rocky Mountains could be crossed by the passes discovered by the fur-hunters, of the magnificent scenery described by travellers, of the fertility of the soil, and the mildness of the climate, testified to by various authorities. To conclude, the title of the United States was asserted by the committee to be beyond doubt, the possession of the country important, and delay in occupying it dangerous. The committee therefore reported a bill authorizing the president to employ in that quarter such portions of the army and navy of the United States as he might deem necessary to the protection of the American residents in that country.

Although ardently labored for, the bill for the occupation of Oregon failed of its passage in the senate. But Linn's report furnished that kind of information to the American people in which they were deeply interested. Pioneer sons of pioneer ancestors, they delighted in the thought of founding another empire on the Pacific Ocean as their sires had done on the Atlantic seaboard. Resolutions began to be adopted by the legislative assemblies of different states favor-

ing the speedy settlement of the Oregon boundary, and its occupation by the government.[22]

On the 11th of December, 1838, Linn introduced a second bill for the occupation of the Oregon Territory, and the protection of citizens of the United States residing there, which was referred, as before, to a special committee of which he was chairman, his fellow-committeemen being Clay, Calhoun, Walker, and Pierce. In January 1839 the petition of which Jason Lee was bearer was presented, and ordered printed; and the correspondence between Cushing and Lee, given in a former chapter, took place; all of which went to strengthen Linn's position and inform the public. On the 22d of February Linn spoke on his bill, against the advice of other senators, who feared the effect of the agitation of such a measure on the attitude of Great Britain in disputes of another nature involving the Maine boundary and some important commercial interests; but in deference to this feeling, refrained from asking that it might be put to vote. It was referred to the committee on foreign relations, and five thousand extra copies ordered printed, the circulation of which aided in forming public sentiment.

About the same time Cushing, chairman of the house committee on foreign affairs, to whom was submitted a resolution "to inquire into the expediency of establishing a post on the River Columbia, for the defence and occupation of the territory of the United States watered by said river, the extent of the country claimed by the United States west of the Rocky Mountains, the title under which it is claimed, with its correctness, the extent of sea-coast and number of harbors, the nature of the soil, climate, and productions, the expense of establishing one or more forts, what ships and what soldiers and sailors would be required," and all questions concerning occu-

[22] I believe the first resolution of this kind offered was by the legislature of Illinois, in 1838–9. See *26th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Doc.*, iii. 93.

pation, presented a report adverse to the expediency of establishing a territorial government. The reason given by the committee for making an adverse report was that they were "anxious to observe the letter and spirit of the treaties between the United States and Great Britain." Yet they accompanied their report by a communication from the secretary of war, and another from the secretary of the navy, containing estimates of the expense which would probably be incurred in "certain assumed contingencies contemplated by the order of the house;" by the letter and petition of Jason Lee before adverted to; by a memoir from Wyeth on the soil, climate, and resources of the country, and the business of the Hudson's Bay Company, representing the value of the fur trade; by a letter from the secretary of the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society, to which reference has been made in one of the early chapters of this volumne, with a copy of the constitution of the society; and by Slacum's report, and a memoir by Kelley. Of this voluminous document, the whole of which took, from having so much in it that was furnished by persons interested in the occupation of Oregon, a tone of accusation and enmity toward the British fur company, ten thousand extra copies were ordered printed, which were scattered broadcast over the land, educating the people to an exalted idea of the worth of the Oregon country, and at the same time to a hatred of the British traders who had so far succeeded in driving out of it American competitors.[23]

On the 18th of December Linn again called the attention of the senate to a series of resolutions on the subject of Oregon, which were referred as usual to a select committee, who reported, on the 31st of March, 1840, a substitute, asserting the title of the United States to Oregon, authorizing the president to take such measures as might be demanded for the protection of the persons and property of citizens of

[23] See *25th Cong., 3d Sess., Sup. H. Rept. 101.*

the United States residing in that territory, to erect a line of military posts from Fort Leavenworth to the Rocky Mountains, for the protection of the Indian trade, and provided also for the appointment of an Indian agent for Oregon Territory. The chief feature in these resolutions was a provision for granting to each white male inhabitant over eighteen years of age one thousand acres of land.

This was the measure of the 'liberal grant' to settlers, which was, on the suggestion of Jason Lee, to reward the pioneers of Oregon, a suggestion which was eagerly caught at by the western people. A petition was presented to congress at this session from twenty-seven citizens of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, setting forth that in their opinion the United States government should plant a colony in the Oregon Territory, giving it such nurture in its infancy as to enable it to establish itself permanently, and to develop the natural resources of the country, making it contribute to the national wealth. They believed it necessary to the success of the enterprise that a road should be cut[24] from some point on the Missouri River to Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia. "As soon as this passage can be opened," said the petitioners, "a colony of farmers and mechanics should be conducted across the mountains and settled, with a military power stationed, strong enough to protect the colony. Donations of land should be made to those who would become actual settlers, sufficiently large to induce emigration. At convenient distances across the mountains, small garrisons should be placed to protect travellers from the hostilities of the Indians." These measures it was thought would secure a more important commercial position than any yet enjoyed by the United States.[25]

Forty-four citizens of Indiana also petitioned con-

[24] The word 'cut' comes well from inhabitants of a timbered country like Kentucky, but scarcely applies to the western prairies.

[25] *26th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Doc. 172.*

gress for the "occupation and settlement of Oregon Territory, and the construction of a road thereto;" and remonstrating against the proposed ship canal across the isthmus of Darien; urging as a reason for the construction of a national road to the Pacific, that the commerce of the United States was then, and had always been, exposed to the dangers of the stormy seas of the high southern latitudes, with long voyages at great expense and toil; whereas these dangers might be avoided, or greatly lessened, by an inland and coast trade, and a route across the continent to a point on the Columbia which could be reached by sea-going vessels from the Pacific side. These memorialists were, like those of Kentucky, of opinion that the United States ought to induce emigration by liberal grants of land to persons removing with their families to Oregon; and suggested that alternate sections might be reserved, as their value would be greatly enhanced by the settled portions; and also that grants should be confined to a limit within ten miles of the Willamette River,[26] in order to secure the early support of steamboat navigation.[27]

A similar memorial was presented by the legislative assembly of Missouri, asking for grants of land to settlers.[28] On the 26th of February a report was made to the senate by the secretary of war, in reply to a resolution asking his opinion of the expediency of establishing a line of military posts from the Missouri River, near the mouth of the Platte, to the pass or passes of the Rocky Mountains, with the object to protect the American fur trade, to facilitate intercourse between the valley of the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean, and to hold in check the native tribes; also the number and kind of troops which would be required for such service, the probable cost of keeping up the posts, and whether it would be

[26] The memorial reads, 'the navigable branch of the Oregon River.'
[27] *26th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Doc. 244.*
[28] *26th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Doc. 40.*

necessay to increase the military force of the United States in order to garrison such establishments

Poinsett's report set forth that the question as to expenditures and troops could not be satisfactorily answered before the completion of certain explorations undertaken by his direction, and which were expected to be extended to the passes of the Rocky Mountains during the summer. He however believed that a line of posts such as proposed would be of great benefit to the whole stretch of country to be traversed; and that the route ordinarily pursued by the fur-traders would be the most practicable line, for various reasons, including its directions, and its being perpendicular to a line of defences on the frontiers of Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa. Three posts were considered to be sufficient to "prepare the way for the peaceable settlement of the fertile valleys west of the Rocky Mountains;" one at the junction of the north and south forks of the Platte, and another at the confluence of the Laramie branch of that river. The third might be either at the junction of Wind River and Popoagie, the principal sources of the Big Horn, or at the confluence of Horse Creek, called by travellers the Seedskeeder, with the Colorado. And to these, the secretary thought, the stations for the present might be limited. "Under their shelter the rich and fertile valleys west of the mountains may be settled and cultivated by a population which would pour forth its numbers to the shores of the Pacific as soon as the question of boundary shall be definitively settled."[29]

Such was the not very intelligent report of the secretary of war in 1840. It is doubtful if he, or any of those persons, citizens or others, who talked of a road or a line of forts to the Pacific, at all comprehended the fact that when the Rocky Mountains were reached there remained the hardest, if not the most dangerous, part of the route, or that a colony

[29] *26th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Doc. 231.*

transported to the western base of the Rocky Mountains would be hopelessly removed from a source of supplies on either side of the continent for at least half the year.

Soon after the resolution above referred to had been reported to the senate, Linn was placed in possession of Farnham's letter to the secretary of war, with the petition which accompanied it, and which was drawn up during his visit to the Willamette Valley, complaining of the introduction of English emigrants by the Hudson's Bay Company, the pretended recent extension of the laws of Canada over the inhabitants of Oregon, and exhibiting alarm lest the company entertained hostile intentions toward American settlers. Acting upon this information, Linn introduced, on the 28th of April, a bill to extend a portion of the laws of the United States over the territory of Oregon. On the 24th of May, on his motion, the Oregon resolutions were made the special order of the day for a fortnight thence; but by the advice of other senators, were posponed for the time, lest their consideration by the senate at this juncture should prejudice the adjustment of important questions then pending between the United States and Great Britain.[30] In the mean time, Captain Spaulding's report had reached Washington, and although the same cause for silence existed, on the 8th of January, 1841, Linn brought the topic, of which he was now the acknowledged apostle in the senate, to the attention of that body, by moving a joint resolution to authorize the adoption of measures for the occupation and settlement of the Oregon Territory, and for extending certain portions of the laws of the United States over it. The resolution was referred, as before, to a select committee of which Linn was chairman, who reported it to the senate, without amendment,

[30] The settlement of the Maine boundary, so long deferred, the right of search, the liberation of slaves, and the burning of the *Caroline*, besides others. Only a few of the affairs were settled by the treaty of 1842, known as the Ashburton treaty.

on the 14th of January, nothing further being done at this session.

But at the extra session in August, Linn submitted another resolution, that the president be requested to give to the British government the twelve months' notice required by the convention of 1827, of a desire to put an end to the treaty of joint occupation of the territory west of the Rocky Mountains. This resolution was subsequently amended so as to direct the committee on foreign relations "to inquire into the expediency of requesting the president" to give the notice. As the subject was permitted to drop there, it is presumable that it was pronounced inexpedient by that committee.

The president, however, in his message to congress December 7, 1841, recommended to its consideration the report of the secretary of war, John C. Spencer, a strong advocate of the occupation of Oregon,[31] who favored extending military posts as far as the Rocky Mountains; and who believed with John C. Calhoun that silent emigration would do the rest, and settle all disputes about that region.[32] On the 16th of December Linn again introduced a bill in the senate, the preamble to which declared that the title of the United States to the territory of Oregon was certain, and would not be abandoned,[33] authorizing the adoption of measures for the occupation and settlement of Ore-

[31] That part of the president's message relating to the establishment of a chain of posts from the Missouri to the Pacific was referred to the committee on military affairs, of which Pendleton of Ohio was chairman. His report, *27th Cong., 2d Sess., House Doc. 830*, contains a review of the Oregon question of title, an estimate of the expense of erecting forts, a description of the country, a letter with information about the Methodist Mission, the Hudson's Bay Company, and other matters.

[32] *Niles' Reg.*, lxviii. 162. *Niles' Weekly Register* was started in September 1811, at Baltimore, Maryland, by H. Niles. It was a journal of sixteen pages octavo, devoted to the publication of 'political, historical, geographical, scientific, astronomical, statistical, and biographical documents, essays, and facts, together with notices of the arts and manufactures, and a record of the events of the times.' It was subsequently enlarged and was removed to Philadelphia, where it was edited by George Beatty. As a record of current events, it sustains its character well, and was among the most zealous advocates of the United States interest in Oregon. Almost a complete history of the Oregon emigrations could be drawn from its pages.

[33] *Linn and Sargent's Life of Linn*, 232.

gon, for extending certain portions of the laws of the United States over that territory, and for other purposes, following it on the 4th of January, 1842, by a resolution similar to that of the preceding August, requesting the president to give notice to Great Britain of an intention to terminate the treaty of 1827. It was about this date that Elijah White was urged to return to Oregon with all the powers the government could at that time confer, and with assurances to the settlers on the Willamette that congress would remember them, and the hope expressed that in the pending negotiations the Oregon boundary might be determined, and that at all events it would be determined at an early day. About this time, also, Lieutenant Frémont was despatched upon an expedition for the purpose of ascertaining the best location for a line of military posts from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains, and to collect information concerning the country on his route.

Linn's bill contained a section authorizing a line of forts from the Missouri into "the best pass for entering the valley of the Oregon," and also a post at or near the mouth of the Columbia River, besides one granting six hundred and forty acres of land to every white male inhabitant of eighteen years of age or over who should cultivate the same for five years. These were its popular features. It also authorized and required the president to appoint two additional Indian agents, with a salary of $1,500 each, to superintend the interests of the United States with all the tribes west of any agency then existing. This was the promise of promotion held out to the Oregon subagent already appointed.[34]

The bill extended the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the supreme and district courts of the territory of Iowa over all the territory west of the Missouri River, south of latitude 49°, north of the boundary of Texas, and east of the Rocky Mountains; and also over all the

[34] *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 324

country from the mountains to the ocean, between latitudes 42° and 54°, but provided for the delivery of such criminal subjects of Great Britain as might be arrested under the act, to the most convenient authorities having cognizance of the offence by the laws of that nation. Two associate justices of the supreme court of Iowa, in addition to those already authorized by law, were by the terms of the bill to be appointed for the duties of the two judicial districts to be organized out of the territory described, these district courts to possess all the powers and authority invested in the other district courts of Iowa, and in like manner to appoint their clerks. The bill also provided for justices of the peace and constables, with power to arrest offenders. By these means it was intended to furnish that protection which had so often been demanded by the Oregon colonists.

The bill was referred to a select committee, who instructed the chairman to report it back to the senate with a recommendation that it pass, and it was placed in its order on the calendar; but before it came up for consideration, Lord Ashburton, the British plenipotentiary, arrived in Washington, and out of delicacy as well as diplomacy, the senate refrained from any further discussion on the subject for the time. On the 9th of August, 1842, the treaty framed by Lord Ashburton and Mr Webster was concluded, and early in the following session Linn brought up his bill, pressing it with great ardor, and enlisting the best talent of the senate in the debate.[35] After a heated discussion, it passed the senate by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-two, February 3, 1843, but failed in the house.[36] Thus, like Floyd, after a struggle of

[35] Calhoun, Archer, McDuffie, Crittenden, Conrad, Choate, and Berrien were adverse to the passage of the bill. Benton, Young, Sevier, Buchanan, Walker, Phelps, and Linn were its advocates. Benton said: 'I now go for vindicating our rights on the Columbia, and as the first step toward it, passing this bill, and making these grants of land, which will soon place thirty or forty thousand rifles beyond the Rocky Mountains.' *Thirty Years' View*, ii. 470–82; *Grover's Public Life in Or.*, MS., 99.

[36] *Cong. Globe*, 1842–3, 297.

years, he had the satisfaction of getting his measure through that branch of the national legislature of which he was a member, though it did not become a law. It was Floyd's last effort in congress; it was Linn's last effort in the senate, for he died October 3d of that year, and before the reassembling of congress.[87]

The disappointment of the people of the western states was great when the results of the Ashburton-Webster treaty were made known, and it became certain that the Oregon boundary had not been touched upon, the interest in the title increasing rather than diminishing. President Tyler, in his message to congress December 1842, felt called upon to apologize for the failure. "It became manifest," he said, "at an early hour of the late negotiations, that any attempt for the time being satisfactorily to determine those rights would lead to a protracted discussion which might embrace in its failure other more pressing matters." He promised, however, not to delay urging a settlement.

The secretary of war in his annual report expressed himself favorable to a line of military posts, with the avowed object of making an exhibition of strength to influence the nativ s, and to show an intention to maintain the rights of the United States on the Pacific coast; and advised the extension of their jurisdiction over the Oregon Territory; and also giving armed protection to the citizens of the United States already there, as well as making an appropriation to send out a colony who were anxious to undertake the enterprise.[88] Resolutions of the general assemblies

[87] Lewis F. Linn was born near the site of the city of Louisville, Kentucky, Nov. 5, 1795, being a grandson of William Linn of the revolutionary war, a son of whom emigrated from Pennsylvania to 'where wild Ohio's mighty flood rolled through Kentucky's twilight wood,' at a day when few white people lived on the banks of the Belle Rivière. Linn seems to have engaged the affections of those with whom he was associated, to a remarkable degree, and the eulogies pronounced at his death were numerous. See *Linn and Sargent's Life of Linn*, 341–441.

[88] *27th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Ex. Doc. 2.*

of Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri were forwarded to congress, expressing their faith in the validity of the United States title to the right of domain and exclusive jurisdiction between latitude 42° and 49°, urging the immediate occupation of the territory;[39] and instructing senators and representatives to vote for the measure. These resolutions were read in the senate August 31, 1843. Nine memorials were presented in December, from different parts of the western states, asking that steps be taken for the immediate occupation of Oregon. One memorial from Ohio, presented to the house, asked permission to occupy and settle "not over twenty thousand square miles of land in Oregon in one body;" the settlers not to number less than fifty men, one half of whom must have families.[40] The request was referred to a special committee, who already had in hand a petition from Illinois asking that a section of land be granted to every man over twenty-one years of age who should settle in Oregon.

Petitions were received from Alabama, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri, and Indiana, of a similar nature. Public meetings were held at Alton, Illinois, Cincinnati, Ohio, and at Washington City, demanding the occupation of Oregon.[41] Hundreds of letters poured in on Senator Linn, and continued up to the time of his death to make large demands upon his time. Nor did these petitions and memorials cease with the loss of Oregon's able champion. In the first session of 1843–4 petitions of the same nature were sent in from Iowa, Indiana, Missouri, and Ohio.[42] The citizens of Missouri desired that an appropriation be made for the survey and establishment of the boundary of Oregon Territory, and that the jurisdiction

[39] *27th Cong., 3d Sess., Sen. Doc.*, iii. 158; *27th Cong., 3d Sess., Sen. Doc.*, iv. 217; *27th Cong., 3d Sess., Sen. Doc.*, iii. 159; *27th Cong., 3d Sess., Sen. Doc.*, iii. 180.

[40] *27th Cong., 3d Sess., H. Jour.*, 260.

[41] *27th Cong., 3d Sess., Sen. Doc.*, 84; *Semple's Occupation of Oregon*, 8, 9, 18; *Cong. Globe*, 1842–3, 84, 88, 220, 267, 287, 340.

[42] *28th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Jour.*, 80, 107, 276.

of the United States should be extended over it as soon as possible. Moore of Ohio presented in the lower house a declaration of the citizens of the Mississippi Valley in convention assembled at Cincinnati, on the 5th of July previous, and indeed, from this time forward till the final settlement of the Oregon boundary in 1846 the agitation increased, as I have already shown in the chapters on the Oregon title in the second volume on the *Northwest Coast.*[43]

The president in his annual message to congress, December 5, 1843, in remarking on the subject of the Oregon boundary, announced the ultimate claim of the United States to be to all the territory north of 42° and south of 54° 40′ on the Northwest Coast. Great Britain, he said, controverted this claim, and the American minister at London, under instructions, had again brought the subject to the consideration of the British government. A happy termination of the negotiations was expected; but in the mean time many citizens of the United States were on their way to Oregon, many were there, and others were preparing to emigrate, and he recommended the establishing of military posts along the line of travel.

This was the first formal announcement of the intention of the United States to ignore any claim of Great Britain to territory on the Pacific; but it quickly became the watchword of a majority of the

[43] Petition of the citizens of Licking County, Ohio, urging the government to take immediate possession of Oregon. *Cong. Globe*, 1843–4, 82. Resolution of the legislative assembly of Ohio, to terminate the convention with Great Britain. *28th Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Ex. Docs.*, ii. 56; with similar resolutions from New Hampshire, Missouri, Illinois, and Alabama. Resolution of the general assembly of Indiana to the same effect; 'peaceably if we can; forcibly if we must.' *28th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Jour.*, 423–4; *Cong. Globe*, 1843–4, 226. Petition of David Newkirk and 55 others of Seneca County, Ohio, asking congress to take measures to aid settlers in Oregon. Petition of citizens of Wayne County, Ohio, for the immediate occupation of Oregon Territory. The same from Carroll County and Medina County, that the ordinance of 1787 be extended over Oregon. Petition of the people of the state of Ohio, that the Oregon Territory be immediately occupied. Petition of the citizens of Ross and Pickaway counties, Ohio, praying for a territorial government in Oregon. Petition of the citizens of Oswego County, New York, for the settlement of the boundary and for the protection of emigrants to Oregon. *Cong. Globe*, 1843–4, 636; *Id.*, 1844–5. 155; and probably others that have escaped my observation.

American people, and on this issue Polk was elected to the presidency the following year. Meanwhile congress was more than ever engaged in the discussion of the Oregon Question and Oregon measures, a bill for occupation being before both houses.

Early in the first session of the 28th congress, Atchison of Missouri introduced in the senate a bill "to facilitate and encourage the settlement of the territory of Oregon," by a line of stockade or block-house forts, not over five in number, extending to the Rocky Mountains; the erection of fortifications at the mouth of the Columbia; a grant of six hundred and forty acres of land to every white male inhabitant of eighteen years of age or upwards who should cultivate the same for five years; to every such cultivator who should be married, one hundred and sixty acres additional for having a wife; besides an equal amount for every child he might have under the age of eighteen years, or who might be born to him during the five years of occupancy and use of the land, which gave him title. The land should revert to heirs at law, though no sale of it would be valid before the patent issued. The territory of Oregon was declared to comprise all the country lying west of the Rocky Mountains, and within the parallels of 42° and 54° 40′, and the sum of $100,000 was by the bill appropriated to carry these measures into effect. After a long discussion, during which all the old arguments, with sundry new ones arising out of the altered condition of the Oregon Territory through colonization, and the alleged oppressions of the Hudson's Bay Company, together with the attitude of England occasioned by the proceedings of the previous congress, were fully entered into, the final consideration of the bill was postponed on account of the arrival of a British minister to carry on negotiations on the Oregon Question, and in the hope that the settlement of the controversy would remove all obstacles to the extension of jurisdiction and protection.

Another bill was introduced by Atchison, for "establishing a government" in the territory of Oregon, which was not pressed to a third reading. A resolution of Allen of Ohio, requesting the president to lay before the senate a copy of his instructions to the American minister in England on the subject of the Oregon title, since the 4th of March, 1841, with a copy of the correspondence which had passed, elicited extended debate on the powers of the executive and the senate, and was rejected by a vote of thirty-one to fourteen. The president had already declined a similar request of the lower house as inexpedient, owing to the prospect of negotiation; but the senate, it was contended by some members, had certain rights in the matter, not to be set aside by the executive. Another resolution by Semple of Illinois, requesting the president to give to Great Britain the twelve months' notice required, of a desire to annul the convention of 1818, caused yet more discussion, presaging war as it did, and the resolution was negatived by a vote of twenty-eight to eighteen.

In the house of representatives the same topics were prominent throughout the session. Hughes of Missouri introduced a bill for the organization of a territorial government,[44] which being referred to the committee on territories, Brown of Tennessee chairman, reported a bill extending the civil and criminal jurisdiction of Iowa Territory over Oregon, as far north as 54° 40′, giving land as in the senate bill; providing for the appointment of a judge and justice of the peace; and appropriating $100,000 to build forts on the road to Oregon, and within it.[45] Ten thousand copies of the bill and report were ordered printed, and that was the end of it.

Semple of Illinois offered a resolution requesting the president to give notice to Great Britain of the intended abrogation of the treaty of 1818, at the end

[44] *28th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Jour.*, 1844, 168–9.
[45] *Cong. Globe*, 1843–4, 366; *28th Cong., 1st Sess., H. Jour.*, 636.

of twelve months, which was referred to the committee on foreign affairs, who reported adversely, not wishing to disturb the course of international discussions by such a step. This did not prevent members from expressing their views with freedom, offering resolutions laying claim to the whole of Oregon, and declining to adjourn till a territory was organized in that region.

The second session of the 28th congress, 1844–5, opened with the Oregon Question, in the form of a resolution by Allen of Ohio, requesting the president to lay before the senate any instructions which had been given the American minister in England on the subject, since a former correspondence, which resolution was passed by a vote of twenty-four to sixteen, showing the progress of public sentiment among the most conservative class. The president, however, thought fit to make no response; and the senate endeavored to act with circumspection; when a bill for establishing a government was presented by Mr Atchison of Missouri, and referred to a select committee, who made a feint of opposing the measure by proposing to refer to the committee on foreign affairs, the attempt being defeated by a vote of twenty-four to twenty. The president himself, in his annual message, after informing congress that a negotiation had been formally entered upon between the secretary of state, Mr Calhoun, and the minister of Great Britain residing at Washington, renewed the recommendations in his previous messages that congress should take measures to facilitate immigration, by establishing military posts, "and make the provision of the existing convention for joint occupancy of the territory by subjects of Great Britain and citizens of the United States more available than heretofore to the latter." As at the former session, there were a number of petitions to congress from the citizens and legislatures of several of the states, asking[46] a territorial govern-

[46] *Cong. Globe*, 1844–5, 17, 155, 237, 277.

ment for Oregon, and urging the government to give notice to Great Britain.[47]

In the lower house the sentiment in favor of organizing a territorial government had also much increased during the summer vacation; and when Duncan of Ohio asked to introduce a bill for that purpose, the objections were overruled by a vote of one hundred and twenty-five to fifty-three. When the bill was reported back from its committee, it met little opposition, and was finally passed February 3, 1845, by a vote of one hundred and forty to fifty-nine. Then it was sent to the senate, and adopted by the select committee in place of the Atchison bill, but being postponed when on the point of a vote, failed for want of time.

The effect of the objections to the Oregon bills defeated at the previous session was apparent in the bills offered at this. Atchison's bills enacted that a temporary government,[48] with a governor to remain in office five years, and other officers necessary to a proper administration of law should be provided for; with a legislative body consisting of the governor and judges, all of whose acts should be transmitted to the secretary of state of the United States by the secretary of Oregon every six months, to be annually laid before congress. The governor was made commander-in-chief of the militia, with power to appoint both military and civil officers, and lay off districts for civil and military purposes. As soon as there should be

[47] The legislature of Maine claimed the whole Oregon Territory up to 54° 40′, and closed a long series of resolutions with this one: 'That our senators in congress be instructed, and our representatives be requested, to use their best exertions to secure the annexation of Texas to the United States, and the occupation of Oregon, in conformity with the foregoing resolutions.' Texas was at this juncture frequently in the 'resolutions' both in and out of congress, and was really one obstacle to the success of the Oregon measures; as the southern states cared more for its annexation than for the occupation of Oregon. As the annexation of Texas seemed more probable, it was endeavored by coupling to carry the Oregon measure. See resolution of the legislature of New Hampshire, *Cong. Globe*, 1844–5, p. 100; of Ohio, p. 175.

[48] It is remarkable that no allusion is made in the debates to a temporary government already existing in Oregon, of which information must have been obtained, officially or otherwise. Elijah White certainly reported on the subject.

five thousand free white male inhabitants over twenty-one years of age citizens of the United States, they might elect a legislature, one representative for every five hundred voters, to serve for two years; the legislature to consist of a council and house of representatives, the council to consist of five members, elected by the whole legislative body, to serve five years; the president of the United States to have power to remove any member; the assembly to have power to make laws for the territory, not conflicting with the laws of the United States, the veto power being absolute in the governor. A delegate to congress, with the right of debate only, should be elected immediately upon the appointment of a governor, the latter being also superintendent of Indian affairs. The bill provided also for a line of stockade forts and block-houses to the South Pass, and a fort at the mouth of the Columbia. The grant of land to settlers was promised 'hereafter;' six hundred and forty acres to every white male inhabitant over eighteen, one hundred and sixty acres to the wife of every married man, and the same quantity to the father for each child under eighteen already in existence, or who should be born within five years after his settlement on a land claim. The president was authorized and required to appoint two additional Indian agents besides the governor. The territory over which this form of government was to be extended was confined to the limit of 49°. I have given this abstract of Atchison's bill to show the gradual progress toward the idea of a government for Oregon, in spite of the international question in the way.[49]

The bill which passed in the house, while claiming the Oregon Territory to 54° 40′, contained several clauses intended to guard it against the charge of ignoring the treaty obligations of the United States.

[49] I have another object—to give the gradual growth of the donation land law, the chief new feature in this bill being that 160 acres were given to the wife, instead of to the husband.

British subjects arrested within the territory were to be delivered to the nearest British tribunal, up to a period twelve months after the United States should have served a notice on Great Britain of abrogation of the treaty. It was provided that the future grants of land contemplated by the act should be subject to the settlement of the title with Great Britain, and the extinguishment of the Indian title; also, that nothing in the act should be construed as closing or obstructing any of the navigable waters within the limits of the territory organized by the bill, or any part of the country claimed by either government on the Northwest Coast, against the vessels, citizens, or subjects of Great Britain.[50] As an indication of the growing importance of another question which was to enter as a factor into the destiny of Oregon, Winthrop of Massachusetts proposed as an amendment a proviso "that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." But already the provisional government of the Oregon colony entertained the principle of a free state. And the people of Oregon were, for obvious reasons, better off with their simple organization than they would have been had either of these acts passed.

It is not necessary to the purposes of this history to pursue the action of congress through the 29th session. It was a period of great excitement and increased freedom of expression. President Polk in his message declared that "beyond all question, the protection of our laws, and our jurisdiction, civil and criminal, ought to be immediately extended over our citizens in Oregon." The legislative committee of Oregon for 1845 memorialized congress upon the subject of their temporary organization, reciting the griev-

[50] Under this law McLoughlin's claim at Oregon City would have been respected

ances under which they labored, in terms very different from those heretofore employed in the memorials from Oregon.

A bill from the house committee on territories, of which Douglas of Illinois was chairman, "to protect the rights of American settlers in the territory of Oregon," was passed on the 18th of April, 1846, but after frequent postponements failed in the senate. At length, on the 6th of August, congress received official notification of the settlement of the Oregon boundary at the 49th parallel, together with a strong recommendation by the president that liberal land grants should be made to the Oregon settlers without delay. It might have been believed that the defining of a boundary was the only thing lacking to forward the establishment of a territory on the Columbia River, instead of which, however, it was made the excuse to avoid it by those senators who were dissatisfied with the relinquishment of the territory between latitudes 49° and 54° 40'.[51] Hence little that should have been done for Oregon at this session was done; and here I leave congress, and return to the affairs of the country.

[51] Hannigan of Indiana said: 'If measures were to be passed relating to Oregon, as a matter of course they must expect a debate upon that convention [treaty of 1846], which he would take this occasion to say was neither more nor less than a convention for the joint occupation of Oregon south of the 49th degree of latitude—a convention which had ceded to the Hudson's Bay Company in perpetuity the navigation of the Columbia River. It was a convention for the joint occupation of Oregon south of 49°, while before we held as far north as 54° 40'. He repeated that those who were opposed to the convention desired to be heard in reference to it, in an appeal to their constituents and to the country.' Allen of Ohio trusted the law of Oregon Territory would be 'so framed as to prevent any man who held allegiance to the British crown from holding an acre of land in fee-simple in that territory. He wanted no British subject to possess any rights within our territory there. He wanted to legislate the Hudson's Bay Company out of the territory, and that as speedily as possible.' *Cong. Globe*, 1845–6, 1198–9.

CHAPTER XV.

THE IMMIGRATION OF 1843.

EFFECT OF CONGRESSIONAL DISCUSSION AND MISSIONARY AGITATION—FLOCKING TO THE RENDEZVOUS—ORGANIZATION—DISAFFECTION AND DIVISION—NAMES OF THE EMIGRANTS—THE LIGHT COLUMN AND THE COW COLUMN—ALONG THE PLATTE—AT FORT HALL—WHITMAN'S DOINGS—ON TO THE COLUMBIA AND DOWN THE RIVER—POLICY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—IT IS BETTER TO SELL OR GIVE THAN TEMPT THE NEWCOMERS TO TAKE BY FORCE—THE APPLEGATES—OTHER BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

THE discussions in congress, and the popularity of Linn's bill with the missionary efforts herein narrated, resulted in a pronounced emigration movement. It began in 1842, when a hundred persons followed Elijah White westward. The conclusion of the Ashburton treaty in August, although it disappointed the people by not settling the Oregon boundary, was an indication that further amicable arrangements might be made in the near future, besides removing the obstruction in congress to the passage of Linn's bill.

There was at this time a large body of men in the western border states who were dissatisfied with their condition as a producing community without a market. The era of railroads had not yet dawned. New Orleans was the only outlet for the country bordering on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and this market was glutted.[1] The United States had no

[1] Waldo says that Jesse Applegate, his neighbor in St Clair County, Missouri, sold a steamboat load of bacon and lard for $100; that bacon was used for fuel on the Mississippi boats, and that when he came to Oregon he did not attempt to sell his land, but simply abandoned it. *Critiques*, MS., 9–10. Burnett's account of why he left Missouri confirms this statement. He was hopelessly in debt. *Recollections of a Pioneer*, 98.

commerce which could relieve this plethora of production; and to make matters worse, these lands were about to come into market, and their occupants could not pay for them. This state of affairs among a body of men whose fathers had emigrated step by step from the Atlantic seaboard to the Missouri frontier; who had fought the savages and the British, and feared neither man nor devil; who were democrats or whigs upon principle, loved politics, and were intensely patriotic; who would march across a continent to assert American rights, and rather sought than avoided a contest—to men so strong, restless, aggresive, the condition of affairs on the Mississippi and Missouri borders from 1841 to 1845 was intolerable. And to these, statesmen addressed themselves through Linn's bill, by talking of lands which should be ample and free in Oregon.

The land in itself might be little temptation after their experience in mid-continent, but the idea of seaboard was attractive, including as it did the dream of commercial relations with the islands of the Pacific and with China. To found a new state on these shores, in direct communication with the most populous nations of the globe, was the ambition awakened in them by the frequent reports received from travellers and missionaries of the natural resources and favorable situation of the Oregon Territory.[2]

[2] In evidence of this is a letter from P. L. Edwards at Richmond, Missouri, to J. M. Bacon of Liberty, dated September 1842. Edwards begins by apologizing for not having sooner replied to Bacon's inquiries concerning Oregon, and deprecates taking upon himself the responsibility of giving advice in a matter of so much importance as that of the emigration of a colony across the plains to the shore of the Pacific. He then proceeds: 'You ask for information in regard to the route and outfit of emigrants. In reply, I can recommend no other than that usually taken by traders and trappers, with occasional deviations which it would be useless to endeavor to point out on paper. I mean the route up the south Platte, a short distance above the junction of the north and south forks; thence up the north fork until you have travelled some 6 or 8 days within the first range of mountains, called the Black Hills; thence to the Colorado of the West; and thence to Fort Hall on Lewis River by the way of Bear River.' In answer to the question if the journey could be made in wagons, he said that wagons could be taken two thirds of the way, but not farther; and that he should always prefer horses; and gave some advice about provisions, and the size of the

Early in the spring of 1843, or as soon as the grass began to grow, promptly, without preconcert, but as if by appointment, emigrants from every part of Missouri and the neighboring states were on the roads to the usual rendezvous in the vicinity of Independence. Their wagons were drawn by two or three or five yokes of oxen; on the covers were the words "For Oregon," and their immense herds of cattle filled the highways. Many of them had been neighbors at home, and often families of brothers, with their wives and little ones, constituted a colony. At all events they had now one common interest in the necessity for mutual aid and protection in the long journey before them. By the middle of May it was thought time to take action as a body, and on the 20th a meeting was held at Fitzhugh's mill, twelve miles west of Independence, to complete an organization. Here met for the first time men from Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. There was a large company from what was known as the Platte Purchase in the latter state, under the leadership of Peter H. Burnett of Weston. Another company was from St Clair County, and was led by Jesse Applegate, his brothers Lindsey and Charles, and Daniel Waldo. A California party, under Joseph B. Chiles, was from the south-east portion of the state. Other parties,[3] under T. D. Kaiser, Jesse

company, which ought not to exceed 150 persons. In reply to the question of what would be needed when the emigrants arrived in Oregon, he said 'everything that you will need here in the same pursuits,' but these things could not be taken across the mountains; and he recommended freighting a vessel, as the ship would be of use after arrival, enabling them to open commerce at once with the Islands. He gave a lengthy and particular description of the country, and expressed the opinion that it was not a better one than Missouri, but was more thought of by eastern than by western men. *Edwards' Sketch of Oregon*, MS. As the name of Dr Bacon does not occur among the emigrants to Oregon of 1843, it would seem that the encouragement given by Mr Edwards was not considered sufficient.

[3] No complete record of those who composed the immigration of 1843 is in existence. J. W. Nesmith, a young man from Maine, who was elected orderly sergeant, with the duties of adjutant, made a roll of the male members of the company capable of bearing arms, including all above 16 years of age. This roll, after 32 years had elapsed, was read before the Oregon Pioneer Association at its third annual reunion in 1875, by its author,

Looney, and Daniel Matheney, swelled the army to nearly a thousand persons, although the 'fighting

who requested the survivors present to answer to their names 'as present for duty,' when 13 only responded.

The Oregon Pioneer Association has been of much benefit to the author of this history. For a number of years a desire had existed for such an association in the Willamette Valley, and some preliminary movement had been made toward collecting reminiscences of the early history of the country. The first meeting was held on the call of a few persons, at Butteville in Marion County, on the 18th of October, 1873, when a constitution was adopted, and the following board of executive officers elected: F. X. Matthieu, president; J. W. Grim, vice-president; W. H. Rees, secretary; and Eli C. Cooley, treasurer. The second meeting was held at Aurora, not far from Butteville—both towns being on the old French Prairie, where the events recorded in the previous chapter had taken place—on the 16th of June, 1874, when 45 names were enrolled. The association has now upon its roll hundreds of names, and its *Transactions*, published annually, furnish much interesting matter. In using these pioneer reminiscences, however, it is necessary, where the matter is of any historic importance, to verify it by collateral evidence of an earlier date, for experience proves that no memory is infallible, and that most incidents intrusted to memory, of which no record has been preserved by the individual, are unreliable in detail, even when the general facts are correct.

The names on the sergeant's roll constituting the immigration of 1843 were: Jesse Applegate, Charles Applegate, Lindsey Applegate, James Athey, William Athey, John Atkinson, William Arthur, Robert Arthur, David Arthur, Amon Butler, George Brooke, Peter H. Burnett, David Byrd, Thomas A. Brown, Alexander Blevins, John P. Brooks, Martin Brown, Orris Brown, George Black, J. P. Black, Samuel Black, Layton Bane, Andrew J. Baker, John G. Baker, William Beagle, Levi F. Boyd, William Baker, Nicholas Biddle, George P. Beale, James Braidy, George Beadle, Thomas Boyer, Boardman, Louis Bargerin, William Baldridge, Fendal C. Cason, James Cason, William Chapman, John Cox, Jacob Champ, L. C. Cooper, James Cone, Moses Childers, Miles Carey, Thomas Cochran, L. Clymour, John Copenhaver, J. H. Caton, Alfred Chappel, Daniel Cronin, Samuel Cozine, Benedict Costable, Joseph B. Chiles, Ransom Clark, John G. Campbell, Chapman, James Chase, Solomon Dodd, William C. Dement, W. P. Dougherty, William Day, James Duncan, Jacob Dorin, Thomas Davis, Daniel Delaney, Daniel Delaney, Jr, William Delaney, William Doke, J. H. Davis, Burrell Davis, George Dailey, John Doherty, V. W. Dawson, Charles H. Eaton, Nathan Eaton, James Etchell, Solomon Emerick, John W. Eaker, E. G. Edson, Miles Eyres, John W. East, Niniwon Everman, Nineveh Ford, Ephraim Ford, Nimrod Ford, John Ford, Alexander Francis, Abner Frazier, William Frazier, William Fowler, Wm J. Fowler, Henry Fowler, Stephen Fairly, Charles E. Fendall, John Gantt, Chiley B. Gray, Enoch Garrison, J. M. Garrison, W. J. Garrison, William Gardner, Goodell, Samuel Gardner, S. M. Gilmore, Richard Goodman, Major William Gilpin, Gray, B. Haggard, H. H. Hide, William Holmes, Riley A. Holmes, Richard Hobson, John Hobson, William Hobson, J. J. Hembre, James Hembre, W. C. Hembre, Andrew Hembre, A. J. Hembre, Samuel B. Hall, James Houck, W. P. Hughes, Abijah Hendrick, James Hays, Thomas J. Hensley, B. Holley, Henry H. Hunt, S. M. Holderness, I. C. Hutchins, A. Husted, Joseph Hess, Jacob Haun, Jacob Howell, William Howell, Wesley Howell, G. W. Howell, Thomas E. Howell, Henry Hill, William Hill, Almoran Hill, Absalom F. Hedges, Henry Hewett, William Hargrave, A. Hoyt, John Holman, Daniel S. Holman, B. Harrigas, Calvin James, John B. Jackson, John Jones, Overton Johnson, Thomas Kaiser, J. B. Kaiser, Pleasant Kaiser, Kelley, Kelsey, Solomon King, W. H. King, A. L. Lovejoy, Edward Lennox, E. Lennox, Aaron Layson, Jesse Looney, John E. Long, H. A. G. Lee, F. Lugur, Lewis Linenbarger, John Linenbarger, Isaac Laswell, J. Loughborough, Milton

men' over sixteen years of age were less than three hundred.[4]

The reader is by this time familiar with the crossing of the plains. This body adopted the usual rules, May 20th, and on reaching the Kansas River organized by electing Peter H. Burnett captain, and J. W. Nesmith orderly sergeant. Nine councilmen were chosen to assist in settling questions, and Captain John Gantt, a former army officer, now a 'mountain man,' engaged to conduct the company to Fort Hall.

The 1st of June was at hand, and late for a start

Little, Luther, John Lauderdale, McGee, Wm J. Martin, James Martin, Julius Martin, McClelland, F. McClelland, John B. Mills, Isaac Mills, William A. Mills, Owen Mills, G. W. McGarey, Gilbert Mondon, Daniel Matheney, Adam Matheney, J. N. Matheney, Josiah Matheney, Henry Matheney, A. J. Mastire, John McHaley, Jacob Myres, John Manning, James Manning, M. M. McCarver, George McCorcle, William Mays, Elijah Millican, William McDaniel, D. McKissic, Madison Malone, John B. McClane, William Manzee, John McIntire, Jackson Moore, W. J. Matney, J. W. Nesmith, W. T. Newby, Noah Newman, Thomas G. Naylor, Neil Osborn, Hugh D. O'Brien, Humphrey O'Brien, Thomas A. Owen, Thomas Owen, E. W. Otie, M. B. Otie, Bennett O'Neil, A. Olinger, Jesse Parker, William G. Parker, J. B. Pennington, R. H. Poe, Samuel Paynter, J. R. Patterson, Charles E. Pickett, Frederick Prigg, Clayborne Payne, Martin Payne, P. B. Reading, S. P. Rodgers, G. W. Rodgers, William Russell, James Roberts, G. W. Rice, John Richardson, Daniel Richardson, Philip Ruby, John Ricord, Jacob Reid, John Roe, Solomon Roberts, Emseley Roberts, Joseph Rossin, Thomas Rives, Thomas H. Smith, Thomas Smith, Isaac W. Smith, Anderson Smith, Ahi Smith, Robert Smith, Eli Smith, Samuel Smallman, William Sheldon, P. G. Stewart, Nathaniel K. Sitton, C. Stimmerman, C. Sharp, W. C. Summers, Henry Sewell, Henry Stout, George Sterling, Stout, Stevenson, James Storey, Swift, John M. Shively, Samuel Shirley, Alexander Stoughton, Chauncey Spenser, Hiram Straight, D. Summers, George Summers, Cornelius Stringer, C. W. Stringer, Lindsey Tharp. John Thompson, D. Trainor, Jeremiah Teller, Stephen Tarbox, John Umnicker, Samuel Vance, William Vaughn, George Vernon, James Wilmont, William H. Wilson, J. W. Wair, Archibald Winkle, Edward Williams, H. Wheeler, John Wagoner, Benjamin Williams, David Williams, William Wilson, John Williams, James Williams, Squire Williams, Isaac Williams, T. B. Ward, James White, John Watson, James Waters, William Winter, Daniel Waldo, David Waldo, William Waldo, Alexander Zachery, John Zachery.

[4] 'Between 500 and 700 souls in all, and 113 wagons.' *Ford's Road-makers*, MS., 3. 'One thousand persons, with 120 wagons, and 5,000 cattle.' *Applegate's Views*, MS., 4. 'About 800,' Burnett thought; Greenhow places the number at 1,000. *Hist. Or. and Cal.*, 391. M. C. F., in *Niles' Reg.*, lxv. 70, says there were 900. McLoughlin, who was very accurate in all matters which he was obliged to report, put the immigration of 1843 at '875 men, women, and children.' *Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser. 51. McClane, however, says there were 999 of whom he once had a list: so that there is a discrepancy, even after deducting the California company which turned off at Fort Hall and the other losses. *McClane's First Wagon Train*, MS., 11.

for Oregon with ox-wagons, but the spring had been backward. Now, however the weather was fine, and the road good. All went well except regulation affairs, which became so complicated and trying that Burnett resigned the command after eight days of service, William Martin being elected in his place. The resignation of a captain on account of insubordination or inattention to rules probably effected a partial reform, for Martin seems to have remained in office. It was, however, found so difficult to direct or control so large a body of people united by no further interest than a common destination, that a division into two columns was effected, on the Big Blue River; one wing consisting of that division which was unencumbered with herds, being called the 'light column,' and the other, of which Jesse Applegate took command, being denominated the 'cow column.'[5] These two divisions travelled within supporting distance only, in order not to interfere with each other's comfort or convenience, as far as Independence Rock.

Dragging themselves along in the hot summer sunshine, few incidents enlivened the way, until toward the last of June the buffalo country was reached, where it was expected to obtain abundance of game; but a hunting expedition from New Orleans having preceded them, the buffaloes were driven from the line of travel.[6] During the first five days of July the south branch of the Platte was crossed, in ferry-boats made of wagon-boxes over which the green hides of buffaloes had been stretched and dried. At Fort Laramie, where the light column arrived on the 14th, a few days were taken to repair wagons, and purchase, at extortionate prices, some additional supplies. Ten days later the

[5] See 'A Day with the Cow Column,' in *Overland Monthly*, i. 127.

[6] *Waldo's Critiques*, MS., 18; *Kaiser's Nar.*, MS., 3. The hunting party was headed by Captain Stuart, often mentioned. He was accompanied by the editor of the *N. O. Picayune*, M. C. Field. The Jesuits, De Vos and Hoecken, on their way to the Flathead country, were also with the hunters as far as the Rocky Mountains. *Niles' Reg.*, lxv. 71, 214. Burnett erroneously states that one of these priests was De Smet; but De Smet was then on his way to Europe. *Recollections*, 102.

north branch was forded. Four days more of travel brought them to the Sweetwater, and on the 3d of August the snowy peaks of the Rocky Mountains came in sight.

Up to this time everything had gone well; the company retaining its original number, save five, who turned back at the first crossing of the Platte.[7] But on the 4th of August, Clayborne Payne died of fever, and was buried beside the road, the funeral services being conducted by a Methodist preacher named Garrison. At the Big Sandy, a tributary of Green River, died Mr Stevenson, August 9th. Considering the number of persons on the march, and the privations incident to camp life, the health of the emigrants was remarkably good, sickness and the death rate being scarcely greater than in a community of the same size in towns. There were births as well as deaths. Many an emigrant to Oregon first saw the light beneath a canvas tent on the roadside.[8]

No difficulty occurred with the natives; the numbers present, and recollections of chastisement a few years previous, by Captain Bennett Riley, with his artillery, deterring them from predatory or hostile acts.[9] After passing Independence Rock caution was considered necessary, and the two principal divisions were broken into smaller companies for greater convenience.[10] Likewise this was a pleasant arrangement, as leading men now found themselves at the head of the smaller divisions, and associated with those of congenial habits. Friendships were formed and cemented which lasted through life, surviving all the struggles and changes of the founding of a new empire.[11]

[7] Nicholas Biddle, Alexander Francis, F. Lugur, John Loughborough, and Jackson Moore. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875, 53.

[8] *Applegate*, in *Overland Monthly*, i. 131.

[9] *Burnett's Recollections*, 114. This was the first instance of their using cannon against the Indians.

[10] *Niles' Reg.*, lxv. 168.

[11] Burnett, who left Oregon in 1848, has told me of the meeting between himself and Jesse Applegate, in San Francisco, after more than 20 years of separation, when they 'embraced each other with tears.'

Among those who kept the lead was Thomas D. Kaiser, who[12] was among the first to arrive at Green River, and the first also to leave it for Fort Hall. Another impatient to reach his destination was J. B. McClane.[13]

A party was formed of these and others, with Dr Whitman, who had joined the emigration on the Platte River, also anxious to reach his home, and to get news of his family and affairs at the fort, where he was likely to meet Cayuses and Nez Percés. At Green River they learned that the Jesuits, De Vos and Hoecken, had, by means of their Flathead pilot, discovered a pass through the mountains to Soda Springs, by way of Fort Bridger, on the Black branch of Green River, a cut-off which saved considerable distance, information of which Whitman communicated to the companies by a letter left at Green River. That the road in the rear was, for a natural one, excellent, is evidenced by the fact that the ox-teams made an average of thirteen miles a day for the whole distance from the Sweetwater to Fort Hall, where the rear arrived the last of August, the advance having waited for them to come up. At this place died Daniel Richardson; and here also was found Lovejoy, who had come across from Bent Fort during the sum-

[12] From *Kaiser's Narrative*, a valuable manuscript, penned by himself, I obtain the main biographical facts of himself and his family, with their immigration to Oregon. Mr Kaiser seems to have been a representative western man; vigorous, courageous, frank, and independent. He was born in Bunker County, North Carolina, where he married Miss Mary Girley, by whom he had 10 children, 5 sons and 5 daughters. In 1828 he removed to Giles County, Tennessee, and in 1833 to Van Buren County, Arkansas, where he remained until 1842, when he started with his family for Oregon: but arriving too late to join White's emigration, he renewed the attempt with success the following year. He died in June 1871, aged 78 years. The narrative contains also some account of the Oregon rangers and other colonial matters. Another manuscript, by his son, P. C. Kaiser, entitled *The Emigrant Road*, deals more with recollections of the journey to Oregon, and supplies several facts omitted by the father.

[13] John Burch McClane left Philadelphia in 1842, and 'went west.' In the following spring he determined to go to the limit of western territory. Like Kaiser, he was ambitious to be in the lead, and disputes with him the honor of 'breaking the first sage-brush west of Fort Hall.' His manuscript, called *First Wagon Train*, deals chiefly with the immigration, and adventures in California, after the gold discovery, with some remarks upon missionary monopoly.

mer to be ready to join Whitman on his return to Oregon.

At Fort Hall there was the usual discussion upon changing from wagons to pack-animals, it being finally decided to retain the wagons, as there were men enough to make a road where none existed. The chief objection was the lateness of the season. In their councils, both Grant of Fort Hall and Whitman were consulted. While admitting that the wagons might be taken to the Columbia River, Grant acknowledged that he did not know how it could be done, as he had travelled only by the pack-trail; but Whitman, from Newell's experience, believed that a wagon road was feasible, and encouraged the emigrants to decide in favor of the undertaking.

It had been the intention of the emigrants to take their wagons to the Columbia. They would open the way, and show congress that the enterprise which the government was so slow to undertake was not beyond the ability of private individuals. But they miscalculated distance and obstacles, and found, when the Rocky Mountains were passed, that with foot-sore cattle and worn-out horses, they had still the most trying part of the journey before them; and thereupon doubts began to assail them of the wisdom of attempting to carry out their original plan of making a road to the Pacific, with the risk of being caught in the storms of autumn among the mountains, and having to abandon their property there.

Yet upon mature deliberation, with the spirit that impelled them to set out as founders of empire, they persevered in their determination to reach the Columbia River with all their wagons and herds. In coming to this conclusion they were influenced by the advice of Whitman, and the encouragement of William Fowler, one of the emigrants who had been in Oregon before. Fowler was a western man, and understood much better than Whitman what ox-teams could do.[14]

[14] *Applegate's Marginal Notes*, MS., 289–90.

A pilot was necessary, and Remeau, a guide of the Hudson's Bay Company, offered his services, which were however declined in favor of Whitman, who deemed himself competent, with the help of his Cayuses,[15] to act as guide. A route was marked out with the assistance of Remeau, on which distances, camping-places, and other useful information were carefully noted; and having repaired their wagons, and purchased such supplies as were necessary, after a week or ten days of rest they resumed their march. There was no regular organization after leaving Fort Hall. A few of the least encumbered took the lead, on horseback. The California company, having abandoned their wagons, were now mounted, with a train of pack-animals, and were among the foremost, their pilot, William J. Martin, conducting the Oregon emigration also, as far as the turn of the road toward California, in the vicinity of the American Falls of Snake River.[16] From this point Whitman assumed the duties of guide, conducting the immigrants down Snake River to the Salmon Falls, where the river was crossed in safety by all except Miles Eyres, a Scotchman who was riding a mule, and who missed the shallow water of the ford and was drowned. M. M. McCarver who was in the lead with a small company, as they approached the falls was startled by what he mistook for a red flag. Thinking there might be hostile Indians in the vicinity, he formed his men for battle, and marching up to the red signal, discovered it to be a large salmon split open and hoisted on a pole to notify travellers that there were fish for sale. Thus the danger and difficulties of this portion of the journey disappeared on approach.

[15] McClane says the Indians met Dr Whitman at Fort Hall, 'with supplies,' probably sent by his associates. *First Wagon Train*, MS., 3.

[16] The names of those who went to California were J. B. Chiles, W. J. Martin, Julius Martin, John Gantt, Milton Little, J. Atkinson, V. W. Dawson, F. McClelland, John McIntire, John Williams, Squire Williams, Isaac Williams, P. B. Reading, Samuel J. Hensley, McGee, and Boardman. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875, 53; *Ford's Road-makers*, MS., 5; *Frémont's Explor. Ex.*, 106.

From Salmon Falls the route lay across an expanse of sage plains to Fort Boisé. A party, consisting of Whitman and his nephew, Lovejoy, Ricord, and Nimrod Ford, pushed forward, leaving written notices by the way of the course to be taken by the wagons, which came after at a rate of thirteen miles a day, notwithstanding the toughness of the artemisia and the depth of the sand. At Fort Boisé they were kindly received by Payette, but could not tarry, as it was already the 20th of September. Fording the Snake River, where it has since been found necessary to have a ferry, by raising the wagon-beds a few inches on blocks, they reached the west side in safety. Following down the river, encountering no serious obstructions for three days, they reached on the 24th Burnt River Cañon, twenty-five miles in length, through which ran a small stream whose bed was used for a road for the greater part of the way, there being no time to clear away from the banks the masses of fallen and burnt trees from which the river was named.[17]

The first grading required on any part of the route from the main Platte to the Columbia was at the crossing of the ridge at the head of Burnt River; and this, too, was the first occasion on which it had been necessary to double teams.[18] From this point the toils of travel increased, the country being rough and hilly. Nevertheless by the 1st of October the main body of the immigration had arrived at Grand Ronde Valley, which appeared so beautiful, set in its environing pine-clad hills, with its rich pasturage and abundant watercourses, that a portion of the immigrants were deterred from settling there only by the impossibility of obtaining supplies for the colony during the coming winter. On the morning of the 2d two inches of snow whitened the mountain sides, and warned the travellers not to waste precious time. On

[17] *McClane's First Wagon Train*, MS., 4; *Kaiser's Nar.*, MS., 4, 5; *Burnett's Recollections*, 124.

[18] *Ford's Road-makers*, MS., 10.

the evening of the 3d the first ridge had been crossed; and beyond this was still the main chain of the Blue Mountains covered with heavy timber which it was imperative to remove. As the sappers and miners of a military legion precede the army, a force of the most active and energetic of the emigrant legion fell upon these barriers to progress, and although their axes were dulled by a summer's use, and their hands were sadly blistered, forty men in five days cleared a wagon-road over the dreaded Blue Mountains,[19] the wagons and herds following as the road was opened, boys and women driving the teams whose owners were clearing the way.[20] On the 5th, and while the immigration was in the mountains, a severe snow-storm was experienced, which made the beautiful valley of the Umatilla River thrice beautiful by contrast, when the travellers arrived on the evening of the 6th at the western base. Here they found a Cayuse village, and obtained fresh vegetables. On the 10th the immigration was encamped within three miles of Whitman's station.

At Grand Rond, Whitman was met by a courier from Lapwai with intelligence of the alarming illness of Mr and Mrs Spalding,[21] and relinquishing his office of guide to Sticcas, a Cayuse chief in whom he reposed confidence, left the party and struck across the country to the station. Sticcas faithfully performed his duty, bringing the white men, to whom, as we

[19] Among these were the Fords, the Kaisers, Lennox, Zachery, Matheney, the Applegates, Burnett, and J. W. Nesmith. Kaiser, in his *Emigrant Road*, MS., says that Nesmith carried an axe on his shoulders all the way through the Blue Mountains, and was distinguished by a quiet reserve, for which in later years he has been less conspicuous, though the friends he made in his youthful days (he was then but 22) still cherish for him the most loyal regard. The same qualities which led him to usefulness then have never deserted him.

[20] An emigrant of 1846 refers to the fact that writers on Oregon have overlooked the women. 'They seem to have been ignored; yet they performed their toils with as much fidelity as the men, and have been as useful in their way. I could never have gotten through to this country without my wife.' *Thornton's Or. Hist.*, MS., 33.

[21] *Boston Miss. Herald*, May 1844.

know, his people were anything but friendly, safely to the vicinity of the mission.[22] For this service many were ungrateful, for two reasons: it took them forty-five miles out of their course; and exposed them to the annoying peculations of the natives, who not only intruded into their camps by day, but stole their horses at night in order to obtain a reward for returning them—a practice which was repeated every twenty-four hours.

The great ambition of the natives along the Columbia, as elsewhere, was to secure the clothing worn by white men. Lewis and Clarke mention seeing odd garments, evidently obtained from trading-vessels on the coast, in the possession of these natives as early as in 1805, and which must have been purchased from the Indians of the Lower Columbia. After the Oregon immigration began they were to be seen arrayed in cast-off wearing apparel of every description, presenting a motley and fantastic appearance. They gladly sold whatever they had for shirts, dresses, or hats; but as stealing and selling back a horse to its owner was a more productive plan, it was greatly affected by the Cayuses.

Kaiser in his narrative complains of these practices, and says that at the mission he called a council of chiefs, and told them that he had paid his last shirt for having his horses returned by the thieves, and that hereafter when he found one of them about his camp after dark he should shoot him. This warning was not without its effect. Burnett also speaks of paying a shirt for several successive mornings to get back the same animal; and Waldo, in his cynical style, remarks that the immigrants had no trouble with the natives until they encountered the mission Indians.[23]

[22] Nesmith says Sticcas was the only Indian he ever knew who had any conception of or who practised Christianity. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875, 48.

[23] *Critiques*, MS., 2. Daniel Waldo was born in Virginia in 1800. At the age of 19 he emigrated to Missouri, where he resided in St Clair County till 1843, and was a neighbor of the Applegates, and of Joseph B. Chiles. His

When Whitman arrived at Lapwai he found Mr and Mrs Spalding convalescing, and hastened to his own station to meet the immigrants and furnish them with supplies, which had to be brought from Lapwai and Colville, his grain and mill having been destroyed the previous winter. For this service he was censured by some and applauded by others.[24] That it was a wise and philanthropic action to give the immigrants an opportunity to purchase fresh provisions, the sequel proved; besides, it was personally known to Whitman that some of them had exhausted their supplies before reaching the Columbia.

But whether they were or were not in need, they found the prices at Waiilatpu exorbitant when compared with those of Missouri, and accused Whitman of selfish motives in conducting the immigration past his station, making them ninety additional miles of travel, which, with their worn-out teams and the lateness of the season, became a matter of serious importance.[25]

health being poor, having heard of the salubrity of the Oregon climate, he determined to join the emigration, starting with Chiles for the rendezvous a little behind Applegate. He recovered health during the journey, which was made in an easy carriage. He was a man of peculiar and pronounced character, and a strong frame; for 20 years he suffered with cancer on the cheek, and was somewhat irritable, as well as naturally critical in his remarks, which abound in sensible and pertinent suggestions. This characteristic caused the stenographer who took his dictation to name the manuscript as above. It deals with a variety of subjects relating to the early history of the country. Mr Waldo died at Salem, September 10, 1880. His sons are William and J. B. Waldo.

[24] Wherever Whitman's acts are discussed the writer is confronted with the account of his character and services given by Spalding and Gray, his associates. There is no question of his merits as a man, or that he was of much service to immigrants. But I am warned from accepting as fact all that these men have recorded of his disinterested generosity, by the remarks of those who are said to have profited by it. Not to appear partisan, I shall quote freely from both critics and admirers, where such quotations are pertinent.

[25] Burnett, in speaking of these accusations, says: 'This foolish, false, and ungrateful charge was based upon the fact that he asked $1 a bushel for wheat and 40 cents for potatoes. As our people had been accustomed to sell their wheat at from 50 to 60 cents a bushel, and their potatoes at from 20 to 25 cents, in the Western States, they thought the prices demanded by the doctor amounted to something like extortion, not reflecting that he had to pay at least twice as much for his supplies of merchandise, and could not afford to sell his produce as low as they did theirs at home.' *Recollections*, 127. This is a generous view of the case, characteristic of the author; but it is not altogether borne out by the facts, Whitman receiving his supplies from the board. The mission

Kaiser was among those who felt themselves injured by being piloted out of their way, and by having to pay a dollar a bushel for wheat. So obstinate were some, says Burnett, that they refused to purchase until the wheat was all gone, in consequence of which he had to divide his supply with them before the end of the journey.[26]

There were other causes of dissatisfaction, and subsequent reproach. Neither Whitman, nor McKinlay at Fort Walla Walla, knew anything of the country back from the Columbia River,[27] or whether there could be found crossings for the wagons at the John Day and Des Chutes rivers; and both advised the immigrants to leave their wagons and cattle in the Walla Walla Valley to be brought down in the spring, and to make themselves boats in which to descend the Columbia. One of the arguments used in favor of this plan was that no grass would be likely to be found on the route, as the natives were accustomed at this season of the year to burn it off—a statement which sufficiently proved the doctor's ignorance of the country, and which was construed to his disadvantage by those who travelled through it.[28]

had sustained losses during, and possibly through, his absence, of several thousand dollars. The board had not approved of his leaving his station, and had sent him back empty-handed—how empty-handed is more than once hinted at by the emigrants. Waldo bluntly says: 'He had nothing to start with but a boiled ham.... After we crossed the Snake River I had to feed him again. I did not like it much; but he was a very energetic man, and I liked him for his perseverance; he had not much judgment, but a great deal of perseverance. He expected the emigrants to feed him, and they did. He was bound to go, and took the chances.' *Critiques*, MS., 17. Perhaps Whitman thought to reimburse the mission for its losses. There was no injustice in his having pay for his provisions; but it is clear he knew how to demand a full price. He was, according to Applegate, who admits his usefulness, paid pilotage also; but Applegate, whose share of this expense was $45, says that Walker and Eells obliged him to demand it: which, considering the fact that he had, with his nephew, lived on the immigrants, detracts somewhat from that ideal character for liberality which has been imputed to him.

[26] *Recollections*, MS., 127.

[27] This is McKinlay's own statement, given in a letter to Elwood Evans, which Evans has kindly sent me.

[28] Says Waldo, who did not take the advice offered: 'Whitman lied like hell. He wanted my cattle, and told me the grass was burnt off between his place and the Dalles. The first night out I found the finest grass I ever saw, and it was good every night.' *Critiques*, MS., 16.

From a journal of Burnett's, published in a Missouri paper a year or two after the emigration, there seems to have been some ground for suspicions of interested motives in advising the immigrants to leave their cattle. "The residents of the mission agreed," says the journal, "in advising us to leave our cattle and wagons at the station. McKinlay of Walla Walla also advised us to leave the animals, either to exchange for California cattle, or to pay one dollar per head for their keeping. . .What surprised us most, after the representations that had been made, was the fine pasturage we met all along the way, and especially at the Dalles, where we had been led to believe the cattle could not subsist at all during the winter." Applegate gives some further information,[29] where he tells us that at the mission they received one fat bullock of Spanish stock for two poor emigrant oxen. Those who did not distinguish the difference between Spanish and American cattle consented willingly to pay this price for fat beef. Without any expense to the missionaries they had in the spring two fat American work-oxen for their one bullock. The natives did better, who gave a fat bullock for a lean heifer, for breeding purposes.

After a few days' rest at the mission, the emigration moved toward the Columbia River with their wagons and stock. Propositions were made to some members of the company to remain at Waiilatpu, which were rejected on account of the thieving habits of the natives, and the difficulty of taking care of their cattle on so wide a range as the Walla Walla Valley, besides the general desire to reach their destination that year. But at Fort Walla Walla, a portion of

[29] This manuscript of Mr Applegate's is a running commentary on Mrs Victor's *River of the West*, filling out some chapters where deficient in historic fact and correcting others, while in the main it assents to the record there given of Oregon's early history. In a similar manner he has commented on Gray's *History of Oregon* by marginal notes. A third source of information furnished by this most classical writer of Oregon's pioneers is a collection of letters on historical subjects. The elegance of diction and accuracy of statement render these contributions of the highest value.

them being still in doubt from the representations made to them of the difficulties in the way, finally agreed with McKinlay to leave their cattle with him and take orders on the Hudson's Bay Company for the same number and description of California cattle in the Willamette Valley. Among those making this arrangement was Jesse Applegate,[30] who with Waldo owned more stock than any other two men in the emigration.[31] Waldo proceeded with the main body to the Dalles by land, while Burnett, Beagle, McClane, the Applegates, and others, seventy-one in all, decided to take the advice of Whitman and descend the Columbia in boats. Whitman accompanied them to bring home his wife, who was still at the Dalles, where she had taken refuge from the violence of the Cayuses. Burnett had a Hudson's Bay boat and an Indian pilot. Beagle, who was with him, was steersman. He was a good boatman, and familiar with the rapids of the Ohio at Louisville; but those compared to the rapids of the Columbia were insignificant, and Burnett relates that Beagle's cheeks often paled, though he obeyed the intrepid Indian pilot implicitly.[32] This party arrived in safety at the Dalles.

[30] *Frémont's Explor. Ex.*, 184. Gray says Applegate sold or mortgaged his cattle to get supplies at Walla Walla. *Hist. Or.*, 422. But Burnett denies this, and says it was an exchange, or one dollar a head for herding them; and that when Applegate arrived at Vancouver, McLoughlin protested against Applegate making such a bargain to his injury, and not only gave him his American cattle back but refused compensation for the care they received during the winter.

[31] *Burnett's Recollections*, MS., i. 274–5. Concerning this matter, Waldo himself says: 'I started from Missouri with 108 head, and got here with 68. They were worth in Missouri $48 a head.' Here, horses were worth from $7 to $10, while American cattle were worth $100, Spanish, $9. *Critiques*, MS., 10.

[32] 'On one occasion, I remember, we were passing down a terrible rapid with a speed almost like a race-horse, when a huge rock arose above the water before us, against which the swift and mighty volumne of the river furiously dashed in vain, and then suddenly turned to the right, almost at right angles. The Indian told Beagle to hold the bow of the boat directly towards the rock as if intending to run plumb upon it, while the rest of us pulled upon our oars with all our might, so as to give her such a velocity as not to be much affected by the surging waves. The Indian stood cool and motionless in the bow, paddle in hand, with features set as if to meet immediate death, and when we were within from 20 to 30 feet of that terrible rock, as quick almost as thought he plunged his long paddle-blade into the water on the left side of

The Applegate company being in less manageable canoes constructed by themselves, and less skilfully handled, were not so fortunate, one of their boats overturning in the rapids, by which accident a son of Jesse Applegate was drowned, a son of Charles Applegate crippled for life, while Elisha, a son of Lindsey Applegate, and William Doke narrowly escaped. C. M. Stringer and McClelland were also drowned.[33]

The main part of the immigration, which took the land route to the Dalles, met with no other obstacles than some difficulty in crossing the two principal rivers in their course, the John Day and Des Chutes, and had no accidents. To be the first to reach the Dalles, the terminus of the emigrant road to Oregon for 1843, was an honor that was contended for by the foremost drivers, and I find is claimed by both Nineveh Ford and Kaiser.[34]

At the Dalles the immigrants had still the most difficult and dangerous portion of their journey before them, there being neither a road over the rugged mountains that separated them from the Willamette Valley, nor boats in which to embark on the river. It was too late to attempt opening a wagon-road into the Willamette Valley, a distance of sixty miles of extremely rough country, and there were few facilities for constructing a sufficient number of boats to convey the families and goods to their destination.

The immigration of 1843 was differently situated from any company that had preceded, or any that fol-

the bow, and with it gave a sudden wrench, and the boat instantly turned upon its centre to the right, and we passed the rock in safety.' *Burnett's Recollections of a Pioneer*, 129.

[33] A member of Frémont's expedition, which was in the rear of the immigration all the way to the Dalles, returning to St Louis the same season, carried a very unfavorable report of the condition of the immigrants, 8 of whom he said had perished of hardship. *Niles' Reg.*, lxv. 243. The truth was, that 9 deaths occurred on the road, if we count that of William Day, who died at Vancouver; 4 from sickness, and 4 by drowning, one out of every 100—and none of these of what might properly be called hardships.

[34] Ford says, 'My wagon was in front of the caravan when it got to the Dalles.' Kaiser says, 'My father's teams broke the sage-brush from Green River to the Dalles.' James Athey is content to claim the second or third place in the van, and says, 'Mine was the second or third team to drive up to the Dalles.' *Workshops*, MS., 1.

lowed it into Oregon. When a company came by sea to Fort Vancouver, or a small party overland to Walla Walla, every facility for continuing their journey or prosecuting their designs was tendered to them by the Hudson's Bay Company. White's party, which was only a pack-train, arrived early, and proceeded direct to the settlements without any serious hinderance. But here were nearly nine hundred people with their household goods and a large number of cattle and horses. It was impossible to meet this whole colony as guests, and help them to their destinations with all manner of courtesies as had so often been done in regard to smaller parties. They must help themselves, and help themselves they did.

Going into the pine forest which beautifies the foot-hills near the Dalles, they felled trees and made rafts of logs from a foot to eighteen inches in diameter and twenty feet long, which being securely lashed together, the wagons were taken apart and with their loads placed upon them. Sometimes one covered wagon-bed was reserved as a cabin for the use of women and children. A child was born in one of these cabins on a raft,[35] between the Dalles and the Cascades. Others who had come from Walla Walla by boats kept on to the Cascades in the same manner. Some left their wagons and stock at the Dalles, while the greater number drove their cattle down the river, swimming them to the north side, and ferrying them back again to the south side opposite Vancouver.

On arriving at the Cascades a formidable bar to further progress was discovered. The rafts and boats could not be taken over the rapids. Two weeks were occupied in cutting a wagon-road round the Cascades by which the wagons brought down on rafts could reach the lower end of the portage. In the mean time the autumn rains had set in, and the weather in the heart of the great range was cold and wintry.

The few immigrants who had friends or relatives in

[35] *Ford's Road-makers*, MS., 15.

Oregon had received some assistance at the Dalles. Robert Shortess met the Applegates at that place with a canoe-load of provisions; but before passing the Cascades portage these were consumed by the party of seventy who had made the voyage from Walla Walla in boats, and they were in danger of starvation. There were no means of transportation at the Cascades, and starving or not, many women and children were compelled to wait for a passage in some boat from below.[36]

James Waters, who had been among the earlier arrivals at the settlements, became alarmed at the failure of the rear to come up, and feeling sure that they were suffering from want of food, went to McLoughlin, to whom he represented the situation of those still at the Cascades, and asked for credit to obtain provisions for their relief. Though contrary to rule, this favor was accorded, the only condition required being that the provisions should be sold to the immigrants at Fort Vancouver prices, and that Waters should navigate the bateau carrying the supplies.[37] This timely relief rescued many people from perishing of want and cold.

[36] Ford says: 'I had a cousin that brought the long-boat of the *Peacock* to take us down the river. He had packed across the plains in 1842, and heard that we were coming. There were women and children that had no mode of conveyance, and were waiting for some means of getting away, and I prevailed on my cousin to take them. They were strangers to me, but in distress, and I could stand it better than they could.' Ford fortunately procured four Indian canoes, which he lashed side by side, and taking the boards of five wagon-beds, made a platform over them, loading on it the running-gear and other goods, and lashing all down. Then setting up a mast in the centre, with a wagon-sheet for a sail, and with two natives and two white men to assist in managing the craft, not only sailed down to Vancouver, but up to Oregon City, where he arrived on the 10th of November. McLoughlin met Ford as he stepped ashore at the former place with many kindly compliments upon his enterprise. *Road-makers*, MS., 16–19.

[37] Says Applegate, in *Views of Oregon History*, MS.: 'The first full meal my party of 70 had for three weeks was out of the bounty of Dr McLoughlin, dispensed by Captain Waters.' Concerning the conditions put upon Waters, Burnett remarks: 'Many of the purchasers never paid, but contented themselves with abusing the doctor and the captain, accusing them of wishing to speculate upon the necessities of poor emigrants. The final result was a considerable loss, which Dr McLoughlin and Captain Waters divided equally between them.' Of Waters, whose title of captain came from his having been at the head of one of the emigrant companies, Burnett says: 'He was a most excellent man, possessed of a kind heart, truthful tongue, and patient dispo-

A small party of the belated immigrants being wind-bound behind Cape Horn for a number of days —a circumstance that frequently happened at this part of the river—were in danger of death by starvation, being reduced to eating boiled rawhide, which they had upon their boat. Ford relates that a Mr Delaney had a box of hemp-seed which he consumed. Among them was an immigrant who had been to Vancouver and returned to the Cascades to the assistance of his friends. Remembering that he had breakfasted at a certain spot on his way up the river, he searched upon his knees, in the snow, for crumbs that might have fallen, weeping bitterly, and expecting to perish. But McLoughlin, with his wonderful care and watchfulness over everybody, being satisfied, from the length of time the party had been out, that they were in distress, sent another boat with provisions to look for and relieve them, which arrived in time to prevent a tragic termination to their six months' journey.[38] A letter in the *Oregon Spectator* of January 21, 1847, written by one of the immigrants of 1843, declares that they experienced more hardships and sufferings in descending from the Dalles to the Willamette than in all the former portion of their journey, and that almost in sight of the promised land many were saved from perishing by the benevolence of the Hudson's Bay Company and the timely assistance of a fellow-immigrant—presumably Captain Waters.

It might be asked why help was not rendered by the American settlers in the Willamette Valley, and the Methodist Mission. In justice to the missionaries, I must say that some help was rendered, but it appears

sition;' and of McLoughlin, that 'he was one of the greatest and most noble philanthropists I ever saw; a man of superior ability, just in his dealings, and a faithful Christian.' Yet these were the men whom a certain portion of the immigrants of 1843 maligned and hated, although they were indebted to them for saving their lives.

[38] *Ford's Road-makers*, MS., 24–5; Letter of Lieut Howison, in *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 348. The only death that happened at the Cascades, and the ninth on the road, was of a negro woman, a servant of Mrs Burnett, who was drowned by stepping on the edge of a canoe which sheered from under her, when she fell into the river and disappeared. *Ford*, MS., 21.

to have been merely the sending of some provisions to personal friends and acquaintances, and was entirely inadequate to the needs of the new-comers. As far as the settlers were concerned, they were too scattered, and had not the means to render much assistance, which required boats as well as provisions in large quantities. It is plain that the greatest sufferers were those who were prevailed upon by Whitman and McKinlay to leave cattle and wagons at Walla Walla. No lives were lost among those who took the land route,[39] and those who had cattle had always something to eat.

Though the main immigration came down from the Dalles in boats, parties of horsemen accompanied the cattle-drivers on shore. One party, consisting of M. M. McCarver, James Chase, the two Doughertys, and a dozen others, took Daniel Lee's cattle trail over the Cascade Mountains into the Willamette Valley. The immigrants all along this portion of the route, whether in boats or ashore, were much annoyed by the natives, who stole the cattle, or who came in large numbers, and when the assistance of one or two was required, would refuse to give it unless all were employed and paid, which was only another form of robbery. Burnett mentions one chief who spoke English very well, and was dressed in a suit of broadcloth, with a pair of fine shoes. With absolute authority he commanded his thirty-five subordinates to do no work unless all were engaged. This was the practical working of the head-chief system of Elijah White turned against the Americans.

The lateness of the season when the travellers arrived, the last of November, with the difficulty of sheltering so many in a new country, rendered it impracticable for the majority to select land for a settlement before spring. Those who had means bought the necessaries of life of the Hudson's Bay Company;

[39] 'Dr Tolmie used to say that we could go anywhere with a wagon that they could with a pack-horse.' *Sylvester's Olympia*, MS., 13

those who had nothing left, and who could find employment, went to work. Many remained at Oregon City, where a proof of their unconquerable vigor of brain as well as muscle was afforded by the founding of a circulating library from the books which had been brought across the plains, an account of which has been given in a previous chapter.

Waldo drove his cattle up into the hills south-east of Salem which bear his name, and made a settlement without delay. Kaiser wintered on the west bank of the Willamette opposite the old mission; but in the spring selected a claim a mile and a half below Salem. The Fords and Nesmith, after remaining a short time at Oregon City, settled at that portion of the Yamhill district which constitutes the present county at Polk.[40] McClane settled in Salem and bought the mission mills at that place; Howell on a plain near Salem, which is now known as Howell's Prairie. The Applegates wintered at the old mission, Jesse Applegate being employed in surveying both at Salem and Oregon City. In the spring the three brothers opened farms in Yamhill district, near the present site of Dallas.[41] Athey

[40] The Fords were originally from North Carolina, where Nineveh Ford, author of the *Road-makers*, MS., was born July 15, 1815. They emigrated to Missouri in 1840, but taking the prevalent Oregon fever, joined Burnett's company.

[41] Some of the younger members of the Applegate family long resided in the Willamette Valley; but the three elder ones made their homes in southern Oregon; Jesse and Charles in the Umpqua Valley, where they settled in 1849, and Lindsey in the Rogue River Valley, to which he removed in 1859, and several of their children in the Klamath Valley. The Applegates were from Kentucky, where Jesse was born in 1811. The family removed to Missouri in 1822, where Jesse was a *protégé* and pupil of Edmund Bates, whose voice in congress was ever against the project of settling Oregon from the western states. There is a flattering and kindly tribute to Jesse Applegate in the *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875, 61, by J. W. Nesmith, in which he says: 'No man did more upon the route to aid the destitute and encourage the weak.' 'As a frontiersman, in courage, sagacity, and natural intelligence he is the equal of Daniel Boone. In culture and experience, he is the superior of half the living statesmen of our land.' *Id.*, 35–6; *S. F. Post*, Sept. 13, 1877; *Ashland Tidings*, June 27, 1879. Mrs Jesse Applegate's maiden name was Cynthia Parker, her father being at the time of her marriage a Mississippi flatboatman. He was four times married, and Cynthia was the daughter of his second wife, by whom he had eight children, all boys but this one. Mrs Parker's maiden name was Yount, of Pennsylvania Dutch descent, and Mrs Applegate was brought up by the Younts. One of this family came to California at a period earlier than the advent of Captain Sutter, and settled at Napa, where he had

was employed on the flouring mill of the milling company at Oregon City, and finally built a house and engaged in the manufacture of furniture, being by trade a cabinet-maker.[42]

Like Hastings of the year before, Ricord was offered employment by McLoughlin as his legal adviser; but he held to the missionaries, as I have elsewhere related, and in the spring went to the Hawaiian Islands, where he became chancellor to the king, whom he left for the gold-fields of California in 1849.[43]

a large establishment and mill, with hundreds of Indian servants. Another was a wealthy farmer in Missouri at the time of Mrs Applegate's marriage. After a long and useful life, she died at her residence in Umpqua Valley, in the spring of 1881. *Applegate's Correspondence*, MS., 30. Lindsey Applegate was born in Henry County, Kentucky, in 1808. Afterward his father, David Applegate, a soldier of the revolution, emigrated to Missouri, where he settled near St Louis, then a small French town, and where Lindsey had few educational advantages. In his fifteenth year he left home to join Ashley in his expedition to the Rocky Mountains. One part of Ashley's company ascended the Missouri in boats; the rest proceeded overland. Young Applegate belonged to the river detachment, which was attacked by the Arickarees, defeated, and driven back to Council Bluffs. Falling ill at this place, he was sent back with the wounded to St Louis. He afterward worked in the lead-mines of Illinois, and served in the Black Hawk war. He was married in 1831 to Miss Elizabeth Miller of Cole County, Missouri, and removed soon after to the southwestern part of the state, where he built the first grist-mill erected in that portion of Missouri, and where he resided till 1843. Mrs Applegate was a woman of superior character and abilities; she died at her home in Ashland in the spring of 1882. *Jacksonville Sentinel*, July 30, 1879; *Ashland, Or., Tidings*, Aug. 8, 1879. Charles Applegate was two years the senior of Lindsey. In 1829 he married Miss Melinda Miller, and with her and several children emigrated to Oregon. He is described as a man of iron constitution, determined will, and charitable disposition. He also possessed considerable natural ability as a writer, having published several tales of frontier life. He died at his home in Douglas County, in August 1879; respected by all who knew him. *Salem Statesmen*, Aug. 15, 1879; *Roseburg West Star*, Aug. 15, 1879.

[42] Athey gives an interesting account in a brief dictation in a manuscript called *Workshops*, of the introduction of furniture in Oregon, and other matters. He says: 'At first I made breakfast-tables, bedsteads, chairs, and all articles of common furniture. I had a turning-lathe which I made myself, probably the first one on the Pacific coast. But I could not get enough to do to pay me. They went to shipping old furniture in here from the east. Captain Wm K. Kilborn of the brig *Henry* brought a cargo of it so nearly in pieces that I charged him more for mending it up than it cost. It was second-hand furniture, stoves, and everything. It was just like coining money to sell that off. Stoves sold for $45 and $60. It was a venture from Newburyport. I afterward did some turning in iron. I bought a wheel from a school-teacher at Vancouver, made a lathe, and used it for turning iron. That was not till 1847, and was nothing more than tinkering and making such things as I wanted for my own use.' Athey was born in Virginia in 1816. He took up a claim on the Tualatin River in 1851, and cleared it, but did not succeed at farming, and sold it after a few years for $1,800. He afterward engaged in building a small steamer.

[43] *Honolulu Polynesian*, Dec. 27, 1845; *Camp-fire Orations*, MS., 13.

The Garrisons found farms in the Tualatin plains, now Washington County.[44] Burnett and McCarver took a piece of land on the west bank of the Willamette River, not far above the head of Sauvé Island, and laid out a town which they named Linnton, after Senator Linn;[45] but as no one came to purchase lots, after having cut out a road from the river to the Tualatin plains, they removed in the spring to the vicinity of the present town of Hillsboro, and opened farms near the Garrisons.[46] Shively settled on a claim above the old fort of Astoria, which together with the claim of Colonel John McClure, before mentioned, became afterward the site of the present town of Astoria. Lovejoy remained at Oregon City, employed by McLoughlin as an agent to do business between the Americans and himself, until he became a part owner in the land where Portland now stands, and where he with F. W. Pettygrove laid off that town.[47]

With regard to the general condition of the new colonists, it was one of destitution. In subduing a wilderness without reserved supplies there is often a

[44] Joseph Garrison died at the Dalles Jan. 17, 1884, aged 71 years. *S. F. Alta*, Jan. 18, 1884. See also *Portland Pac. Christian Advocate*, April 9, 1874.

[45] Buchanan in a speech remarked that the citizens of Oregon would deserve the brand of ingratitude if they did not name their first city the City of Linn. *Cong. Globe*, 1843-4, 370. There were two attempts to show gratitude in this way which failed; but the county of Linn, one of the finest in the state, perpetuates his name. *Deady's Hist. Or.*, MS., 77.

[46] McCarver was born in Kentucky, but removed to Iowa, where he laid off the town of Burlington, from which he emigrated. Burlington is now a city, while Linnton is unknown. Long afterward he laid out the town of Tacoma, in Washington. Burnett was born in Tennessee in 1807, removing to Missouri when ten years of age. His wife was Miss Harriet Rogers, born in Wilson, and married in Hardeman Co., Tenn. For biographies of the Burnett family, see *Recollections of a Pioneer*, 1-36.

[47] Lovejoy was born in Boston in 1811. He went to Missouri in 1840, and resided at Sparta, Buchanan County; but losing his health by the malaria of the Missouri bottom-lands, resolved to join White's emigration in 1842, as we know. In the winter of 1843 he accepted from a man named Overton a half-interest in the present site of Portland, Pettygrove buying the other half. The town was laid off, and a road opened to Tualatin plains in 1845. Lovejoy was prominent in the early affairs of the country, but became of feeble intellect before his death, which occurred in the autumn of 1882.

near approach to starvation for a year or two. Here were many persons expecting to live by agriculture who had neither seed nor farming implements with which to begin. Many had large families, and how to feed them was a question which interested not only the immigrants but the Hudson's Bay Company. McLoughlin was not slow to comprehend the situation. With feelings inimical to the great corporation, these men would never see their children starve while there was plenty within the walls of the company's storehouses. Both his heart and his reason pointed the course to be pursued. Immediate necessities must be relieved, and they must be encouraged to begin at once their only road to self-support, the opening of farms. Accordingly, without waiting to be asked, he proposed both these remedies for the threatening disaster. He offered credit to the destitute, furnishing them what was absolutely required for the present, and seed and farm-tools with which to begin their plantations. Thus he not only disarmed, to a great extent, the antagonism of the western men, but made himself defenders against the arrogance of the missionaries by excelling them in kindness toward their own countrymen,[48] establishing at the same time a balance of power between British and American, and between old and new colonists.[49]

Notwithstanding this timely help the privations of the immigrants were great. Burnett had stated that during the first two years his family were often without meat for weeks at a time, and sometimes without bread, while occasionally both were wanting at the same time. Milk and potatoes, with butter, made a

[48] Says Waldo, in his *Critiques*, MS., 15, 16: 'Jason Lee played the devil up at the Dalles. He said the Mission had always ruled the country, and if there were any persons in the immigration who did not like to be ruled by the Mission, they might find a country elsewhere to go to. It got all over the country, of course, very quickly. That made war with the missionaries at once. We came here pretty independent fellows, and did not ask many favors.' See also *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 253.

[49] *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 3d ser., 10–12

satisfying diet, though it happened more than once that even these were absent.

Game was scarce and poor. In the winter wild fowl were numerous, but the lakes and bayous to which they resorted were distant and difficult of approach, and the settlers soon learned not to depend on either wild game or wild fruit. Had they given their time to procuring these supplies, they could have done nothing else. The sudden accession of population had raised the price of flour to four cents a pound, pork to ten cents, and other articles in proportion.[50] Indeed, so hard was it to get enough to eat, without going hopelessly into debt, that an Indian who had come to Applegate's house to beg was moved with pity to divide his own slender store of dried venison with the hungry children.

In the matter of clothing there was the same destitution. Fortunate was the man who possessed a suit of dressed buckskin, for when the homespun suits which left Missouri were worn out, there were no others to take their place. The women made dresses out of wagon-covers, and some wore skin clothing like the men. Moccasons took the place of boots and shoes. Happy was he who had an order on either of the three merchants at Oregon City, Ermatinger, Abernethy, or Pettygrove, although when it was presented the dearth of goods at the American stores often obliged him to take something he did not want for the thing that he needed,[51] the usual demand having exhausted the stock in these places.

The circulating medium of the country as established by the fur company, being either furs or wheat, was a serious inconvenience.[52] The custom of the settlers was to deposit with the merchants a quantity of wheat, which represented so many dollars to their credit. Orders on the merchants then became the

[50] *Niles' Reg.*, lxv. 137, 216.

[51] *Nesmith*, in *Camp-fire Orations*, MS., 12; *McClane's First Wagon-Train*, MS., 7; *Waldo's Critiques*, MS., passim.

[52] *Tolmie's Puget Sound*, MS., 14.

medium of payment for labor or property. Should the merchant's stock be low, the holder of the order either took what he could get, or else waited. None but the Hudson's Bay Company kept an assortment of general merchandise. The vessels from Boston and New York were freighted with goods of one or two classes, while from the Islands only a few articles could be obtained. There were silly fanatics—self-sacrificing patriots, they imagined themselves—who, to encourage American and discourage British trade, would have nothing to do with the company, and these were put to severe tests. Sometimes it was sugar, tea, coffee, or salt they had to do without; and again not a yard of cotton goods or a half-dozen cups and saucers could be obtained. This being the condition of the market in Oregon City, if a man required a certain article he must take furs or wheat to Vancouver, or he must ask credit at that place till a crop could be raised. But if a stock of the current year was already exhausted, the rules of the company did not allow of opening the next year's stock before the arrival of the annual supplies, lest by the loss of a vessel there should be a dearth in the country for a long period. The wants of the immigration of 1843 produced the effect of a vessel's loss on the company's stores, by exhausting the goods on hand.[53]

Why it was that none of the immigrants foresaw the circumstances in which they were to be placed, is a question that has never been answered. I think, however, that it is possible to solve it. None of them realized the distance of the Willamette Valley beyond the Rocky Mountains. As Edwards wrote to Bacon, many imagined that all they had to do after reaching Snake River was to embark upon its waters and float down to the mouth of the Columbia.[54] In-

[53] McLoughlin had it in his power to depart from the company's rule, and really did so. Ebberts, in his *Trapper's Life*, MS., 33–6, gives a broad sketch of the doctor's manner of dealing with and yielding to the American settlers, for which I have not room here. He was more often overruled than otherwise.

[54] *Sketch of Oregon*, MS., 3.

stead of this, they found a stream impracticable for navigation, and bordered with sand, rocks, and artemisia for hundreds of miles. It was owing to the excellence and abundance of their appointments that they accomplished the journey to the Columbia in such good time and with so little loss.[55]

From the repeated statements made in congress of the facilities for commerce of the mouth of the Columbia, and of the actual trade carried on by the Hudson's Bay Company, they had formed exaggerated ideas of the amount of productions, and the general capacity of the country. For the rest, they were idealists, 'men of destiny' they had been called, who had the same faith that all would be right with them in Oregon which the religionist feels that he will wake in heaven when he sleeps in death. Or, if all was not right, it would be the fault of the British fur company; in which case they would pull down Vancouver about the ears of its venerable factor and help themselves.

The state of disappointment and discontent which followed the first introduction to the new life was after all not long. When spring came with sunny skies and balmy air, they forgot the sorrows of the winter, and yielded contendedly to the witchery of fresh scenes and the pleasure of new beginnings. By autumn they were settled, and had already become well incorporated with the old colony.[56]

Some mention should be made in this place of the second expedition of Frémont, which though it had

[55] It is without doubt just to Dr Whitman to say that in the matter of insisting upon their keeping in motion and accomplishing some distance each day, they were indebted for their success. He knew the weary miles before them, and warned them constantly to travel. *Applegate*, in *Overland Monthly*, i. 127.

[56] In writing this chapter, I have been often guided by *Burnett's Recollections of a Pioneer*, New York, 1880, chiefly because he kept a journal of his travels and his early life in Oregon. The book abounds in incidents told in a natural manner. It contains, besides, numerous pen-pictures of other pioneers, with which these pages will be from time to time illustrated, and valuable remarks on early government affairs

nothing to do with the emigration movement of 1843, was an incident of it. The expedition left the Missouri River, near the junction of the Kansas, on the 29th of May, travelling just behind the emigrants as far as Soda Springs at the Great Bend of Bear River, where they turned off to Salt Lake. Having made a hasty visit to that inland sea,[57] they returned to the emigrant road, which they followed to the Dalles,[58] arriving there on the 4th of November. There Frémont left his men and animals, and took a canoe to Fort Vancouver to purchase supplies for his expedition to California, which were furnished him on the credit of the United States, the company sending the goods to the Dalles in their own boats. The emigrants ridicule Frémont's sobriquet of 'Pathfinder.'[59]

The naturalist Audubon was skirting the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains in the summer of 1843, in pursuit of his favorite study of ornithology; and mention is made of a German botanist named Luders, whom Frémont met on the Columbia, at a little bay below the Cascades, which was called after him Luders' Bay. The toils and dangers of this class of men occupy but little space in history, yet are none the less worthy of mention that they are not performed for gain or political preferment. If it is a brave deed to dare

[57] The following absurd report appeared in the *St Louis Gazette:* 'On the 16th of September they surveyed the Great Salt Lake, supposed to empty into the Pacific, and computed its length to be 280 miles, and its breadth 100.' *Niles' Reg.*, lxv. 243.

[58] *Waldo's Critiques*, MS., 17; *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 273. According to Nesmith, J. G. Campbell, Ransom Clark, Chapman, and Major William Gilpin travelled with Frémont's company. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875, 55–6; *Frémont's Rept. Explor. Ex.*, 107.

[59] This feeling is illustrated by the following extract from Nesmith's Address in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875, 60: 'In the eastern states I have often been asked how long it was after Frémont discovered Oregon that I emigrated there. It is true that in the year 1843 Frémont, then a lieutenant in the engineer corps, did cross the plains, and bronght his party to the Dalles in the rear of our emigration. His outfit contained all the conveniences and luxuries that a government appropriation could procure, while he "roughed it" in a covered carriage, surrounded by servants paid from the public purse. He returned to the States, and was rewarded with a presidential nomination as the "Pathfinder." The path he found was that made by the hardy frontiersmen who preceded him to the Pacific, and who stood by their rifles and held the country against hostile Indians and British threats, without government aid or recognition until 1849, when the first government troops came to our relief.'

the perils of the wilderness for these, in companies of hundreds, how much nobler is it for the solitary student of science to risk life for the benefit of mankind![60]

[60] Of the immigration of 1843 many have passed away. John Ford died in Salem Oct. 10, 1875, aged 56. John Gill Campbell died at Oregon City Nov. 21, 1872, aged 55. He was a Philadelphian by birth, and married, in 1846, Miss Rothilda E. Buck of Oregon City. John Howell, born in Tennessee Dec. 6, 1787, died Oct. 4, 1869, aged 82. A. Olinger, a native of Ohio, died near Salem Jan. 3, 1874, aged 62. Thomas Owens died Jan. 23, 1873, at Piety Hill in California. He was born in Tazewell County, Virginia, Jan. 12, 1808. He settled first in Oregon near Astoria, where he remained 10 years, when he removed to Roseburg. His age was 65. Stephen Tarbox was born in Maine in 1812, of Irish parentage. He never married. Before emigrating to Oregon he had been a soldier in the U. S. army under Kearny commanding the 1st regt of dragoons stationed at Leavenworth. He died Nov. 6, 1878, in Benton County, Oregon, aged 66. William Holmes died Sept. 18, 1879, at his home in Oregon City, at the age of 75. Jesse Looney died March 25, 1869, aged 88. His home was in Marion County, where his children still reside. Daniel Matheney died near Wheatland, Yamhill County, Feb. 1, 1872, aged 79. He was born in Virginia Dec. 11, 1793, and removed successively to Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. He was married Dec. 19, 1819. He served in the war of 1812, receiving his discharge at the victory of New Orleans. He fought again in the Black Hawk war under General Atkinson, and was elected 1st lieutenant of a company, and in 1839 again enlisted and was elected captain in the Mormon war. In the immigration of 1843 he was one of the most active, exploring and opening the road from Fort Hall to the Dalles. Henry Matheney was married in Indiana in 1828; his wife died in June 1877, the husband preceding her. David T. Lennox was born in New York in 1802, removed to Kentucky in 1819, to Illinois in 1828, to Missouri in 1837. He was among the foremost men of this migration. He settled on the Tualatin plains, where he lived many years, filling several places of public trust. He died at the home of his son-in-law, John S. White, in Umatilla County, Oct. 19, 1874, aged nearly 73.

Richard Hobson was born in England in Oct. 1829, and was therefore under the age of 16, which entitled him to be enrolled as able-bodied in 1843. He emigrated from Liverpool with his father's family in January 1843, with the design of going to Oregon, and arrived at Vancouver Nov. 17th of that year. His father, John Hobson, located on Clatsop plains in January 1844, where the family still reside. Richard visited Australia, and returned to Oregon in 1859. He then became a pilot on the Columbia River, in which business he remained until his death in 1878, at the age of 49.

John Holman was a native of Woodford County, Kentucky, where he was born Sept. 11, 1787. In Oct. 1810 he married a daughter of Thomas Duvall. About the same time he joined the Baptist church at Hillsboro. In 1817 he emigrated to Middle Tennessee, and resided in the county of Lincoln until 1826, when he removed to Clay County, Missouri. In this insalubrious climate he lost his wife and three children, and in 1843 determined to join the emigration to Oregon, where he spent the decline of his life in tranquil happiness. He died May 15, 1864, at the residence of his son, Daniel Holman of McMinnville. His age was 77 years.

Charles H. Eaton, born in Oswego County, N. Y., Dec. 22, 1818, removed with his parents to Paulding County, Ohio, when a boy, whence he emigrated to Oregon in 1843. In 1846 he settled in the Puget Sound region, with whose history his own is identified. He died Dec. 10, 1876, at Yakima City, aged 58

William Fowler, with the other two of that name, went to California in

The immigration by sea for the year 1843 amounted to fourteen persons. The bark *Fama*, Captain Nye, from the Hawaiian Islands, brought Francis W. Pettygrove, wife and child, Philip Foster, wife and four children, Peter H. Hatch, wife and child, and Nathan P. Mack. These all settled at or near Oregon City.

F. W. Pettygrove was a native of Calais, Maine. He came to Oregon as agent for A. G. and A. W. Benson, with about $15,000 worth of merchandise, supposed to be suited to the trade of the country, and established himself first in competition with the Cushings, and the Methodist Mission which opened a store at Oregon City this year, and later competed with the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company very successfully,[61] buying beaver-skins, and erecting a wheat

1844, and settled in the Napa Valley. He was born in Albany, N. Y., and died at the residence of his son, Henry, at Calistoga, Calfornia, Feb. 3, 1865, aged 86.

T. G. Naylor, a native of Albemarle County, Virginia, and later a resident of Missouri, from which state he emigrated, was born Oct. 12, 1814. On coming to Oregon he settled on Tualatin plains, adjoining the land claim on which Forest Grove is situated, where he lived until his death, Dec. 5, 1872, at the age of 59. He was twice married, and the father of 18 children, 15 of whom survive. His character as a true man gave him influence in the Congregational church, of which he was a deacon, and made him a trustee of the Pacific University, and director in the state agricultural society. He was a generous supporter of all worthy public institutions.

Orris Brown was born in Massachusetts, Sept. 4, 1800, his father being the Rev. Clark Brown, and his mother, Tabitha Brown, famous in the history of the Pacific University of Oregon. His parents removed to Maryland, where his father died, and his mother emigrated to Missouri with her children in 1821. In 1843, being then married, he came to Oregon, leaving his family, but returned in 1845 with a small party under White, which was robbed on the road by the Pawnees. He brought back to Oregon in 1846 his own family and his mother's, most of whom settled at Forest Grove. Mr Brown had 12 children. He died May 5, 1874, aged 74.

Daniel Delaney was murdered at the age of more than 70, Jan. 9, 1865, upon his own premises, 18 miles from Salem. One of the men convicted of shooting him to obtain his money was George P. Beale, also an immigrant of 1843, and at that time only a lad. Beale was executed, with his confederate, May 17, 1865.

Margaret Garrison, wife of Rev. Enoch Garrison, was born in Kentucky January 24, 1814. Her maiden name was Herren. At the age of 18 years she removed to Indiana, where in 1836 she was married to Mr Garrison, and with him went to Oregon in 1843. She was the mother of 8 children, only 3 of whom outlived her. She died in Yamhill County, March 26, 1874.

[61] In a manuscript called *Oregon in 1845*, but giving an intelligent view of the business of the country down to 1850, and the gold excitement; with a history of the founding of Portland, of which he was one of the first owners; and of the opening of American commerce on Puget Sound, Pettygrove relates his introduction to McLoughlin. He came to the Islands in the ship

warehouse at Champoeg, to purchase the crops of the French Canadians. This course led to the establishment of a store at Oregon City by the Hudson's Bay Company, which was placed in charge of Frank Ermatinger; so it may be said that Pettygrove added two stores to that infant metropolis.

Mr Foster, from Maine, who also came from New York by the same ship which brought Pettygrove to the Islands, remained for a year or two at Oregon City, but finally settled sixteen miles up the Clackamas River, on the trail leading to the Dalles, his farm becoming a halting-place for the immigrants who took the Mount Hood road into the Willamette Valley.[62] Mack, who was a Massachusetts man, had been in Pacific waters for several years, trading and whaling. Being by vocation a carpenter, he found ample employment at Oregon City for three or four years, after which he settled on a farm ten miles east of that place, but finally removed to Salem.[63]

About the first of September there arrived in the

Victoria, from New York, Captain John H. Spring, and from the Islands to the Columbia in the *Fama*, as above stated, the bark lying in the river opposite Vancouver for two weeks, and Pettygrove, who had come to Oregon prepared to find only oppression and hostility in all the acts of the fur company's officers, was compelled to remain a guest of McLoughlin and Douglas until some means offered of getting his goods conveyed to Oregon City. Having at length secured the service of the company's little schooner used for navigating the Willamette, he embarked cargo and family, and repaired to McLoughlin's office to inquire to what extent he was indebted for the favors extended to him. 'Show me your invoice,' said the doctor. I offered him a memorandum-book containing the number of packages shipped in the *Fama* from Honolulu. He looked it over, and remarked he could 'learn nothing from that.' I did not intend he should; and again asked for my bill of expenses. He made me a very low bow, and said: 'We are happy to receive such men as you in our midst; we charge you nothing.' I felt so humiliated by my unjust suspicions and his generous conduct, that I would gladly have dropped into the ground out of sight.' When the doctor found Pettygrove bought beaver-skins to ship to New York, he offered him all they were worth in that market, giving him a draft on Canada at 25 per cent discount, which offer was accepted. In 1846 McLoughlin asked Pettygrove to take his son David into partnership with him, to learn the American mode of business transactions, offering to furnish $20,000 capital as his portion of the partnership. This arrangement was finally made and continued for 2 years, when the firm was dissolved.

[62] *Honolulu, S. I., Friend*, Oct. 15, 1849.

[63] *Mack's Oregon*, MS., 1–3. This manuscript deals only with the author's private affairs, the substance of which here appertaining is given in the above paragraph. It confirms in some particulars Pettygrove's *Oregon in 1843*, MS.

Columbia the brig *Pallas*, Captain Sylvester, from Newburyport, with a cargo of Indian goods consigned to Cushing and Company. In the brig came Edmund Sylvester, also of Maine, brother of the captain, who remained in Oregon, and assisted in building the first two houses in Portland. In 1846 he removed to Puget Sound,[64] and settled at Olympia, of which town he was one of the founders.

It will be observed that those who came by sea were New Englanders. As the missionaries were all from New England and New York, they received these traders and sea-going people with a welcome warmer than that they extended to the western settlers. Their impression on the country was distinct. One class bought and sold, built mills, and speculated in any kind of property. The other, and now the larger class, cultivated the ground, opened roads, exercised an unbounded hospitality, and carried the world of politics on their shoulders.

[64] These items are found in *Sylvester's Olympia*, MS., 1–4, which treats principally of the early settlement and business of Puget Sound in a clear and comprehensive manner. This manuscript is one of the most valuable authorities on Washington Territory. Sylvester says that the brig took away 300 or 400 barrels of salmon; also that his brother sold the *Pallas* at the Sandwich Islands to a purchaser from Mazatlan, to carry the United States mail between that port and the Islands. He does not say what became of the cargo, or whether it was on the route to Newburyport that she was sold, or on the return to the Columbia River with another cargo. All that is known is that the brig was lost, and that in 1845 Captain Sylvester was in command of the *Chenamus*, which sailed from the Columbia River for Newburyport. The *Chenamus* never returned to Oregon after her voyage of 1845–6, of which I shall speak hereafter.

CHAPTER XVI.

LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS.

1844.

CHARACTER OF THE IMMIGRATION OF 1843—THE LAND LAW—OLD AND NEW SETTLERS—ORGANIC LAWS—PERSONNEL OF THE COMMITTEES—MESSAGE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—REVISION AND CORRECTION OF LEGISLATIVE ERRORS—JUDICIAL AFFAIRS—THE BLESSINGS OF LAND AND THE BALLOT—WILLAMETTE FALLS THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT—THE QUESTION OF BOUNDARY—LAW RELATING TO MARRIAGE—LIQUOR LAW—SLAVERY—NEGROES AND MULATTOES—ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BRITISH FUR COMPANY—INDEPENDENCE OF OREGON.

THE immigration of 1843 was composed of people of pronounced character, rudely arrogant and aggressive rather than tame and submissive. The poorest might claim the liberal grant of land offered by congress to actual settlers, while the leaders aspired to achievements no less than founding a state, and framing laws to govern it. If what had been already done suited them, well; if not, they would undo, if strong enough. Hence immediately on arrival they were deeply interested in what had been done by the provisional government. They then discussed the laws passed by the legislative committee, the most important of which was the land law, whose objectionable parts were the proviso allowing the missions six miles square of land, and granting but twenty days to new settlers in which to record their claims, the old settlers having a year.[1]

This injurious discrimination against new-comers, joined to the greed of the missionaries, and the inti-

[1] *Grover's Or. Archives*, 35.

mation given by Jason Lee, who met the immigration at the Dalles, that the Methodist Mission intended to make the laws for the colonists, was sufficient to arouse the independent spirit of the western men, who had besides a liberal contempt for the close-fisted Yankee class to which most of the missionaries belonged.[2] But the Methodist was of all the Protestant denominations most popular on the western frontier, where zeal rather than intelligence contributed to the qualifications of members; and among the immigration were many zealous Methodists. Obviously these were likely to indorse, or at least excuse and condone, any acts of the missionaries.

But of the leading men few were hampered by this religious allegiance. Men of note amongst western communities, they possessed not only greater freedom from conventionalities than the ordinary New Englander, but greater mental culture. By reason of their struggles with the hardships of pioneer life, not to mention that of their ancestors, they were often lacking in refinement of manner, and always in the polish which inherited ease imparts; but their ideas were bold, strong, and speculative, and their conversation, though sometimes bookish, was seldom pedantic, while their adventurous past furnished them with original matter of interest far beyond the ordinary topics of *salons*. That this was so, and that they won the friendship and respect of the more regularly educated and trained gentlemen of the aristocratic Hudson's Bay Company by their true manliness and evident talents, is a matter of history.[3]

If, then, some of the immigrants of 1843 affiliated at once with the Mission, others openly exhibited a regard and deference for the officers of the fur company, which was in missionary eyes heretical and dangerous. There was still another class composed of those who had conscientiously opposed the formation

[2] *Sylvester's Olympia*, MS., 3.
[3] *Crawford's Missionaries*, MS., 17.

of a government in the doubtful condition of national affairs, who comprised nearly half of the former settlers, leaving out the Canadian population. These were glad to consult with the new-comers as to the right of the colonists to take such a step, and having some grievances of their own, were not averse to drawing party lines.

That some form of government was made necessary by the present addition, and by the probability that with every year it would be increased, was clear, even to the Hudson's Bay Company, who, however, could not bring themselves to give allegiance to the United States, but favored a temporary government which should be independent of any sovereignty.[4] And seeing the embarrassment under which the fur magnates labored between their allegiance and the pressure brought to bear by the colonists, there were found some Americans prepared to give their consent to such a compromise. But the majority were opposed to the scheme: the Mission, because in the event of a union between the two nationalities it could not hope to preserve a leading position in colonial affairs; and others, because it was not patriotic to act independently of the United States government. Of this way of thinking were most of the immigrants of 1843, who were prompt to take part in the politics of the colony.

According to Article I., Section 2, of the organic laws adopted the previous year, the election of an executive and legislative committee, and other officers of the provisional government, was held on the second Tuesday of May 1844, and resulted in the choice of W. J. Bailey, Osborne Russell, and P. G. Stewart, to constitute the executive arm of the government; and for the legislative branch, P. H. Burnett, M. M. McCarver, David Hill, and Matthew Gilmore, from the

[4] *Applegate's Views*, MS., 41; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 261.

Tualatin district; A. L. Lovejoy, from the Clackamas district; and Daniel Waldo, T. D. Kaiser, and Robert Newell, from the Champoeg district. Yamhill district was not represented. The reader is already acquainted with most of these men. Bailey had been in Oregon since 1835. He was of English birth and liberal education, though of rude experience, and was well adapted to the position.[5] Osborne Russell was a native of Maine, had been several years in the mountains with the fur companies, and was of known integrity,[6] and was well fitted to represent the conservative and moral element of colonial society. P. G. Stewart was one of the immigration of 1843, a jeweller, of fair education, a calm, dispassionate, and thoughtful man, deliberate, and careful of the interests of the independent and energetic pioneers who made broad the road to Oregon with laden wagons and lowing herds.

The imperfect laws of Oregon made no provision for the mode of conductiug elections, except by adopting the laws of Iowa, with which the people were not familiar. Two thirds of the voters were of the late immigration, and had had neither time nor opportunity to become informed regarding the requirements of their duties as officers of the election. Hence those first regularly elected to the legislature of Oregon received no credentials as members of that body. But there was no disposition on the part of any to dispute their election; and they met on the 18th of June, at Oregon City, in the residence of Felix Hathaway, where they immediately organized for work by taking an oath to support the laws of Oregon, and faithfully to discharge their duties. McCarver was chosen speaker of the house, and Burnett acted as

[5] *Niles' Reg.*, lxvii. 339.

[6] Says Burnett: 'All his comrades agreed that he never lost his virtuous habits, but always remained true to his principles. He was never married. He is a man of education and refined feelings. After the discovery of gold he came to the mines, and has been engaged in mining in El Dorado County ever since.' *Burnett's Rec.*, 161-2.

secretary in the absence of J. E. Long.[7] The message of the executive committee was then read.[8]

[7] Dr John E. Long was born in England and bred to the profession of medicine. He immigrated to the United States in 1833, and to Oregon in 1843. He was a member of the Catholic church of Oregon City, but at the same time was a firm supporter of the provisional government. He was drowned or killed June 21, 1846, by a fall from his horse, which became unmanageable at a ford of the Clackamas River, throwing him into the stream. *Or. Spectator*, July 9, 1846.

[8] To the Honorable the Legislative Assembly of Oregon Territory—Gentlemen: As a rising colony, under no immediate external control or civil protection, we have abundant reason for rendering up our thanks to the Great Ruler of the Universe for his parental care and protection over us, from the first entrance into this country unto the present day. And it becomes us humbly to acknowledge our dependence on him as our protector and preserver, and implore a continuance of his care and watchfulness over us, and wisdom to direct us in the discharge of the duties devolving upon us. This country has been populated by powerful Indian tribes, but it has pleased the great disposer of human events to reduce them to a mere shadow of their former greatness, thus removing the chief obstruction to the entrance of civilization, and opening a way for the introduction of Christianity where ignorance and idolatry have reigned uncontrolled for many ages. There have perhaps been few colonies planted in North America under the same circumstances in which the present settlers of this territory are placed. We are situated in a portion of country remote from civilized nations, among the few remaining savages who are the original proprietors of the soil. The country is claimed by two powerful, civilized, and enlightened nations, proud of their national liberties, and jealous of their respective rights and privileges. It is obvious that these claims must be adjusted, and the soil purchased from the original proprietors, previous to any right being conferred upon the citizens of those governments, relative to the cultivation of lands in this Territory. The government of Great Britain has never publicly extended her claim so far south as to include the lands now under cultivation in this colony. But a treaty now exists between that government and the United States, giving to either party the right of mutual occupancy of this Territory in relation to the Indian trade. The United States have held out inducements to their citizens, and indirectly encouraged the settlement of this country by them. Consequently we are now improving the country by their consent, but without their protection; and it is self-evident that every community have a right to make laws for their mutual benefit and protection, where no law exists. It was under these impressions that the settlers in this Territory established a form of government last year, and adopted such rules and regulations as were at that time deemed necessary for the protection and prosperity of the colony. These regulations were so constructed as to be altered or amended by a legislative assembly, whose members were to be chosen by the people, annually, until such time as the government of the United States shall extend their jurisdiction over the Territory. At the time of our organization it was expected that the United States would have taken possession of the country before this time, but a year has rolled around, and there appears little or no prospect of aid from that quarter, consequently we are yet left on our own resources for protection. In view of the present state of affairs, gentlemen of the assembly, we would recommend to your consideration the adoption of some measures for a more thorough organization. Also to take into consideration the propriety of laying a light tax for the support of government. We would also recommend to your consideration the propriety of vesting the executive power in one person; and the impropriety of vesting the power of supreme, probate, and district judges in one person; and the necessity of having an individual judge for each court. We would recommend that such of the laws of Iowa as have been or may be

It is not surprising that there should be those who regarded the existing organization as imperfect. The organic laws, however ably drawn, had clearly been framed by one not versed in law; and while the compact, notwithstanding the looseness of its provisions, might be kept by the few who were in the country at the time of its adoption, and who were accompanied to govern themselves without law, it was likely to fail of its object with the addition of several hundred persons annually from all parts of the United States and the world. So, at least, the executive committee had decided, and they threw upon the legislative committee the ungrateful task of casting a doubt on what the friends of the original organization thought good and sufficient, by asking them to remodel the most important portions of that work.

adopted, be so amended as to suit the circumstances of the country. That the militia law be so amended that military officers hold their commission during good behavior, and that each company shall have the privilege of electing their own officers, at such time and place as they shall think fit, excepting the days of annual review; and that such portions of the militia law of Iowa be adopted as will suit all the circumstances of our military organization. We would recommend that the first article of the land law be so amended as to require that some permanent improvement be made on a claim before recording, and that such improvement be designated on record, with such other regulations relative to land claims, as, in the opinion of this assembly, will be most beneficial to the interests of the public. We would recommend that the fourth article of the land law be repealed, as it is considered detrimental to the interests of the community. We would recommend that commissionars be appointed to locate *roads*, in such places as this assembly shall deem necessary for the interests of the public, and that a law be enacted for the purpose of establishing ferries at different thoroughfares crossing the Willamette River. We recommend the encouragement of the means of education, as far as our limited circumstances will allow. We would also recommend that the laws of Iowa be taken into consideration, concerning blacks and mulattoes, and that a law be enacted for the punishment of offenders inciting the Indians against the whites, and regulating the intercourse of the whites among the Indians of this colony. And in conclusion, we desire to impress upon your minds, that although the colony is small, and its resources feeble, yet the life, rights, and liberties of an individual here are of equal value to him as to one in the city of Washington or London. And it is a duty which devolves on you, and on us, to use as much discretion, vigilance, and caution in maturing and adopting measures for promoting the interests of this little colony, as if we expected our names and acts would be enrolled in the pages of history, or inscribed on pillars of stone, when our day and generation shall have passed away.

Willamette Falls, June 18, 1844.

P. G. STEWART,
O. RUSSELL,
W. J. BAILEY,
Executive Committee.

The legislature of 1844 has been censured by some for undoing so much of the work of the previous year.[9] But in their opinion as well as in the judgment of the executive committee, it must be done; the code of the older colonists must be changed, but it was an ungrateful task. The new-comers composed three fourths of the legislative committee of eight, the ninth member not being elected. But two thirds of the executive committee who recommended the changes were old colonists.[10] Burnett before going to take his seat in the committee had never been at Oregon City, nor examined the laws of 1843.[11] Therefore to charge upon him as has been done a premeditated intention of subverting them is manifestly unjust.

Having his attention drawn to the peculiarities of the organic law by the executive committee before making an examination of it, Burnett, who had been district attorney in Missouri, and was an able jurist, declares that on attempting to separate the fundamental from the statutory part of the code, or to understand where the constitution ended and the statutes began, he found himself unable to do so, and that it became necessary to make some distinction

[9] The standing committees were as follows: Ways and means, Newell, Hill, and Gilmore; military affairs, Hill, Kaiser, and Gilmore; land claims, Waldo, Lovejoy, and Newell; roads, Burnett, Waldo, and Kaiser; judiciary, Burnett, Lovejoy, and Gilmore. Gilmore was a plain farmer, and carried no great weight on the judiciary committee. Burnett, it is understood, did the responsible work. The committee to draught rules for the government of the house consisted of Lovejoy, Burnett, and Waldo. The different parts of the executive message were then referred to the committees chosen to consider them; and on motion of Burnett, so much of the executive committee's message as relates to a more thorough organization, to vesting the executive power in a single individual, and to the appointment of several judges, and also those parts of said message that relate to the amendment of the laws of chancery, were referred to the judiciary committee. *Grover's Or. Archives*, 39.

[10] Gray, who was on the first legislative committee, is very bitter toward the committees of 1844. *Hist. Or.*, 375. And even the more just Applegate, offended because his friend Shortess was not found to be a faultless legislator, says: 'The few and simple duties prescribed to these committees by the organic law were far too limited for the display of abilities and statesmanship which they hoped to obtain the credit of possessing; and not understanding that the apparent defects of the organic law were its wisest provisions, without warrant first obtained from the people to do, and without submitting their work, when done, to their sanction or rejection, proceeded to remodel the organic law itself to an extent amounting to its subversion.' *Views of History*, MS., 41.

[11] *Burnett's Rec.*, 204.

before further legislation could take place. As the organic law then stood, it was either all constitution or all stutute. No mode of amendment having been provided, if the organic law was in fact the constitution of Oregon, to amend it would be revolutionary; and unless it could be considered as statutory, and amended or appealed, there was nothing for a legislative committee to do. Under these circumstances it was decided to consider the laws in the light of statutes, and without altering the spirit or intent of that portion which might be understood to be fundamental, to remodel the remainder where they could be improved.

Accordingly on the 27th of June an act was passed "regulating the executive power, the judiciary, and for other purposes." The reader already knows that the expedient of a triumvirate had been adopted, not because it was considered a form of executive power most efficient by the first committee, but to avoid a division by rival candidates which would have defeated the organization. No such necessity now existed; therefore the judiciary act just mentioned vested the gubernatorial power in a single person to be elected at the next annual election, and to hold his office for a term of two years, with a salary of $300 per annum. The legislative power was vested in a house of representatives consisting of thirteen members; nine being thought too few in proportion to the increased population.

By the organic law the judicial power was vested in a supreme court, consisting of a judge and two justices of the peace; and in a probate and justice court. By this peculiar combination of jurisdictions, should a decision be made by a majority, the two justices could overrule the supreme judge, or if a unanimous verdict should be required, a disagreement would defeat any decision. The judiciary act of 1844 vested the judicial power in circuit courts and justices of the peace, and provided for the election of one judge,

with probate powers, whose duty it should be to hold two terms of court, annually, in each county, at such times and places as the law should direct. It likewise established the duties of clerk, recorder, sheriff, and justices of the peace.

One of the conditions insisted on by the old colonists in consenting to a government organization was that they should not be taxed. But the committee of 1844 believed that no efficient and regular government could be sustained without a revenue; that no revenue could be had without taxation; and no taxation could be enforced unless the majority were satisfied with the government. The great majority would not support the organization unless convinced that they were receiving an equivalent in the form of protection, and it was a perplexing question how to secure the support of law-abiding men.[12] The legislative committee remembered, however, that Americans prize above all things the possession of land, and the privilege of the ballot, and shaped their course accordingly. The ways and means act in its fourth section provided that any person refusing to pay taxes should have no benefit from the laws of Oregon, and should be disqualified from voting. Thus by outlawing those who refused to support the government, the people began to consider its value to them, and few were willing to forego its assistance in preventing trespass or collecting debts. Nor did many desire to be deprived of the ballot.[13]

The land law of 1843 was repealed and another passed in its place. By the first, any person of any age, sex, or race could hold a land claim, while by the

[12] This refers as much to the Canadians, who were law-abiding, as to the American colonists. Says Brown, *Willamette Valley*, MS., 31-2, the 'Americans played a pretty sharp game on the British subjects to bring them into the organization of this government.'

[13] The ways and means act called for a tax of one eighth of one per cent upon the fair valuation of all merchandise brought into the country for sale; on all improvements in town lots; on mills, pleasure-carriages, clocks, watches, horses, mules, cattle, and hogs; and every white voter must pay a poll tax of 50 cents. The sheriff was made collector of the revenue, for which he received 10 per cent for all moneys received. *Burnett's Recollections*, 205.

law of 1844 the conditions were narrowed. Only free men over eighteen years of age, who would be entitled to vote if of lawful age, and widows, could legally claim six hundred and forty acres. The claimant must take his land in a square or oblong form, and must begin improvements within two months from the time of location with the intention of occupying. Yet a boy under eighteen, if married, might hold land; and all claimants might own town lots in addition to their acres. The custom of recording claims was dispensed with as being of doubtful privilege, the country being unsurveyed, and involving as it would oftentimes a long journey. By an act passed at the second session of the committee in December, the word 'occupancy' was made to mean actual residence by the owner or his agent. The second act also authorized taking six hundred acres of prairie and forty acres of timbered land, not contiguous. Partnership claims were also allowed of double the usual amount, to be held for one year by improvements upon either half; or longer, if both halves were improved within the year. All persons complying with the law were deemed in actual possession, and if supporting the government, had the remedy of forcible entry and detainer, and action against trespass.[14]

These were certainly improvements in the land law. But the great change aimed at by the legislative committee, and desired by the people, was to forbid the right of missions to hold thirty-six sections of land, thus repeating the practice of land monopoly by the Catholic missionaries in California. As a whole, we may be very sure that the repeal of the law of 1843 met with general approval from both the old and new colonists, the missionary element only excepted.[15] The

[14] *Or. Laws, 1845–9*, 72, 77–8; *Hines' Or. Hist.*, 433; *Greenhow's Hist. Or.*, 387.

[15] Charles E. Pickett, an emigrant of 1843 to Oregon, but for many years subsequently a resident of California, published in 1877 a pamphlet entitled *The Paris Exposition and Other Expositions*, in which he asserts his claim to the distinction of having been one of the first to denounce the mission monop-

law of 1844 placed the missions on the same footing with other claimants. It also ignored the issues between McLoughlin, and Lee and Waller, with regard to the proprietorship of Oregon City.

The seat of government was established by law at Oregon City, called in the act Willamette Falls, after the custom of the early American settlers. The annual meeting of the legislature was fixed for the fourth Tuesday in June. An act was passed fixing the time of holding courts in the several districts, and another regulating the salaries of the officers. On petition of J. L. Parrish, a new district called Clatsop was established, of the extent of which there is no information.[16]

It will be remembered that the whole territory of Oregon was divided into five districts by the committee of 1843, but in language so vague that a strict constructionist would be in doubt as to whether the country north of the Columbia was included. The committee of 1844 confined the jurisdiction of the provisional government to the south side of the Columbia, by an act making that stream the northern line of the several counties.[17]

This action was susceptible of two interpretations. It might mean that they abandoned the country north of the Columbia to the British government, or it might indicate to the Hudson's Bay Company that its servants were excluded from participation in the benefits of the organization. If the latter, it was more powerful to influence the company than the law

oly, and to enforce his views by taking a claim on the tract reserved by the Methodists. These articles were first published in the *S. F. Examiner*, Nov. 1877.

[16] A compilation was made in 1853 of *The Laws of Oregon from 1843 to 1849*, incomplete and carelessly done. It is, however, with thanks that the historian accepts so much of a guide to the acts of the temporary government of Oregon. Previously the only printed code was a volume of Iowa laws of 1838. It was brought to Or. in 1843, and furnished the laws adopted in 1844. It was called the 'blue book,' and was bound in blue boards. In 1845 the larger revised statutes of Iowa, of 1843, found their way to Or., also in blue covers, and were partially adopted in 1849. This volume became the 'blue book,' and the first the 'little blue book,' of Or. legislators. *Letters of M. P. Deady.*

[17] *Or. Laws, 1843–9*, 74.

of 1843, which extended jurisdiction over the whole Oregon Territory, and held out no threat of outlawry to a portion of its inhabitants. It was one of those fine points which in the existing political conditions of the colony could not be rashly approached. The friends of the original organic laws, who resented the legislation of 1844 as an affront to the wisdom of the first legislature, saw fit to construe the act to mean that protection was withheld from such Americans as might settle north of the Columbia, and accused the legislatures of acquiescing in the claim of the British government, which sought to make that river the northern boundary of the United States.[18]

So positive and determined was the opposition to any such admission, even by implication, that at the second session of the committee, in December, an explanatory act was passed defining the boundaries of Oregon as lying between latitudes 42° and 54° 40′, and extending from the Rocky Mountains to the sea.[19] This made plain the position of the British residents in Oregon; they were without a foothold in it.

The prying eyes of the legislative committee of 1844 discovered that the marriage law of Oregon was open to objection upon the ground that it rendered invalid marriages contracted without the consent of the parents where either of the contracting parties were under the age of twenty-one, and exposed the couple to the charge of living in adultery as well as their children to the taint of bastardy. The judiciary committee therefore amended the 17th article of the

[18] *Applegate's Views*, MS., 41; *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 297.

[19] 'Commencing at that point on the Pacific Ocean where the parallel of 42° of north latitude strikes the same, as agreed upon by the United States and New Mexico; thence along the coast of said ocean, so as to include all the islands, bays, and harbors contiguous thereto, to a point on said ocean where the parallel of 54° and 40′ of north latitude strikes the same; thence east along the last parallel, as agreed between the United States and Russia, to the summit of the main dividing ridge of the Rocky Mountains, dividing the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans; thence southerly, following said main dividing ridge to the said parallel of 42° of north latitude; and thence west to the place of beginning.' *Or. Laws, 1843–9*, 72–3; *Clayman's Note Book*, 6.

organic laws by an act of three sections making males of sixteen and females of twelve years of age competent to enter into the marriage relation, but requiring the consent of the parents, till the man was twenty-one and the woman eighteen. The person marrying minors without the sanction of parents or guardians was made liable to a fine of one hundred dollars, to be paid to the parents or guardians; but the marriage was not invalidated for want of their consent. Burnett says the law was enacted only to obviate the evils sure to grow out of the former one. Early marriages are the rule of all new communities for obvious reasons. In Oregon, especially, where women were few, a girl was sure to have suitors before she had fairly reached maturity. But making children of sixteen and twelve years of age competent to marry led to abuses in colonial and territorial times resulting too often in divorce, and sometimes in death.

One of the acts passed intended to have a wholesome effect upon the colony, and which met the approval of the majority, was a prohibitory liquor law. The penalties were fifty dollars for importing, twenty dollars for each sale, and one hundred dollars for manufacturing, together with the destruction of the distil lery. White, as Indian agent, was permitted to make some remarks before the committee in favor of its passage. The administering of the law by White has already been alluded to in a previous chapter.

An act touching the subject of slavery, free negroes, and mulattoes is worthy of notice. The adoption of the ordinance of 1787 as the basis of the organic law of Oregon had already made this free territory, and every article of the laws of 1843 was in consonance with free principles. Some occasion, however, was given for special legislation by an affray at Oregon City in the month of March previous, in which two white men and an Indian had been killed, and the public mind much excited, for all of which it was proven that a free negro was to blame. White had

asked the secretary of war if the immigration of negroes could not be prevented, and the executive committee had thought the subject of sufficient importance to recommend the passage of a law on the subject of such offences as the negro had been guilty of. The opportunity offered for ridding the infant empire of Oregon of the negro, and all the questions dependent upon his presence in the community, was too good to be neglected. There was a deep-seated hatred of slavery by leading men of the western immigration. Most of them were natives of slave states, who, not having been of the privileged class of wealthy planters, well understood the evils of poverty and slavery together. They knew that education, honors, and all desirable attainments and dignities were denied to the poor white class of the slave states; and when they emigrated from them they determined to leave behind the clinging curse of caste, and to have for their own a free country, and free iustitutions to leave to their children. By a curious and contradictory impulse of the mind, no southern man, desiring freedom for himself from the evils of slavery, ever could be brought to look with complacency upon a free negro. The black man, though not to blame for the condition of society his presence entailed, was never forgiven for it, nor admitted to be a sufferer by it.

Undoubtedly something of this feeling of caste, where no caste was to be tolerated, influenced the founders of the provisional government of Oregon. Article 4 of the organic laws prohibited slavery or involuntary servitude except for the punishment of crimes whereof the party should have been duly convicted. The new legislation was intended, besides settling the matter of slavery in Oregon, to rid the country, in time, of every free negro or mulatto in it, and to prevent the coming of others,[20] by inflicting

[20] 'Be it enacted by the legislative committee of Oregon as follows: Sec. 1. That slavery and involuntary servitude be forever prohibited in Oregon. Sec. 2. That in all cases where slaves shall have been, or shall hereafter be, brought

corporal punishment on all of eighteen years of age, or more, who had not left the territory within two years after the passage of the act. But finding this law to conflict with the spirit of free institutions in too great a degree, it was amended at the December session by repealing the sections making whipping the punishment for remaining in the country, and susbtituting one requiring the arrest of such contumacious negroes, their trial before a justice of the peace, and if convicted, the hiring of the offenders to the person who should give bond to remove them out of the territory within the shortest space of time, paying himself out of their services. The law was in any case inoperative for two years, during which time such changes had occurred in the territory as to do away with the motive for enforcing it.

At the December session an act was passed for erecting a jail at Oregon City with money from the estate of Ewing Young; the executive committee being required to appoint an administrator to close up the business of the estate, and collect debts due to it; and the government being pledged to pay all money so received to the lawful heirs of Young whenever

into Oregon, the owners of such slaves respectively shall have the term of 3 years from the introduction of such slaves to remove them out of the country. Sec. 3. That if such owners of slaves shall neglect or refuse to remove such slaves from the country within the time specified in the preceding section, such slaves shall be free. Sec. 4. That when any free negro or mulatto shall have come to Oregon, he or she, as the case may be, if of the age of 18 or upwards, shall remove from the country within the term of 2 years for males, and 3 for females, from the passage of this act; and that if any free negro or mulatto shall hereafter come to Oregon, if of the age aforesaid, he or she shall quit and leave the country within the term of 2 years for males, and 3 years for females, from his or her arrival in the country. Sec. 5. That if such free negro or mulatto be under the age aforesaid, the terms of time specified in the preceding section shall begin to run when he or she shall arrive at such age. Sec. 6. That if any such free negro or mulatto shall fail to quit the country, as required by this act, he or she may be arrested upon a warrant issued by some justice of the peace, and if guilty on trial before such justice, shall receive upon his or her bare back not less than 20 nor more than 39 stripes, to be inflicted by the constable of the proper county. Sec. 7. That if any free negro or mulatto shall fail to quit the country within the term of 6 months after receiving such stripes, he or she shall again receive the same punishment once in every 6 months, until he or she shall quit the country. Sec. 8. That when any slave shall obtain his or her freedom, the terms specified in the 4th section shall begin to run from the time when such freedom shall be obtained.'

they should appear to claim it. A lot for the erection of the jail was offered by McLoughlin, and accepted by the committee.[21] An act was also passed for the protection of Indians in the free use of such pieces of vacant land as they then occupied with their villages or fisheries; and the executive was empowered to bring suit in the name of Oregon against persons infringing the rights of the natives to the peaceable possession of such lands.

The two sessions of the committee of 1844 occupied less than three weeks, in which time forty-three bills were passed, many of them of general importance. Some of the shorter ones showed the improvements to which the accession of population was giving rise. Hugh Burns and Robert Moore were granted rights to keep public ferries on the Willamette; John McLoughlin to construct a canal round the falls; W. H. Wilson and L. H. Judson to construct a mill-race in Champoeg County. Jesse Applegate was appointed engineer to survey for a canal from the crossing of the Tualatin River, down Sucker Creek, to the Willamette River, in order to determine the cost of making this a mode of transportation from the Tualatin plains to the Willamette. Several road acts were also passed.

The legislative committee fixed the pay of the executive committee at one hundred dollars each, per annum, for their services, the three receiving nothing above the amount fixed as the salary of the governor provided for by an act passed the following day. But as the organic law did not contemplate paying the executive committee in anything but honors, one hundred dollars to each might be considered as a gift. The legislative committee voted themselves two dollars a day, and the assessor of the revenue the same.[22]

[21] The founders of a new colony, whatever Utopia of human virtue and happiness they might originally project, have invariably recognized it among their earliest practical necessities to allot a portion of the virgin soil as a cemetery, and another as a site of a prison.' *Hawthorne's Scarlet Letter*, 53. 'We are getting along finely,' writes a settler; 'and have already laid the foundation of a jail.' *Niles' Reg.*, lxx. 214.

[22] *Oregon Laws, 1843–9*, 76.

The judiciary report of 1843, in defining the powers of the executive committee, gave them authority to "recommend such laws as they might consider necessary, to the representatives of the people, for their action;" and they had, at the opening of the second session, recommended to the representatives to make provision for framing and adopting a constitution for Oregon previous to the next annual election on the first Tuesday in June. Accordingly an act was passed to provide for holding a constitutional convention, requiring the executive committee to notify the inhabitants of all the counties that they should at the next annual election give their votes for or against the call for a convention to frame a constitution, and notify the legislative committee elected of the result. This act, in which both committees elected by the people were agreed, was unfavorably commented upon by certain friends of the original organic law, as a movement toward an independent government. Applegate expressed the opinion that the changes made in the mode of administration were unnecessary for the short time the provisional government was expected to last.[23]

Two of the executive committee, I think, leaned toward independent government, and they were among those who had been longest in the country. This was hinted in the message of June signed by the whole committee,[24] though bearing the impress of but one author.[25] The second message explains that adjournment to December was made in the expectation of receiving some information from the United States relative to the adjustment of claims with Great Britain. When this fact is taken into consideration, and that no satisfactory intelligence had been obtained of such settlement, the coloring given to the acts passed in December is such as to justify

[23] *Views of History*, MS., 41.

[24] The message of December was signed only by Russell and Stewart.

[25] Burnett says, 'I think Russell wrote the message,' but this is simply an opinion.

an opinion that there was a determination to perfect as rapidly as possible a government which would be able to cope with the exigencies to which it was liable to be subjected.[26] In advising the adoption of a constitution, the writer of the message used this language: "It should be constructed in such a manner as would best suit the local situation of the country, and promote the general interests of the citizens, without interfering with the real or pretended rights of the United States or Great Britain, except when the protection of life and property actually require it." The legislative committee, by calling for the votes of the people upon a constitutional convention, may have been feeling their way toward what the future had in store for them, without meriting much opprobrium.

It is noteworthy, however, that at the first session Lovejoy moved to strike the word 'territory' out of the journal of legislative proceedings. This might mean that the legislative committee did not wish the country to be considered a territory of the United States, or that in their estimation it was not such at present. An attempt was made in the legislature of 1845 to establish the name Oregon Territory, but it was never adopted until the boundary was determined and the question of sovereignty set at rest. Again, in the judiciary act, the nineteenth article of the organic law is repealed, the same being a resolution that a committee should be appointed to "draw up a digest of the doings of the people of this territory, with regard to an organization, and transmit the same to the United States government for their information." That committee, consisting of Lee, Hines, and Walker, never informed the government of the organization, nor did the legislative committee of 1844. It was not until 1845 that congress was notified that Oregon enjoyed a government in which the United

[26] McLoughlin wrote to Alexander Simpson under date of Nov. 1844: 'They declare that, if in ten years the boundary is not settled, they will erect themselves into an independent state.' This refers to the colonists at large. See *Simpson's Or. Ter. Claims*, 41.

States had as yet no part. The repeal of the resolution may have signified that the committee did not desire to have its doings reported to congress, or it might have been done, because such a resolution was out of place in the organic law.

But however the legislative committee may have favored the independence of Oregon, there is no reason to suppose they intended to yield aught to the British government or Hudson's Bay Company,[27] but on the contrary, there appeared a disposition to vote down the bills and petitions presented in the interest of John McLoughlin.[28] In many small ways they unintentionally left proof that, if they aimed at independence for Oregon, it was as a government free from all influences foreign to their republican principles.[29]

The economy of the government is shown in the appropriations, which for its whole expenses for the first year amounted to $917.96, to meet which there were $358.31 in the treasury, the tax collector not yet having completed his labors. This was less than fifty cents for each individual in the country, according to the census of 1844, the correctness of which I doubt, giving as it does a total of 2,109,[30] including the immigration of that year, which was also taxed.

[27] Gray accuses Burnett 'and a few other Americans' of truckling to the fur company. *Hist. Or.*, 384; *Niles' Reg.*, lxix. 224; *Howison's Coast and Country*, 17.

[28] One of the first petitions presented was from McLoughlin for permission to establish a ferry across the Willamette River, which was refused. McLoughlin also remonstrated against leave being granted certain Americans to construct a route to the island mills, but the leave was granted. But the petition for leave to construct a canal around the falls was allowed, because that was a work requiring a large outlay, and one which would be of great benefit to the colony. McLoughlin's name of 'Oregon City' for his town was steadily rejected by the legislative committee, who wrote 'Willamette Falls' at the head of their proceedings, till at the December session it was formally incorporated as Oregon City.

[29] *Waldo's Critiques*, MS., 8.

[30] Males over 18 years, 725; under 18 years, 536; females over 18 years, 363; under 18 years, 485. Champoeg County had the largest population; Tualatin next; then Yamhill, Clackamas, and Clatsop, in a descending scale. White in his report gave the population at 4,000. *Ten Years in Or.*, 225; *Concise View*, MS., 54. The census of 1844 was taken by Thomas H. Smith, later a resident of Los Angeles County, Cal., according to an act of the legislature. It would have been impossible to obtain a perfect count at the time.

No census was taken of the amount of property in the country.

Applegate calls the acts of the legislative committee of 1844 "impolitic and unpatriotic;" and asserts further that the conservative class, which greatly outnumbered the mere demagogues and their followers, determined these wrongs should be righted at any cost.[31] Had Mr Applegate ever done anything to deserve the name of demagogue, here would be the time to accuse him of wishing in his turn to subvert a good government, because it was proposed to place it on a firm basis. He was perhaps unconscious of the influence at work to create public sentiment against the acts of the legislative committee, or the jealousies which struggled to prevent either of two of the members of the executive committee from being governor of the colony. How the people finally decided I shall relate in a future chapter concerning the legislature of 1845, of which Applegate was a member.

After all there appeared to be no great need of law in Oregon. The only occasion on which Judge Babcock, elected at the primary meeting of 1841, exercised his probate powers, was at the death of Cornelius Rogers in the spring of 1843.[32] All the disturbances occurring in the colony had been of a nature to bring them under the jurisdiction of White. There is but a single mention of an assault previous to the establishment of circuit courts, and that one was accompanied by extenuating circumstances, the offender escaping with a fine. But in the spring of 1845 Joel Turnham assaulted Webley Hauxhurst with such violence that a complaint was entered against him. Turnham, being a constable, could not take himself into custody, and John Edmonds was deputed to make the arrest. Turnham resisted and attacked Edmonds,

[31] *Views of History*, MS., 41-2.

[32] Hines and Gray appraised the estate at $1,500, debts $700. Rogers' heirs resided in Utica, N. Y. *Hines' Or. Hist.*, 140.

who was compelled to fire on him, the shots resulting fatally. The grand jury found no bill against Edmonds.[33] Not long after this, Sheriff Meek had a warrant to arrest V. W. Dawson, an enemy of the government, who openly defied the organization, and would have resisted the officer had not Meek been as kind and cool as he was courageous. Dawson, finding he must submit, thereafter was a firm friend of law, and insisted that as he obeyed, every other must.

[33] *White's Concise View*, MS., 40; *Niles' Reg.*, lxviii. 393; *Kaiser's Nar.*, MS., 10, 11; *Salem Directory*, 1871.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE IMMIGRATION OF 1844.

BELLIGERENT ATTITUDE OF THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS—VANCOUVER FORTIFIED—GATHERING OF THE EMIGRANTS—THE SEVERAL DIVISIONS AND COMPANIES—THE INDEPENDENT COLONY—CORNELIUS GILLIAM—NATHANIEL FORD—THE JOURNEY—SUFFERINGS ON THE JOURNEY—THEIR DESTITUTE CONDITION—RECEPTION BY MISSIONARIES AND FUR-TRADERS—NAMES OF THE IMMIGRANTS—BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

I HAVE said that there were two sessions of the legislative committee of 1844, which adjourned from June 27th to December 16th, in order to have an opportunity of learning from the immigrants who were expected in the autumn the attitude of affairs between the rival claimants of the Oregon Territory. No less anxious than the Americans were the British subjects, who, being well informed by the belligerent speeches in congress, and the temper of the western people, began to look on their position in Oregon as insecure.

Nor was McLoughlin ignorant that the pilgrims of 1843 were prevented by circumstances rather than by will from hostile acts; and notwithstanding that the danger was averted for the time, he did not regret having written to England for protection.[1] In the summer of 1844 he had added a bastion to Fort Vancouver, and otherwise increased the defences of the place, which before was hardly in a condition to resist attack. The reason given for these preparations was the threatening demeanor of the natives of the interior, and the necessity of doing something to

[1] *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 3d ser., 12.

secure the company's property in case of an outbreak. But these explanations did not deceive the more intelligent of the Americans, and while some smiled at the admission that the Americans were feared,[2] others chose to take alarm, and to accuse the company of intending to make war on them.

Early in July 1844 a British sloop of war, the *Modeste*, Captain Thomas Baillie, carrying twenty guns, entered the Columbia, and anchored opposite Vancouver; but it does not appear from McLoughlin's papers that any proffer of protection was made, or that the sloop remained long. It is certain, however, that the board of management had been officially notified that England would not yield any of Oregon north of the Columbia, and that they were to govern themselves accordingly.

The position which the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company filled at this time was one of great delicacy and not a little dread, which every fresh intelligence from the United States or England increased. On the 24th of January Wentworth of Illinois had said in congress: "I think it our duty to speak freely and candidly, and let England know that she never can have an inch of Oregon, nor another inch of what is now claimed as the United States territory." A determination to maintain this position was the issue upon which a president of the United States was to be elected.[3] On the other hand, it had been said in the English parliament, by Sir Robert Peel, "England knows her rights and dares maintain them;"[4] and by Lord Palmerston, that if Linn's bill

[2] Gray, who seems not to understand the influence of congress on these acts of the company, attributes its defensive attitude at this time to the formation of the military force called the Oregon Rangers; and says sneeringly: 'The company had found that since the Americans began to settle in the country these Indians had become more dangerous.' *Hist. Or.*, 374–5. Blanchet takes Gray up sharply on this statement, which he seems to think is seriously meant. He says: 'It is false that the company had anything to fear from the Indians. If the fort was repaired, bastions built, and all other protective and defensive measures were completed, it was to defend itself against another kind of savageness.' *Hist. Cath. Church in Or.*, 145.

[3] *Greenhow's Or. and Cal.*, 394.

[4] *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 6.

had passed both houses of congress it would have been a declaration of war.[5] This belligerent attitude on both sides was also as well known to uneducated western men, who were capital Indian-fighters, and who had served under Jackson and Taylor, as it was to the scholarly officers of the British fur comyany.[6]

The inducement to go to Oregon was not lessened by the prospect of having to drive out the nation which had been fought at New Orleans and along the border, and a large number of people[7] collected at different points on the Missouri River, amounting in all to fourteen hundred persons. The company which rendezvoused near Weston, at a place called Capler's landing, was led by Cornelius Gilliam, who had conceived the idea of an independent colony, as best suited to his fancy and the temper of the men. The leaders of 1844 were hardly equal to those of the previous

[5] *Cong. Globe*, 1843-4, app. 98.

[6] *Minto's Early Days*, MS., 20.

[7] McLoughlin places the number of immigrants of 1844 at 1,475. *Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser., 9. A letter in the *Western, Mo., Expositor* of May 18, 1844, and dated at 'Oregon Camps' May 15th, says: 'Our company when joined with yours will be very large—much the largest that has ever crossed the Rocky Mountains. There are in the Independent Oregon Colony, at this date, 1 minister, 1 lawyer, 1 millwright, 3 millers, 1 tailor, 1 ship-carpenter, 2 blacksmiths, 1 cooper, 1 tailoress, 2 cabinet-makers, 5 carpenters, 4 wheelwrights, 2 shoemakers, 1 weaver, 1 gunsmith, 1 wagon-maker, 1 merchant, and the rest farmers. There are 48 families, 108 men (of whom 60 are young men), 323 persons; 410 oxen, 160 cows (16 of which are team cows), 143 young cattle, 54 horses, 41 mules, and 72 wagons. Many men from the adjoining counties are on their way to join us.' This letter was written by Captain Cornelius Gilliam, who was encamped with his company nine miles below St Joseph, Mo., to Captain Nathaniel Ford, who was at Independence with another company. *S. I. Friend*, Nov. 1, 1844; *N. Y. Express*, June 7, 1844; *Niles' Reg.*, lxv. 160. John Minto, who joined Gilliam's company, thinks the immigration of 1844 numbered about 800. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1876, 42. A correspondent of the *S. I. Friend*, of June 2, 1845, says there were over 600. In the message of the executive committee of December 1844 the number is estimated at upwards of 750 persons. *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 382. Elwood Evans, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1877, 26, places the number at 475. We can count 300 of Gilliam's company, before the accession of all the 87 wagons comprising it. Ford's company swelled the host to about 800, and there was still another company under John Thorp, which started from near the mouth of the Platte River, and travelled on the north side of that stream. As they would not come together until the different organizations had been much broken up, it would be difficult to judge of each other's original numbers. No count would again be made until they reached the Dalles, from which point the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company would be on the alert to ascertain their strength, for obvious reasons.

year. Nor by saying this do I mean any disrespect. They were brave, loyal, earnest, but better fitted to execute than to command; to be loyal to a government than to construct one. Their tendencies were more toward military glory than pride of statesmanship. This spirit led them to organize under military rules for their journey to the Columbia, and to elect a set of officers sufficient for an army, with Gilliam as general.

Nothing is known of Gilliam's antecedents. He was brave, obstinate, impetuous, and generous, with good natural abilities, and but little education. His accomplishments were varied; he had served in the Black Hawk war, and also in the Seminole war in Florida, as captain; he had preached the gospel of Christ; he had been sheriff of a county, and had served in the Missouri legislature. He was, indeed, just the robust, impulsive, sympathetic, wilful, and courageous leader the men of the border would choose. His aid was John Inyard.[8]

The colonel of the organization was Michael T. Simmons, uneducated, but brave and independent, who sought in emigration to Oregon recovery of fortune and health. Four captains were elected under Gilliam: R. W. Morrison, William Shaw, Richard Woodcock, and Elijah Bunton.[9] Instead of a judge advocate, with that instinct toward civil liberties which characterized the frontiersman, a court of

[8] *Minto*, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1876, 39; Letter of W. H. Rees to John Minto. Inyard had served, in a subordinate capacity, with Gilliam in the Seminole war, taking part in the battle of Okechobee. In General Taylor's report of the battle, some disobedience of Captain Gilliam, which entailed a loss of life, was mentioned, for which unfavorable report both Gilliam and Inyard bore ever after an inveterate enmity toward the future hero of the Mexican war. Inyard, according to Rees, was 'an average man of the class reared in the south-west amid the ruinous institutions of human slavery.' *Id.* This name, I find, is sometimes spelled Engart.

[9] Morrison was a thrifty farmer from the neighborhood of Weston. *Minto's Early Days*, MS., 18. Shaw was born in North Carolina, near Raleigh, in 1795; but emigrated with his father to Tennessee when a child; and again to Missouri in 1819, when the inhabitants were living in forts to protect themselves against the natives. He had fought under General Jackson in 1814–15, in the war against the Creeks and the British. *Shaw's Pioneer Life*, MS., 1, 2.

equity was established by the election of a judge, with two associate justices.[10] But the court was inoperative, martial law prevailing during the maintenance of military discipline.[11]

When the independent colony reached the buffalo grounds, Gilliam used to dash off after the game, to the disappointment of those left in charge of the train.[12] Speeches were made in camp on this subject, and some regulations were laid down for hunting, but they were not regarded; and as happened in 1843, when the Rocky Mountains had been passed, there was no longer any attempt to keep together in large companies.

The other divisions, led by Nathaniel Ford, a man of character and influence, and John Thorp, appear not to have found it necessary to burden themselves with too many regulations, and progressed well without them. Moses Harris, well known in the mountains among the fur-traders and trappers as Black Harris, acted as guide. A company under Sublette also travelled with them from the Platte to Green River. The spring was unusually rainy. By the overflowing of streams, as well as the softening of the earth, so much time was lost that by the 1st of July not more than one hundred miles in a straight course had been travelled. Yet they did not suffer themselves to be discouraged, only one man out of Gilliam's command turning back.[13] Two months of wet weather produced dysentery and rheumatism.[14] The delay occasioned by storms was so much additional time in which provisions were being consumed; hence

[10] Benjamin Nichols, judge; Joseph Gage and Theophilus Magruder, associate justices. Charles Saxton was secretary of the independent company.

[11] Clark Eades, for violating a general order, was tried before General Gilliam, and sentenced to be 'tied, and staked out in the hot sun from eleven o'clock A. M. until the going down of the same.' Letter of W. H. Rees.

[12] Frémont's Rept. for 1843–4, in *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, iv. 265.

[13] 'An Oregonian,' in *Salem Will. Farmer*, Dec. 17, 1875.

[14] Sublette's company consisted of 22 men, 11 of whom were travelling for their health. Three of these died within a few days of each other: Marshall, June 27th, Ketchum, July 3d, Browning, July 7th. *Clyman's Note Book*, MS., 22, 25, 26. A Mr Barnett of the emigration died at Green River, of typhoid fever. *Id.*

at Fort Laramie many families were already without flour, and compelled to purchase it at thirty and forty dollars a barrel. Sugar could be procured only at a dollar and a half a pint.

The route from Green River to Fort Hall was the same opened the year before by way of Fort Bridger. Many were bitterly disappointed on reaching this point to be told that they were then only half-way to their destination; and a small company of men without families abandoned their wagons two days west of this post, and prepared to travel with horses only.[15] They reached Fort Hall on the 10th of September, finding flour at this place too high for their means. Gilliam's wagons arrived here the 16th, where a letter awaited them from Burnett, advising them, if they were likely to need assistance before reaching the Columbia, to send word to the settlers. As it was manifest that assistance would be needed, a party of young men were sent forward on horses, who reached Oregon City on the 18th of October. These were John Minto,[16]

[15] Of this company was James Clyman, who kept a daily journal or note-book, which has fortunately been preserved through many vicissitudes, and which I have found very useful. Besides the incidents of the journey, it contains many instructive remarks on the country traversed; and an account of affairs in the Oregon colony during the winter of 1844–5. Clyman was a Virginian by birth, but emigrated from Stark County, Ohio.

[16] John Minto became well known and highly esteemed in Oregon. He was of English birth and education, a native of Wylam on the Tyne, in Northumberland, born Oct. 10, 1822. He came to the United States in 1840, and settled at Pittsburgh, Pa., as a coal-miner. From Pennsylvania he went to St Louis in the spring of 1844, on his way to the frontier of Iowa, and learned at this place of the emigration to Oregon, which he determined to join. Having no means to procure an outfit, he engaged with R. W. Morrison to drive team and make himself useful, for his passage and board. It is to *Minto's Early Days*, a manuscript by his own hand, that I am chiefly indebted for the account of Gilliam's company. It contains, besides, valuable remarks on the political situation of 1844–6, on the industries of the country and stock-raising, and on the social condition of the colonists, with other miscellaneous matter. Minto married Miss Martha A. Morrison when they had been about three years in Oregon, and they went to reside near Salem. Minto has been a useful, intelligent, and every way an exemplary builder on the edifice of a new state; a farmer, stock-raiser, and editor; public-spirited in every position he has been called upon to fill. Mrs Minto is known throughout the state for her fearless vindication of what she esteems the right; and has been called the 'musket-member' of the Woman's Suffrage Association of Oregon. According to Minto, her mother carried, or at least was furnished with, a rifle, on her journey to Oregon, which she was competent to use had it been necessary. Mrs Minto has, as well as her husband, furnished a manuscript to my collec-

Samuel B. Crockett, and Daniel Clark. According to Clyman, they encountered at the Grand Rond James Waters of the previous emigration, who was going to meet his family, and who supplied them with provisions for the remainder of their journey.[17]

Ford's company, being in advance of Gilliam's, also sent three young men to the Willamette Valley with Minto's party. Snow had now begun to fall in the mountains while a large part of the emigration was between Fort Boisé and the Dalles. The misery entailed upon the belated travellers by the change to winter weather was indescribable.[18] The road from

tion. It was taken from her lips by a stenographer at a meeting of the Pioneer Association in 1878, and is called *Female Pioneering*. As it gives the woman's view of frontier life, it is especially valuable—few records having been made of the trials which women were called upon to endure in the settlement of the Pacific States.

[17] Minto compares the warm interest and sympathy exhibited by Waters with the chilling indifference and absolute ignoring of their presence or their wants by the missionaries Waller and Brewer at the Dalles. Clyman, who brought letters to the missionaries, and who was a few days ahead of Minto's party, remarks that he was not thanked for the trouble of carrying them from the States, which he attributes to his travel-worn and unshaven appearance. *Note Book*, MS., 68.

[18] Joseph Watt, born in Ohio, author of a manuscript called *First Things*, gives an account of the incoming of 1844, and of the importation of sheep from the States by himself in 1847, the erection of the first woollen-mills in Oregon, and other first things, and describes his passage from Burnt River to the Willamette. Watt was then a young man and poorly equipped for such a journey, but drove an ox-team as far as Burnt River. Here, probably because he thought there were too many mouths for the provisions, he went forward, afoot and alone. At the end of the first day he found a cabin, occupied by Blakeley, an emigrant who gave him a few crusts. Bowman, a destitute traveller, joined Watt, and they walked on together until they overtook Ford's company, from whom they obtained one meal. In the Grand Rond they lost their way, but regaining the road, met a family named Walker, who had nothing to eat, and thought of killing their oxen. Being overtaken by others who still had a little food, they begged them to divide; but want and fear had hardened their hearts, and they refused. The pedestrians made a fire of green wood, before which they sat throughout the night drying their wet clothing; and in the morning found it snowing. Then, with soleless shoes and pantaloons half gone, they renewed their journey. Bowman had a family whom he left with the wagons while he hastened on to procure assistance. Says Watt: 'I think there were snow-flakes as large as my hat, and it was damp snow. Bowman was speculating what he and his son "Billy" could do when they got down to the valley. Waters, whom we had met on Powder River, had told him it was worth so much a hundred to make rails; and, says he, "Billy and I can make lots of money at that. Whiskey-barrels are worth so much; whiskey is worth something. I can make whiskey." Says I, "You old fool, you will never get out of these mountains!"' Proceeding, sometimes bewildered on account of the trail being hidden by snow, they came to the camp of some

Burnt River to the Dalles was a panorama of suffering and destitution, and the rear of the caravan remained at Whitman's over winter.[19] Shaw, who turned aside to Whitman's station to lay in provisions, left there a family of seven children named Sager, whose parents had died on the road, the father while the company was at Green River, and the mother two weeks later. These children were adopted by Dr Whitman.[20] Shaw failed to reach the Willamette that season, as some of his family were prostrated by sickness, and he remained until March 1845 at the Dalles, with several other families.[21]

Two or more small mounted parties, the first to reach the Dalles, took the cattle trail round the base of Mount Hood, and arrived safely in the valley. But the later comers feared this route on account of the advanced season. The families were assisted in descending the Columbia by the loan of boats belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company;[22] and the cattle were crossed by swimming to the north side of the river, driven down to Vancouver, and recrossed in

immigrants who gave them supper and breakfast. On reaching Umatilla they were joined by a man named Nash. They had also the good fortune to kill a dozen sage-hens. At a Cayuse camp they borrowed a large kettle and made a stew of chicken and potatoes, purchased of the natives with an extra shirt. At Waiilatpu Whitman gave them some corn meal. A cow which belonged to Watt was sold to the doctor for provisions to take them to the Dalles. An immigrant, Barton Lee, was engaged to transport them, and a horse was hired of Adams. At the Dalles they found the fur company's bateaux, which had been placed at the service of certain persons to bring down the immigration with a view to assist them; but for a passage on which they were charged six dollars each by those having them in charge. 'I had no money,' says Watt, 'and they told me if the other passengers would board me they would take me down, but I must sing whenever I was ordered. They called me the "figure-head." On the 16th of November I arrived at Oregon City.' *First Things*, MS., 1–7.

[19] *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 21, 1849.

[20] *Shaw's Pioneer Life*, MS., 13.

[21] Shaw says in his *Pioneer Life*, MS., 14–18, which is a comparison of pioneer life in the western states and Oregon, with a narrative of the incidents of the emigration, that in March he went down the Columbia to a place seventeen miles above Vancouver, where he made shingles for the Hudson's Bay Company, to pay what he owed them for provisions and clothing furnished him while at the Dalles. In September he removed to the Willamette Valley, where he rented the farm of Beers for one year. The next year he bought a farm of a French Canadian, ten miles north of Salem, where he made his permanent residence.

[22] *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser., 9.

boats, as they had been the previous year. The scenes of suffering at the Cascades in 1843 were repeated in 1844. Minto, who it will be remembered hastened to the Willamette for help for his employer and friends, tells us that on returning with a boat-load of provisions to the Cascades he found "men in the prime of life lying among the rocks seeming ready to die. I found there mothers with their families, whose husbands were snow-bound in the Cascade Mountains, without provisions, and obliged to kill and eat their game dogs. Mrs Morrison had traded her only dress except the one she wore for a bag of potatoes. There was scarcely a dry day, and the snow-line was nearly down to the river."[23]

In such a plight did the immigration of 1844, which set out with high hopes to plant an independent colony in Oregon, find itself on reaching the promised land. The loss of life had been light notwithstanding the hardships of the journey;[24] but the loss of property in cattle, clothing, and household and other goods had been great, to the ruin of many. The cattle had become fat during the weeks of detention on the grassy plains, and were unfit for the hard work of hauling loaded wagons for the remainder of the summer. Many died of exhaustion, some were taken by the natives, who, although not in open hostility, were troublesome at several places on the route, at the Kansas agency, at Laramie, in the Cayuse country, and on the Columbia;[25] although White had deputized

[23] *Camp-fire Orations*, MS., 15.

[24] Besides Barnette, Thomas Vance, Mr and Mrs Sager, and a young girl mentioned in Mrs Minto's *Female Pioneering*, MS., I find no other deaths noted in the several manuscripts and books referring to this immigration. All the others came through to Oregon, except a party of eighteen who turned off on the California road after passing Fort Hall. This party had thirteen wagons, the first to enter California from the United States. The names of the party were Townsend, James Montgomery, John Greenwood, Britian Greenwood, and another Greenwood, John Sullivan and brother, Dennis Martin, John Martin, Murphy and four sons, Jackson, Stevens, and Hitchcock. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1876, 42.

[25] Clyman relates that the Cayuses were very anxious to know of him when the wagons and stock might be expected, as they wished to exchange horses for cattle; but that although they had horses to sell, they did not refrain from

H. A. G. Lee to be among the Cayuses during the passage of the immigration, and to assist in the purchase of cattle with the ten-dollar drafts mentioned in a previous chapter—a device which proved unsuccessful, as the immigrants preferred their cattle to the drafts. The natives were able, however, to sell their crops to the immigrants for good prices, by exchanging wheat, corn, and potatoes for clothing and other articles. Not being able to buy cattle, they stole them;[26] and unable to purchase American horses with their less valuable ponies, they stole those also, until the immigrants, losing patience, retaliated, and took Indian horses regardless of individual ownership; and became robbers in their turn, without reflecting upon the evil consequences which were likely to fall upon the next immigration; savages being like civilized men in this respect, that they are ready to punish misconduct in others for which in themselves they find ample excuse.

The condition of the immigrants of 1844, after they had passed all the perils of the journey to Oregon,

stealing his fine but half-starved mare—they having burned off the grass to annoy the immigrants. *Nots Book*, MS., 65.

[26] H. A. G. Lee, an immigrant of 1843, was much esteemed for his probity and intelligence in the management of public affairs. His name appears frequently in the public prints. Burnett remarks on the justness of his views of the Indian character, and the impending Indian troubles. Lee says in his report on the affairs of 1844: 'The immigrants are still very imprudent in breaking off into small parties, just when they should remain united. . .These robbers furnish us a true miniature likeness of the whole Indian population whenever they fail to obtain such things as they wish in exchange for such as they have to give. These are robbers now because they have nothing to give; all others will be robbers when, with what they have to give, they can not procure what they wish. . . The next immigration will, in all probability, call forth developments of Indian character which have been almost denied an existence among these people. Indeed, sir, had you not taken the precaution to conciliate their good feelings and friendship toward the whites just at the time they were meeting each other, it is to be doubted whether there had not been some serious difficulty. Individuals on both sides have been mutually provoked and exasperated during the passage of each immigration, and these cases are constantly multiplying. Much prudence is required on the part of the whites, and unfortunately they have very little by the time they reach the Columbia Valley. Some of the late immigrants, losing their horses, and naturally supposing them stolen by the Indians, went to the bands of horses owned by the Indians and took as many as they wished. You are too well acquainted with Indians to suppose that such a course can be persisted in without producing serious results.' *White's Concise View*, 61; *Burnett's Rec. of a Pioneer*, 245–6.

was worse than that of 1843, for the reason that there had not been time for the country to recover from the draft upon its resources made the year previous. Thanks to the fertility of the soil, and to the good judgment of McLoughlin in encouraging farming, there was food enough for all, though many lived on short rations rather than to incur debt. But the great want of the new-comers was clothing. All the goods in the several stores had long been exhausted; even at Vancouver there was no stock on hand except the reserved cargo, which was not opened when the immigration arrived.[27] Clothing was made by putting piece to piece without regard to color or texture; and moccasons, which took the place of boots and shoes, were the almost universal foot-covering. A tannery had been begun in the summer, in the neighborhood of Burnett's farm, but the autumn supply of leather, besides being inadequate, was only half tanned, and had a raw streak in the centre.

This destitution, while there was a year's supply in the warehouses at Vancouver, occasioned complaints on the part of the less reasonable of the immigrants, who were unable to see why they should not receive as many favors from the Hudson's Bay Company as those of the previous year had had, under the same circumstances. McLoughlin had, with his usual sagacity, foreseen that there would be this feeling, and while prepared to defend the company's property from pillage in case of a collision with the immigrants, sought by every means to cultivate a friendly feeling.

[27] Minto describes his costume when he went to Vancouver to receive the boat and cargo which he took up the Columbia. His pantaloons were ripped up to the knees; he had no coat, having worn out the one he started with; a blanket obtained at Vancouver was doubled across his shoulders over a string. His feet were nearly bare, and became quite so before he returned from his expedition. *Minto's Female Pioneering*, MS., 18, 19. Mrs Minto says: 'There was but one bolt of calico in the whole of Oregon that we could hear of, and that was at Astoria. . . The next summer my sister and I gathered a barrel of cranberries and sent them to Oregon City, and got a little blue drilling which made us a covering.' *Id.*, 10. The dearth of goods affected all classes. Parrish says that in 1844 he wore an old coat which he brought from New York in 1839, and pantaloons made of English duffle, 'a kind of coarse cloth similar to our horse-blankets,' with a buckskin vest and moccasons. *Id.*, 20.

Minto relates that when Gilliam was at the Dalles he received a present of food and clothing from the gentlemen at Vancouver; and remarks that although kindly meant, it was a mistake on the part of the company, as it led to the discussion of subjects connected with the politics of the country, which were being forgotten in their more present anxieties, and to a great deal of gossip concerning the meaning of the recent action of the company in strengthening their defences, of which they had been informed, and also of the visit of the *Modeste*. These conversations were so frequent that the naturally generous Gilliam, whose prejudices were becoming softened, was led to declare at the Cascades that although willing to live in peace with the Hudson's Bay Company so long as they kept within their treaty rights, he would have no hesitation in knocking their stockade about their ears if they did not carry themselves properly.[28]

But it would have been strange if the generous assistance which extended to everything except opening their storehouse against rules and without pay, and the untiring courtesy of McLoughlin and his associate, Douglas, could not have removed many of the preconceived and ill-founded notions of these western Americans.[29] But the conflict which impended it was impossible to avoid by anything less than an admission that to the United States belonged the whole of Oregon, and that the company occupied the country temporarily under a convention which could be annulled at any time—an admission they

[28] *Early Days*, MS., 27.

[29] Minto mentions this case: 'The doctor was standing on the porch of the main house, and motioned us to come to him. He asked us if we were the young men from Linnton who had come up with their boat. We said we were. He told us to go to that house, pointing to the door of bachelor's hall, when the dinner-bell rung. We thanked him, and as we were leaving he called to us and said: "Maybe you would like to write to your friends in the east. We are going to send an express down to the mouth of the river, and there will be no other opportunity for sending letters for six months." I replied that as I had no writing materials I could not accept the favor offered; he immediately sent a servant to bring us paper, pens, and ink; and I wrote to my father the first letter since leaving home.' *Female Pioneering*, MS., 17, 18.

were not prepared to make until instructed by the British government to do so.

McLoughlin was very desirous that the immigration should find homes south of the Columbia River; first, because he believed that was their proper place of settlement, under an American form of government; but principally, as he alleged, because contact with the free and independent frontier men would destroy the spirit of obedience for which the company's servants were remarkable, and on which the success and prosperity of the company depended. To his great dissatisfaction, a considerable number encamped for the winter at Washougal, about seventeen miles above Vancouver, on the north bank of the river. They were some of those most thoroughly imbued with the Bentonian idea of American proprietorship, and soon found means of expressing that idea according to their several natures.

Elwood Evans states that Michael T. Simmons and his company, who were among those at Washougal, had first designed to settle in the Rogue River Valley; but that finding McLoughlin anxious to have the Americans settle on the south side of the Columbia, determined to locate himself and company on the north side of the river. According to Evans, who had means of obtaining his information from Simmons himself, the latter, after deciding to take a look at the Puget Sound region, applied to McLoughlin to furnish his family winter quarters in the fort; the request was refused unless he would agree to live on the south side of the river—a promise which Simmons would not give. A cabin outside the fort was finally obtained, and his family established in its shelter, when Simmons set out for Puget Sound, accompanied by Henry Williamson, Henry, James, and John Owens, and James Lewis. They proceeded no farther than the forks of the Cowlitz River, sixteen miles north of the Columbia, when finding their provisions becoming exhausted, and the journey excessively difficult, owing

both to the nature of the country and the severe weather, they returned to Washougal, where they passed the remainder of the winter and the first part of summer in making shingles, which they sold to the fur company, or in any employment they could find to pay expenses.

In February, Henry Williamson, who was from La Porte County, Indiana, and Isaac W. Alderman, erected a hut with a few logs, half a mile from Vancouver, on land occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, and posted a notice on a tree that they intended to claim the land. This being reported to McLoughlin, he sent men to remove the logs and take down the notice; which removal was hardly completed when the intruders returned with a surveyor, and began running off a section of land. Being remonstrated with, Williamson and Alderman repaired to the fort to argue their case with the doctor. According to White, Williamson, "a modest and respectable young man, demeaned himself with propriety;" but Alderman, "a boisterious, hare-brained young fellow, caused him to blush for American honor."[30]

There were present at this interview, besides White, a number of Americans, and several officers of the fur company. Williamson asked McLoughlin why his hut had been pulled down. McLoughlin replied that it was because it was on land occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, who were conducting business under a license from the British government, according to a treaty which implied a right to occupy as much ground as they required. This Williamson disputed,[31] and the argument lasted two hours, McLoughlin and Douglas keeping their temper very well, but Alderman declaring that if he were dis-

[30] *Ten Years in Or.*, 251. According to Burnett, Alderman was a violent and unprincipled character, who soon made himself notorious. He went to California in 1848, and was killed in December of that year by Charles E. Pickett at Sutter Fort, under circumstances that justified the homicide. *Recollections of a Pioneer*, 242-4; *Crawford's Nar.*, MS., 144.

[31] *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser., 10.

turbed in the possession of the land he would "burn the finest building in Oregon," which was thought to mean that he would set fire to the fort. Finding that the young men would not yield, and irritated beyond measure, McLoughlin then declared if Williamson, who seems to have been regarded as the principal in the case, persisted in building there, he should be obliged to use force in preventing him; but offered, if he would choose a location somewhere else, away from any of the company's posts, to assist him in establishing himself; saying, as a reason for desiring his removal, that it was necessary to good order and discipline that their servants should be isolated from the settlements. Williamson, however, disclaimed any responsibility for the conduct of the company's servants, or any desire to influence them; and asserted his ability to get on without the assistance offered him, as well as his right, as an American citizen, to settle upon any unoccupied land in Oregon. Upon this, Chief Factor Douglas, justice of the peace under the Canadian laws, threatened to place him in irons and send him to York factory for trial; whereupon Williamson retorted, "You will have to send me farther north than Hudson Bay to place me beyond the reach of the United States government"[32]—with which challenge the interview terminated.[33]

Immediately after, McLoughlin and Douglas addressed a circular to the citizens of Oregon, in which they recited the case of Williamson, and stated their position. The settlement was made at Vancouver under a license and a treaty which gave them the right to occupy as much land as they required for the operation of their business. They had opened roads, and made other improvements at great expense; no

[32] *Minto's Early Days*, MS., 28–9,

[33] White says he had a private interview with Williamson and Alderman, 'which resulted in a suspension of hostilities for the present.' Official report, in *Ten Years in Or.*, 252. I think he did all he could to preserve the peace in these threatening times. In his anxiety he wrote to the secretary of war that too great a portion of the population came from the western states 'for one moment's safety in our present condition.' *Concise View*, MS., 53.

officers of either government had questioned their right; their presence and business in the country were a manifest advantage to it, and a protection to the American as well as to the British settler. They had given assistance to both, and had done all they could do to develop the resources of the country. The land they occupied on the north bank of the river was indispensable to them as a range for their flocks and herds, and of little value for agricultural purposes, being in part inundated every summer, and in part forest land. They could not submit to the infringement of their right to occupy this land, and, as representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company, were bound to use every means sanctioned by the law against trespassers on their premises, until otherwise directed by the company. Yet it was their earnest wish to be at peace with all. They entertained the highest respect for the temporary government established by the American citizens.[34] The advantages of peace and harmony were evident, as were the dangers of lawlessness and misrule; and they felt confident that all persons desiring the well-being of the country would determine to unite in putting down every course tending to disturb the public peace, and in the support of justice, obedience to law, and mutual good-will. The circular closed with a fervent prayer to the divine bestower of all good, for the happiness and prosperity of the whole community. A letter was at the same time addressed to the executive committee, informing them of the intrusion of Williamson on their premises, and enclosing a copy of the circular, which explained the course they were bound to pursue in the event of the provisional government declining to interfere.

The reply of the executive committee was couched in terms altogether conciliatory. They regretted that "unwarranted liberties" had been taken by an Amer-

[34] This allusion was introduced because the supporters of the organization were making efforts to induce the British subjects to unite with them, which they still declined doing, through fear of being considered disloyal.

ican citizen upon the premises of the British company; expressed pleasure at learning that Williamson had finally desisted;[35] and thanked McLoughlin for his "kind and candid manner" of treating a "breach of the laws of the United States, by setting at naught her most solemn treaties with Great Britain." They promised to use every exertion to put down causes of disturbance, and reciprocated the desire for a continuance of the amicable intercourse which had heretofore existed, which they would endeavor to promote "until the United States shall extend its jurisdiction over us, and our authority ceases to exist."

The admissions made in the answer of the executive committee were not pleasing to the majority of the Americans in the country, who contended, as did Williamson, that the treaty gave no vested rights, as neither the sovereignty of the soil nor the boundary line was determined, and joint occupancy left all free to go wherever they desired. Some of the more careful and conservative argued that joint occupancy did not mean the occupancy of the same place by both nations, but only the equal privilege of settling where they would not interfere with each other, the first party in possession being entitled to hold until the question of sovereignty was settled. The affair gave rise to much discussion, not only among Americans themselves, but between Americans and the gentlemen of the British company; and while the arguments were conducted with courtesy, and each side was able to learn something from the other, which softened the arrogance of national pride and pretensions, the main question of difference—the propriety of making the Columbia River practically a boundary so long as the sovereignty of the country remained undecided—continued to agitate the new-comers, and to interest every inhabitant of Oregon.

Mr Applegate, commenting on the relative positions of the American and British debaters, has said

[35] A second letter informed them that Williamson had withdrawn.

that gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company who took part in these discussions were more scholarly and accomplished than their antagonists, but the Americans were better informed on the technicalities of the points in dispute. The British in Oregon had also a local weak point to defend. They had been ordered by the board of management to remove their establishments on the south side of the Columbia to the north side, but had not done so, and were occupying territory supposed to belong to the United States, when they forcibly ejected an American citizen from the territory they claimed for Great Britain.[36] This gave color to the opinion of some that England intended, or the Hudson's Bay Company for her, to attempt holding the whole of Oregon in case of a war, which really seemed impending at this time, and it gave occasion to men like Williamson and Simmons to assert a right to settle wherever they might chose, if their reason for choosing was only to defy the power of England.

In July Colonel Simmons renewed his endeavor to explore the country toward or about Puget Sound, and started with a company consisting of William Shaw, George Waunch, David Crawford, Niniwon Everman, Seyburn Thornton, and David Parker. They found at a small prairie five miles north of the plain on which the Cowlitz farm of the Puget Sound Association was situated, and ten miles from Cowlitz landing, that John R. Jackson of their immigration had been before them, made a location at this place,[37] and had returned to bring his family. Jackson made his settlement in the autumn, which he called Highlands.

Continuing to the sound, the party took canoes and made a voyage down to and around the head of

[36] *Views of History*, MS., 43.

[37] *Olympia Columbian*, in *Alta California*, Nov. 2, 1852. Jackson was born in Yorkshire, England, where he was a butcher's apprentice. He kept a way-side inn on the road from Cowlitz landing to Olympia, and was a popular man with the settlers, though too much given to his potations. *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 74.

Whidbey Island, returning through Deception Pass to the east channel, and thence back the way they came to the Columbia River. In this expedition Simmons ascertained the advantages of the sound for commerce, and determined to settle there. In October he removed his family[38] to the head of Budd Inlet, where he took a claim which he called Newmarket, at the falls of Des Chutes River, where there was a fine water power. He was accompanied by James McAllister and family, David Kindred and family, Gabriel Jones and family, George W. Bush and family,[39] Jesse Furguson, and Samuel B. Crockett. This small company cut a road for their wagons through the dense forests between the Cowlitz landing and the plains at the head of the sound, a distance of sixty miles, in the short space of fifteen days. All settled within a circuit of six miles; and the first house erected was upon the claim of David Kindred, about two miles south of the present town of Tumwater,[40] the Newmarket of Simmons. Besides the half-dozen families above mentioned, and the two men without families who settled about the head of the sound in 1845, a few others were looking for locations in that country, three of whom were Wood, Kimball,[41] and Gordon.

Thus, by an effort to avoid the censure of the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, some of whom had influence with members of the British cabinet,[42] by keeping American settlers south of the Columbia River, McLoughlin provoked their

[38] While at Washougal, in April, Mrs Simmons gave birth to a son, who was named Christopher, the first child of American parents born in that part of Oregon north of the Columbia River.

[39] Bush was a mulatto, owning considerable property; a good man and kind neighbor. It is said he settled north of the Columbia because of the law against the immigration of negroes passed by the legislative committee of 1844. He took a claim near Olympia which bears his name, and where his family long resided.

[40] *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 281–2 Tumwater in the Chinook dialect means rapids; literally 'falling water.'

[41] *Clyman's Note Book*, MS., 100; *Tolmie's Hist. Puget Sound*, MS., 21. Tolmie is one year too early in his dates.

[42] *Applegate's Views of History*, MS., 43.

opposition and hastened the beginning of their occupancy in the region about that beautiful inland sea, which the company had no doubt at that time would come into the possession of Great Britain.[43]

With the exceptions mentioned, the immigrants of 1844 settled in the Willamette Valley the same autumn. The following summer a number went to California, the party being headed by James Clyman. They rendezvoused at La Creole River,[44] in what is now Polk County, starting thence the 8th of June, the company consisting of thirty-nine men, one woman, and three children.[45] Besides the overland immigration,[46] but few persons arrived this year by sea; and

[43] *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 60.

[44] Incorrectly called Rickreall by many, and so printed on the maps.

[45] The names of the party are not given in *Clyman's Note Book*, MS., except incidentally. He there mentions McMahan, Frazier, Sears, Owens, and Sumner. See also *McKay's Recollections*, MS., 3. The party arrived without accident at Sutter Fort July 12th. Clyman returned to the United States in 1846, in company with J. M. Hudspeth, Owen Sumner and family, L. W. Hastings, and James W. Marshall. Clyman afterward emigrated to California, and settled in Napa Valley.

[46] The following incomplete list contains besides those who went to Oregon many who turned off for California: T. M. Adams, Isaac W. Alderman, Asbill, Franklin Asbill, Pierce Asbill, Blakely, J. L. Barlow, William Bowman, sen., William Bowman, jun., Ira Bowman, Barnette, Francis Bordran, James Burton, Joseph Bartrough, William Burris, William Bray, Ed. Bertrand, Elijah Bunton, Joseph Bunton, William Bunton, Henry Bogus, Peter Bonnin, Charles Buich, Nathan Bayard, A. H. Beers, Adam Brown, Thomas Brown, George W. Bush, Solomon Beiners, Charles H. Burch, William R. Barsham, Charles Bennett, J. M. Bennet, Thomas Boggs, Lewis Crawford, Dennis Clark, Joseph Caples, Charles Caples, Hezekiah Caples, David Crawford, Daniel Clark, Joel Crisman, Gabriel Crisman, William Crisman, Aaron Chamberlain, William Clemens, James Clyman, Patrick Conner, Samuel B. Crockett, Clemens, James Cave, William M. Case, N. R. Dougherty, Daniel Durbin, V. W. Dawson, Edward Dupuis, James Davenport, L. Everhart, Moses Eades, E. Emery, J. Emery, C. Emery, Niniwon Everman, C. Everman, John Eades, Abraham Eades, Henry Eades, Clark Eades, Solomon Eades, Richard Eough, Robert Eddy, Hiram English, John Ellick, John Fleming, Charles Forrest, Jesse Ferguson, J. Fuller, B. Frost, John Fielden, M. C. Fielden, M. G. Foisy, James Fruit, 'Doc' Fruit, Nathaniel Ford, Mark Ford, I. N. Gilbert, David Grant, Mitchell Gilliam, Cornelius Gilliam, Smith Gilliam, William Gilliam, Porter Gilliam, Joseph Gage, William Gage, Jesse Gage, David Goff, W. H. Goodwin, Gillespie, James Gavish, John Gavish, N. Gilmore, Charles Gilmore, Gibbon, Samuel Goodhue, J. Graves, S. C. Graves, Samuel Goff, Marion Goff, Martin Gillahan, William Gillihan, John Greenwood, Britain Greenwood, Greenwood, Golding, J. Hillhouse, Alanson Hinman, M. M. Harris, John Harris, Adam Hewett, Hutchison, Hamilton, Hitchock, George Hanna, D. B. Hanna, T. S. Hedges, Jacob Hutton, T. Holt, James Harper, Herman Higgins, William Higgins, Fleming R. Hill, J. C. Hawley, J. H. Hawly, George Hibler, Jacob Hampton, William Herring, Hamilton, Joseph Holman, Jacob Hoover, James

those came in the brig *Chenamus*, Captain Couch, from Newburyport, to the Hawaiian Islands, and thence to

Hunt, Norris Humphrey, Jacob Hammer, John Inyard, Abraham Inyard, Peter Inyard, William R. Johnson, James Johnson, Thomas Jeffries, Daniel Johnson, James Johnson, David Johnson, John R. Jackson, Gabriel Jones, John H. P. Jackson, David Jenkins, Willis Jenkins, Henry C. Jenkins, William Jenkins, David Kindred, Charles Kerbs, Bartholomew Kindred, John Kindred, Alexander Kirk, Daniel D. Kinsey, Barton B. Lee, James Loomis, John Lousenaute, Charles Lewis, William Morgan, Theophilus Magruder, Ed. B. Magruder, John Minto, Robert Miller, Elisha McDaniel, Joshua McDaniel, James W. Marshall, Lafayette Moreland, Elisha McDaniel, Nehemiah Martin, Samuel McSwain, Westly Mulkey, J. Mulkey, Luke Mulkey, P. P. Mulkey, Murray, Mudgett, Murphy (father and four sons), John Martin, Dennis Martin, J. McKinley, McMahan, James McAllister, R. W. Morrison, Michael Moor, James Montgomery, John Nichols, Frank Nichols, Benjamin Nichols, George Neal, Attey Neal, Calvin Neal, Robert Neal, Alexander Neal, Peter Neal, George Nelson, Cyrus S. Nelson, Richard Owe, Ruel Owless, John Owens, Henry Owens, James Owens, R. Olds, John Owens, Patrick O'Conner, Priest, Joseph Parrott, William Prater, Theodore Prater, Joel Perkins, sen., Joel Perkins, jun., John Perkins, E. E. Parrish, Gabriel Parrish, Samuel Packwood, William Packwood, R. K. Payne, Eben Pettie, Amab Pettie, David Parker, Jeremiah Rowland, Levi L. Rowland, Benj. M. Robinson, 'Mountain' Robinson, Roberts, Mac Rice, Parton Rice, 'Fatty' Robinson, Ramsey, Willard H. Rees, Rice, Robbin (colored), Ramsdell, Jackson Shelton, William Sebring, Springer, Henry Saffron, William Smith, Vincent Snelling, Benjamin Snelling, James Stewart, William Saunders, James B. Stephens, J. S. Smith, Charles Smith, Peter Smith, William Shaw, Joshua Shaw, A. R. C. Shaw, Washington Shaw, Thomas C. Shaw, B. F. Shaw, Texas Smith, Sager, Charles Saxton, Scott (colored), Snooks, Noyes Smith, Levi Scott, John Scott, Joseph W. Scott, William Scott, John A. Stoughton, Franklin Sears, Stephens, John Sullivan, Sullivan, Michael T. Simmons, Seyburn P. Thornton, John Travers, John Thorp, Alvin E. Thorp, Theodore Thorp, Long Tucker, Cooper Y. Trues, O. S. Thomas, Mortimer Thorp, Milton Thorp, Benjamin Tucker, Dr Townsend, Thomas M. Vance, George Waunch, Williams, Harrison Wright, Richard Woodcock, James Walker, sen., James Walker, jun., Robert Walker, Poe Williams, Thomas Werner, James Welch, Henry Williamson, Joseph Watt, M. M. Warnsbough, Samuel Walker, William Wilson,

Samuel Packwood and William Packwood, brothers, emigrated from Missouri in 1844. They were two of a family of fifteen children, eight of whom were sons of Elisha Packwood of Patrick County, Virginia. In 1819 the father removed to Indiana, and in 1834 to Missouri. Seven of the eight sons and two of their seven sisters emigrated to the Pacific coast, but not all in the same year. Of Samuel I know nothing except that he came to Oregon. William was born in Patrick County, Virginia, in 1813, and removed with the family to Missouri. After reaching Oregon he remained in the Willamette Valley until 1847, when he removed to Puget Sound, and settled on the Nisqually River, being the first *bona fide* American settler north of Olympia. Others of the Packwood family emigrated to Oregon in 1845, and will be noticed hereafter. A few names of women have been added to the roll: Mrs W. M. Case, Miss Amanda Thorp, Mrs Benj. Tucker, Miss Eliza Snelling, Miss Henrietta Gilliam, Mrs Vincent Snelling, Mrs Herman Higgins, Mrs Jacob Hammer, Mrs Joshua Shaw, Mrs D. Johnson, all of whom were in Major Thorp's company. Mrs McDaniel, Jenny Fuller, and the families before referred to, namely, Morrison, Jackson, Simmons, McAllister, Kindred, Jones, Shaw, are all who have been mentioned. There are the names of two negro women, Eliza and Hannah, put down on the roll, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1876, 40–2.

the Columbia River.[47] They were William Cushing, son of Caleb Cushing, and Henry Johnson, clerk in the establishment of Cushing and Company at Oregon City. A small fishery was established by this firm, between Astoria and Tongue Point, on the lower Columbia, from which the *Chenamus* took a cargo the following year, having made one or more voyages to the Islands in the mean time. The *Chenamus* was the only American vessel bringing a cargo to Oregon in 1844. On her return to Newburyport she took Cushing and Johnson home, and was commanded by Captain Sylvester, formerly of the *Pallas*, Captain Couch remaining in Oregon in charge of the company's business. Neither the vessel, her captain, nor Johnson was ever again on the Pacific coast.[48]

[47] Horace Holden and May Holden, his wife, came from the Hawaiian Islands in the *Chenamus*, Captain Couch, with Babcock and Hines, when they returned to Oregon after hearing of the appointment of a new superintendent of the Mission. Holden was a native of Hillsborough, New Hampshire, born in 1810. He took to seafaring, and while roaming about the ocean was cast away on one of the Pelew Islands, and enslaved by the natives for three years. On being rescued and returning to New England, he published an account of his adventures, called *Holden's Narrative of Shipwreck and Captivity among the Savages*. In 1837 he went to the Islands with the design of introducing silk culture and manufacture, but the scheme failed. He then engaged in sugar-planting on the island of Kauai, the plantation of Kalloa, in which he was interested, being the first sugar-making plantation on the Islands. By the representations of Dr Babcock he was induced to remove to Oregon, which he professes never to have liked on account of the rainy winters. Holden settled near Salem on a farm, and engaged in cattle-raising and grain and fruit growing. *Holden's Oregon Pioneering*, MS., from which the above is taken, contains little more than his personal experience, and while it affords a plan on which a book might be written equal to many of the most interesting narrations of adventure, contributes little that is of value to this history. See *Hines' Or. Hist.*, 233.

[48] It is said that Sylvester and Johnson sailed for the Columbia River 'in a small vessel, deeply laden, which was never heard from;' but whether the *Chenamus* was the vessel I have no information. Her name appears no more on the shipping-list; but in her place next came the brig *Henry*. A glimpse here and there of the after lives of the pioneers of 1844—for all were pioneers before 1850—will give us a necessary clew to the manner of life of those who go forth to clear the way for their more favored brethren to follow, as well as the time and manner of their death.

M. G. Foisy, who came to Oregon in 1844, was the first printer in the territory after Hall, who visited Lapwai from the Islands in 1841. Mr Foisy set up the book of Matthew as translated into the Nez Percé language by the Presbyterian missionaries, and printed on the little press presented to this mission by the native church of Honolulu, which press is now preserved in the state archives at Salem. He afterward went to California, where he worked at Monterey in the office of *The Californian* in the English and Spanish languages, merged later into the *Alta California*.

Pierce Asbill was born in Howard County, Missouri, in October 1835, whence he emigrated, with his parents, in 1844. In 1849 the family removed to California, finally settling in Sonoma County, since which time they have been engaged in various vocations, but principally in stock-raising. In their expeditions through the country Frank M. Asbill, in 1854, discovered Round Valley in California.

Daniel Clark, a native of King County, Ireland, was born Feb. 14, 1824. His father emigrated to Quebec in 1828, and went from Canada to Missouri in 1836. At 13 Daniel was impelled to begin life for himself, and engaged with a neighbor for 8 dollars a month to cut cord-wood. At 18 he was employed as overseer on a plantation; but hearing of the prospective donation of land in Oregon to actual settlers, determined to go to the new country, and try his fortunes there. He joined the independent colony under Gilliam, and arriving late and destitute, went to making rails. Two years afterward he married Miss Bertha B. Herren. In 1848 he went to the California mines, returning to Oregon for his wife and infant child the same winter. In 1850 he left the mines and returned to his home 5 miles south of Salem. His wife dying in 1861, he married again in 1865 Miss Harriet Scheoffer. When the Oregon state grange was organized in 1873 he was elected master for his services in the movement, in which he has ever been heartily interested. Mr Clark lived long in firm health and vigor, enjoying the reward of a temperate and just life. *S. F. Pacific Rural Press*, in *Or. Cultivator*, June 15, 1876.

Willis Jenkins of the immigration of 1844 settled on the Luckiamute in Polk County, then Yamhill district. When the town of Dallas was laid off in 1852 he built the first dwelling, first store, and first hotel, and remained in business there for some time; but when eastern Oregon was opened up by the gold discoveries, he removed to that section and aided in its development. His wife, who came with him to Oregon, died in 1872. His son, Henry Jenkins, became a Methodist preacher, and his other children were scattered over Oregon. *Dallas Republican*, in *Portland Oregonian*, Jan. 17, 1874.

Dr J. L. Barlow, 'an honorable gentleman and excellent citizen,' died at his home in Oregon City, March 7, 1879, where he had lived since 1844. *Salem Statesman*, March 14, 1879.

James Welch, who arrived in Oregon in November 1844, removed from the Willamette Valley in 1846 to Astoria, and took the land claim adjoining John McClure's, on the east, which became a part of the town of Astoria. Welch continued to reside at Astoria, where he held several offices of trust, and engaged actively in the business of milling, salmon fishing and canning, and town improvements. In 1876, while on a visit to his son, James W. Welch, internal revenue collector at Walla Walla, he passed suddenly away while asleep, on the night of the 29th of September, at the age of 60 years. His family continued to reside at Astoria. *Walla Walla Union*, in *Salem Statesman*, Oct. 12, 1876.

Bartholomew White was a cripple who came to Oregon and took a claim in 1844 on the south bank of the Columbia, where St Helen now stands, and which he afterward sold or abandoned to Knighton in 1847.

Joseph Watt was born in Ohio, but emigrated from Missouri. He remained at Oregon City over two years, when he returned to the States to bring out sheep and a carding-machine. This attempt to drive sheep overland from the east was suggested by the fact that one of the Shaws in 1844 drove 16 sheep to Oregon, which he intended to kill for mutton by the way; finding that they travelled as well as the other stock, and buffalo being plenty, he spared them. This Shaw removed to Benicia, California. Watt had no sooner returned to Oregon with his carding-machine and sheep than the gold discovery in California drew everybody who could go to the mines, and he realized nothing from his scheme of introducing a useful manufacture. But his sheep increased, and money came into the country, until finally he conceived the idea of a woollen factory, which was finally established at Salem in 1857, this being the pioneer woollen-mill on the Pacific coast of the United States. Mr Watt still resides at Salem.

Nathaniel Ford, of whose settlement in Polk County I have spoken, after a useful and honorable life, died at Dixie, in that county, January 9, 1870, at the age of 75 years. Lucinda Ford, his wife, died January 4, 1874, aged 74 years. *Dallas Times*, Jan. 15, 1870; *Salem Statesman*, Jan. 16, 1874. Samuel Walker, who had served 23 years in the army of the United States, and emigrated in 1844, settled near Salem, where he lived 26 years, and accumulated a comfortable property. He died July 20, 1870, at St Joseph's hospital, Vancouver. *Vancouver Register*, July 23, 1870. Joel Crisman, a native of Virginia, died in Yamhill County, Aug. 16, 1875, aged 80 years. E. E. Parrish, born in West Virginia, Nov. 20, died in Linn County, Oct. 24, 1874.

E. B. Magruder, a native of Maryland, for a long time a resident of Jackson County, died July 1875, at Jacksonville, aged 74 years. He was identified with early enterprises in southern Oregon. With him emigrated to Oregon Theophilus R. Magruder, also a resident of southern Oregon, and a merchant. He died Oct. 5, 1871, aged 39 years. Theophilus Magruder resided for several years at Cresent City, California.

Jas B. Stephens was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in 1806. At the age of 8 years he removed with his father to Indiana, where he remained until he was 26, when he made another westward movement, and located on the Mississippi River, opposite Fort Madison, where he supplied the steamboats with wood and continued to reside for 11 years. Emigrating in 1844 to Oregon with his family, in the autumn of 1845 he bought a land claim on the east bank of the Willamette, opposite Portland, which is now the site of East Portland, and where he still resides. Overton, who had claimed on the other side, but wished to leave the country, offered Stephens his land for $200, but the latter having no money, and nothing to depend on except his trade, which was coopering, declined. It was after this offer that he purchased East Portland at an administrator's sale, Lovejoy being the seller. Nesmith was present for the purpose of bidding, but learning that Stephens desired the place for his business, and to make a home, the former gave way. This was during his term as judge of probate, the sale being under his order. The incident illustrates the generous spirit of the men of 1843. *Minto's Early Days*, MS., 32.

Franklin Sears was born in Orange County, New Jersey, June 28, 1817. At the age of 10 years he removed with his parents to Saline County, where he left them to join the emigration to Oregon in 1844. The following year he went to California, and settled in Sonoma County, where he held a large farm.

Isaac N. Gilbert, a native of New York, was born at Rushville, June 27, 1818. He went to Illinois when still a very young man, and from there emigrated to Oregon at the age of 27, in company with 3 others. He took a land claim 2 miles north-east of Salem, and in 1850 married Miss Marietta Stanton, daughter of Alfred Stanton, an immigrant of 1847. Gilbert was the first county clerk of Marion county, holding the office for 3 years, and was for a time surveyor of the county. He made the first plat of the town of Salem. He laid out the road from Salem to Philip Foster's, at the foot of the Cascade Mountains, in 1846. He was one of the four original founders of the Congregational church in Salem in 1852; and during his life one of its principal supporters. He died March 20, 1879, at his home in Salem. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1878, 82–3.

Mrs Henrietta Gilliam Coad, daughter of Cornelius Gilliam, and wife of Samuel Coad, died at Salem, March 30, 1875, aged about 32 years. Mrs Pauline Ford Boyle, third daughter of Nathaniel Ford, died in November 1874 of consumption. H. C. Jenkins, in alluding to her death, remarked that of the Ford family of 13 who crossed the plains in 1844 with him, only 2 were then left. Elijah Bunton died in 1861, on the Walla Walla River, during the gold excitement. His widow married a Mr Watson. Mrs Keziah Watson died March 19, 1874, at Weston, in Umatilla County. Mrs Mary Jane Roberts Rogers, wife of Clark Rogers, died March 4, 1875, aged 43 years. *Portland P. C. Advocate*, March 25, 1875.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AMENDMENT OF THE ORGANIC LAWS.

1845.

THE FIRST THREE LEGISLATIVE BODIES—OPPOSING PARTIES—THE SEVERAL LEGISLATURES—MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS—WHAT BENTON THOUGHT OF IT—ELIJAH WHITE'S EXPLOITS—PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATURE—FUSION OF THE AMERICANS AND BRITISH—ENGLISH SPIES IN OREGON—BRITISH VESSELS—CONDUCT OF MCLOUGHLIN DISCUSSED—UNJUST CENSURE—CONSEQUENCE TO MCLOUGHLIN.

FROM the adjournment of the legislative committee December 24th to the election of 1845, the political situation of the country in reference to boundary was earnestly discussed by the leading men of both nationalities in Oregon, with a candor, courtesy, and dignity born of the greatness of the question, and with the desire to avoid the collisions threatened by the turbulent few. This mutual endeavor to understand each other could not but tend to produce salutary results, removing prejudices due to birth and education, and replacing them by personal esteem and private friendships.[1]

Among themselves, the Americans had other issues to consider. It is worthy of remark that the first three legislative bodies of Oregon made and adopted three different forms of republican government, without any disturbances that affected the public peace. The first framed a set of organic laws, intended to bind the people together, and to secure benefits to themselves by giving them a *quasi* title to selected tracts of land. This organization may be styled the

[1] *Applegate's Views*, MS., 42.

missionary republic. Before its laws, which were voted upon by the organizers, who called themselves the people, although they represented no more than a majority of two over those who did not desire a code, could have a trial, there appeared in the country an overwhelming number of bold, free, independent men, who acknowledged no authority, either commercial or religious, who found the missionary republic too contracted to suit their views, and who proposed, if they were to live under its laws, to modify them according to their requirements. Hence a legislative committee without a missionary in it, and only two of the old colonists. I have shown how they, while greatly improving upon the legislation of their predecessors, leaned toward an independent republic, by neglecting to submit their code to the vote of the people, and by attempting to secure a call for a constitutional convention. Against such a tendency the patriotism of the western men rebelled.

Meetings were held in the most populous districts, from which delegates were chosen to a convention appointed to meet at Champoeg April 8, 1845, for the choice of candidates for governor, supreme judge, and other officers. One good effect of the code of 1844 was, that it had driven the Canadians to unite with the Americans in the government organization, as unless they did so their lands could not be protected. It was therefore at the house of a French settler that the convention of delegates met.[2]

Although there were but two prominent parties, the American and the independent, the latter including the Canadians and those who desired a constitution,[3] there were four candidates, A. L. Lovejoy, George Abernethy, Osborne Russell, and W. J. Bailey. Lovejoy and Russell represented the two parties before mentioned, and Abernethy the Mission.

[2] *Clyman's Diary*, MS., 98; *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser., 14.

[3] White says: 'Many are favorable to the adoption of a constitution... This being the most enlightened view, and meeting with little opposition, I am of opinion it will prevail.' *Concise View*, 55

Bailey, who was known to lean toward independence, yet was also of the old missionary fraternity, belonged to no particular party. In convention Lovejoy received the greater number of votes, the Americans being in the majority. But before the election, the independents, having no hope of securing their choice, and not liking to see Lovejoy elected, went over to Abernethy,[4] who thus became governor, although at the time he was on a visit to the Sandwich Islands.[5]

One of the principles of the American party was that the organic law of 1843 was the law of the country until the people had voted upon the amendments of 1844; because, as they contended, the people had not yet resigned the law-making power. This opposition strengthened the independents somewhat, who could find many who favored the new code. But when it came to the election of the legislature, it was found that no known independents were invested with legislative power. That there were many who favored the call for a convention was proven by the fact that the majority against it was only ninety-three, or about two to one, according to the voting census of 1844.[6]

The legistators elect from Champoeg County[7] were Robert Newell, J. M. Garrison, M. G. Foisy, Barton Lee; from Clackamas County, H. A. G. Lee, William H. Gray, Hiram Straight; from Tualatin County, M.

[4] From the fact that there were no newspapers in Oregon at this time, it is difficult to get a clear return of the election, but I learn from other sources that J. W. Nesmith was elected judge, and Frank Ermatinger treasurer. Ermatinger's election was the welcoming hand to the Hudson's Bay Company.

[5] Mr Applegate says that Albernethy headed the American ticket called by its adversaries 'missionary.' *Views of Hist.*, MS., 44. But I have followed Gray, who, in this instance, clearly shows the cause which defeated the candidate of the convention. Both Russell and Bailey would prefer Abernethy to one of the new and aggressive men of the immigrations, and their influence, combined with that of the Mission which also announced its candidates as American, elected him.

[6] *Or. Archives*, MS., 51.

[7] It will be observed that the word 'county' had been substituted for district. This usage was introduced by the committee of 1844; but the legislature of 1845 passed an act authorizing the change. *Or. Laws, 1843–9*, 35. In the same manner the phrase 'legislative committee' was altered to 'legislature,' though there were those who objected to both changes.

McCarver, Isaac W. Smith, David Hill; from Yamhill County, Jesse Applegate, Abijah Hendricks; from Clatsop County, John McClure. They met at Oregon City June 24th, and organized at the house of John E. Long; but were offered the use of the room of the Multnomah circulating library for the session, which they accepted. The oath which was administered to the members was framed by Jesse Applegate as follows: "I do solemnly swear that I will support the organic laws of the provisional government of Oregon, so far as they are consistent with my duties as a citizen of the United States or a subject of Great Britain, and faithfully demean myself in office; so help me God;" the clause "or a subject of Great Britain" being introduced to enable the Canadians and others to join in supporting the laws.[8] This clause gave offence to some Americans, who, now that their countrymen outnumbered the British so greatly in Oregon, would have preferred excluding the latter; but there were wiser heads than theirs among the more recent colonists.[9]

McCarver being elected speaker, the message of P. G. Stewart of the executive committee was read, Abernethy being still absent. It contained little besides assurances of the favorable condition of agriculture, the peaceful condition of the country, the inadequacy of the revenue, the need of a revision of the organic and land law in favor of mechanics, and an expression of "regret that sectional and national prejudices should exist to such an extent as to endanger our unanimity;" with the hope that there was sufficient virtue and intelligence in the colony to secure

[8] This form of oath, Gray says, shows that Newell, Foisy, McCarver, Garrison, Smith, and Hendricks, who supported it, were 'favorable to a union with the company, or the English party in the country;' though he must have known it was intended to open the door to the fusion of the British subjects with the Americans, and to avert the troubles that threatened. See *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 422.

[9] McLoughlin remarks: 'The originator of the clause is the very man who, as I am informed, proposed to the immigrants, on their way here in 1843, to take Vancouver; which is a proof how much his prejudices had died away.' *Private Papers*, MS., 3d ser.

the administration of the laws of the provisional government.[10]

The legislature of 1845 held that they were not a constitutional body, because the law under which they were elected lacked the expressed approbation of the people, and that their first duty was to appeal to the people as to the only power with authority to change the fundamental law. That part of the executive message relating to a revision of the organic and other laws, having been referred to a committee composed of H. A. G. Lee, Newell, Applegate, Smith, and McClure, their revision was immediately begun. On the 5th of July the committee made their final report. The leading spirit in the legislature of 1845 was undoubtedly Mr Applegate. The Spartan simplicity and fidelity to trust which distinguished him among his fellow-colonists is stamped upon their proceedings. His literary style, unequalled by that of any of his contemporaries, is easily recognized in the revised code. Concerning the work of the committee, he says that it was their object to introduce as few changes as possible in the original organic laws, except the oath of office, and an amendment to the land law allowing two or more otherwise legal claimants to hold a section each without making improvements upon each claim.[11]

While it is evident that Applegate endeavored to leave untouched the work of his friend Shortess as far as was consistent with expediency and propriety, and while avoiding any perversion of the intention of the organic laws, the amendments made to that instrument fulfilled practically all the purposes of the more elaborate legislation of 1844. Nor could this be accomplished without excluding from them

[10] *Or. Archives*, MS., 51. While at Salem in 1878 I found in the statehouse a mass of loose unprinted documents, many of them of great value to history. I engaged Mr J. Henry Brown to make a thorough examination of them, comparing them with the printed archives, and to copy at his discretion. This he did with a faithfulness and discrimination worthy of the highest praise. The volume is quoted as above.

[11] *Views of History*, MS., 45.

those mere statutory sections which had given the instrument so heterogeneous an appearance to the critical eyes of Burnett and Lovejoy. To the first article of the original organic laws was added a section concerning rights,[12] and another section concerning the powers of three distinct branches of the government.[13]

The second article defined, in eleven sections, the powers and duties of the separate branches of government. The legislative power was to be vested in a house of representatives, which should consist of not less than thirteen nor more than sixty-one members, whose numbers should not be increased more than five at any one session, to be elected at the annual election, giving to each district a representation in the ratio of its population, excluding natives. The members should reside in their district, and in case of vacancy the executive should cause a new election to be held, giving at least ten days' notice. The house of representatives should have power to fix the salaries of the different officers elected under the organization, or, as it is styled in these articles, "this compact" provided that no change was made in salaries during the term of service. The house of representatives should have the sole power of impeaching, three fourths of the members concurring; and the governor and all the civil officers should be liable to impeachment for treason, bribing, or any high crime or misdemeanor in office; judgment in such cases extending no further than removal from office, and disqualification to hold any office of honor, trust, or profit under the compact; but the offender might be dealt with according to law. The house of

[12] 'No person shall be deprived of the right of bearing arms in his own defence; no unreasonable searches or seizures shall be granted; the freedom of the press shall not be restrained; no person shall be tried twice for the same offence; nor the people be deprived of the right of peaceably assembling and discussing any matter they may think proper, nor shall the right of petition ever be denied.' *Or. Spectator*, Feb. 5, 1846.

[13] 'The powers of the government shall be divided into three distinct departments, the legislative, executive, and judicial; and no person or persons belonging to one of these departments shall exercise any of the powers belonging to either of the others, except in cases herein directed or permitted.' *Id.*

representatives should have power to divide the territory into suitable districts, and apportion the representation in their own body; to pass laws for raising a revenue by levying and collecting taxes, or imposing license on merchandise, ferries, or other objects; to open roads or canals, either by imposing a tax or granting charters; to regulate the intercourse of the people with the natives; to establish post-offices and post-roads; to declare war or repel invasion; to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia and calling it forth; to pass laws to regulate the introduction, manufacture, and sale of ardent spirits; to regulate the currency and internal police; to create inferior tribunals and inferior offices not provided for by the articles of compact; and to pass such laws to promote the general welfare of the people of Oregon as were not contrary to the spirit of this instrument; all powers not expressly delegated to remain with the people.[14]

The executive power was vested in one person elected by the qualified voters; the qualifications being the same as in the original organic laws; every white man over twenty-one years of age who had been in the territory at its organization, or every immigrant after that time who had been in it six months, being privileged to vote at the election of officers, civil or military. Time was thus allowed for the immigration of one year, arriving in the autumn, to become informed on the questions at issue and to vote at the election in June of the following year.

The powers of the executive were to fill vacancies, remit fines and forfeitures, grant pardons and reprieves, call out the military to repel invasion or suppress in-

[14] It was Applegate's idea that no power to make laws existed, only as the people delegated it; and that by the articles of compact which were agreed to by the people, only so much power as was described in the compact could be exercised. This was intended as a check on the missionary as well as the Hudson's Bay influence. No sectional ambition could be gratified so long as no authority for it was contained in the organic laws, which defined the extent of the legislative power. For this reason the land law was made organic, as well as the oath of office.

surrection, to look to the execution of the laws, and recommend others which he might deem essential, and to sign or veto the bills passed by the legislature; the house having the power by a two-thirds vote to pass a vetoed bill, the governor's objections to which were to be entered on its journal. The governor might convene the legislature on extraordinary occasions. His term of office should be for two years, or until the election and qualification of his successor; and in case of death or resignation, the secretary should fill his place. His salary was left for the legislature to fix.[15] The article on the judiciary differed from the original, and also from the laws of 1844. Like the first, it vested the judicial power in the supreme court, and such inferior courts of law, equity, and arbitration as might from time to time be established. Unlike the second, the supreme judge was to be elected by the house of representatives for a term of four years, or until his successor was elected and qualified. Unlike the first, he should have appellate jurisdiction only; but should have a general superintending control over all inferior courts of law, with power to issue writs of *habeas corpus* and other original or remedial writs, and hear and determine the same. The supreme court was to have power to decide upon and annul any laws contrary to the provisions of the articles of compact, and should give an opinion when called upon by the house of representatives, concerning the validity of any pending measure. Also, the house might provide by law for the supreme court having original jurisdiction in criminal cases.

The land law, the chief object of solicitude to all, was incorporated in the organic laws, and was changed from the original in letter, if not in spirit. No distinction of color, nationality, age, or sex was made; but every person was allowed to hold six hundred and forty acres upon complying with certain conditions. The claim must be designated by natural boundaries

[15] Governor Abernethy drew no salary under the provisional government.

or by marks at the corners and upon the lines, and be recorded within twelve months in the office of the territorial recorder, with the names of adjoining claimants in the cases of those already in possession, and within twenty days in the cases of new-comers. Permanent improvements were required to be made within six months by building or enclosing, and residence begun within a year; or in cases where not occupied, the claimant might hold by paying into the treasury five dollars annually. Non-residents should not have the benefit of the law, nor men who were obliged to absent themselves from the territory on private business beyond the period of two years.

No individual was allowed to hold more than one square mile, in a square or oblong form, nor to hold more than one claim at the same time; but partnerships not exceeding the amount of one claim to each partner might be formed by improvements made upon one, provided none of the partners held separate claims.[16] Any person complying with the provisions of these ordinances became entitled to the same recourse against trespassers as in other cases provided by law. By the amended organic laws, the officers chosen at the general election on the first Tuesday in June 1845 were declared entitled to act under these laws, and their official acts, in accordance with them, were valid and legal. The house of representatives could, by a two-thirds vote, amend the organic laws, but the amendments must be made public by being read at the polls at the next general election, and two thirds of the members elected at that time must approve of them.[17]

All the merely statutory laws were expunged from the instrument called by the committee of revision a compact instead of a constitution, a distinction with-

[16] After this law was approved by the people, it was amended so as to 'permit claimants to hold 600 acres in the prairie, and 40 acres in the timber, though said tracts do not join,' in an act similar to the amendatory act of 1844.

[17] *Or. Spectator*, Feb. 5, 1846; *Gen. Laws Or.*, 58–65.

out a difference. Yet it was a wise deference to the original founders of the government. The people were encouraged in the maintenance of republican principles, and bribed to remain firm in their allegiance to the United States, which alone of all great governments allowed such entire freedom of political sentiments.[18]

As the legislature had decided that they were without authority to act until the people had approved of their proceedings in amending the organic laws, they prepared to adjourn until an election could be held, at which the people were to be made acquainted with, 1st, the original laws as enacted July 5, 1843; 2d, the amended laws; and 3d, a schedule declaring the governor and legislature elected in June the officers to carry the amended organic laws into effect. If the people should adopt the last two in place of the first, the legislature could then proceed to the formation of a code of statutory laws suited to the wants of the colony. As there was no printing-press in Oregon, manuscript copies of each were made for every precinct or polling-place, to be read three times to the voters.

The legislature adjourned July 5th to meet again on the 5th of August. According to Gray, many voted against the compact because it allowed the legislature to regulate the introduction, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drink; and many because the English and French servants of the fur company were admitted to equal privileges with themselves. Notwithstanding these objections, at the special election held on the 26th of July the majority in favor of adopting the organic laws as amended, and the schedule of officers as elected the previous June, amounted to over two hundred.[19] By this decisive act, says Mr Applegate, "both the Methodist Mission and the

[18] Says Applegate: 'I was a citizen of the United States, and I intended to remain one.'

[19] *Grover's Or. Archives*, 90; *Hines' Or. Hist.*, 432–4.

Hudson's Bay Company ceased to be political powers either to be courted or feared in the colony, and to the close of its existence the provisional government of Oregon attained all the ends of good government."[20]

Before following the legislative body of Oregon through its law-making achievements, let us return to its first session long enough to observe the straws indicative of the political current. Harvey Clark had been chosen chaplain, but on motion of Gray the vote was reconsidered, and Father Demers and Mr Hill were chosen to officiate alternately. The action of Gray seems to have been an ill-judged attempt to conciliate the Catholics, for Demers declined, and Clark resigned after officiating for a short time.

Then came a petition from Philip Foster, who had been treasurer, reciting his grievances at being supplanted by Ermatinger, a British subject; but the legislature sustained Ermatinger.[21] Two days before adjournment Gray offered a resolution that a committee of one from each county be appointed to report a bill for the protection of the colony, the erection of block-houses and magazines, the revision of the military law, and to make such suggestions to the house as they might deem necessary for the peace and safety of the colony. The committee was appointed, but the proceeding fell to the ground, there being no necessity for such a measure.

A resolution of Applegate's seems to be aimed at the disposition exhibited by some persons to consider the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company as without the pale of law and justice,[22] and to prevent abuses of the legislative power generally.

[20] *Views of History*, MS., 46.

[21] *Grover's Or. Archives*, 73–7.

[22] '*Resolved*, that the government has no power to annul a contract entered into either in the United States or Great Britain.' *Grover's Or. Archives*, 78. That the legislature did not act up to the spirit of this resolution is shown by the fact that notwithstanding they disclaimed any authority to legislate before the people had given them the power by voting on the laws, three divorces were granted; two of the applicants having been married in the

Early in the session Gray made a motion that a committee be appointed to draught a memorial and petition to congress, setting forth the condition and wants of the country; and accordingly Gray, Applegate, H. A. G. Lee, McClure, and Hill were appointed, and a memorial prepared and adopted.[23] There was

States. A third applicant who gave as a reason for desiring a divorce that he was not able to return to the States for his wife, was denied; it being held 'that a good wife would pay for a long journey.'

[23] '*To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:* Your memorialists and petitioners, the representatives of the people of Oregon, for themselves, and in behalf of the citizens of the United States residing in this territory, would respectfully submit for the consideration of your honorable body some of the grievances under which we labor, and pray your favorable consideration of our petition for their remedies. Without dilating upon the great importance of this territory as an appendage to the federal union, or consuming your valuable time in repeating to you the oft-repeated account of our agricultural and commercial advantages, we would, with due deference, submit to your serious consideration our peculiar difficulties as occupants of this territory. As by treaty stipulations between the governments of the United States and Great Britain this territory has become a kind of neutral ground, in the occupancy of which the citizens of the United States and the subjects of Great Britain have equal rights, and, as your memorialists humbly conceive, ought to have equal protection: such being the facts, the population of the territory, though promiscuously interspersed, is composed of the subjects of a crown and the citizens of a republic, between whom no common bond of union exists. It may naturally be supposed that in the absence of any provision having been made by the two governments, to prevent or settle any such occurrence, that conflicting interests, aided by ancient prejudices, would speedily lead to results the most disastrous; particularly when it is considered that this mixed population exists in the midst of numerous and warlike tribes of Indians, to whom the smallest dissensions among the white inhabitants would be the signal to let loose upon their defenceless families all the horrors of savage warfare. To prevent a calamity so much to be dreaded, the well-disposed inhabitants of this territory have found it absolutely necessary to establish a provisional and temporary government, embracing all free male citizens, and whose executive, legislative, and judicial powers should be equal to all the exigencies that may arise among themselves, not provided for by the governments to which they owe allegiance; and we are most happy to inform your honorable body, that with but few individual exceptions, the utmost harmony and good-will has been the result of this, as we conceive, wise and judicious measure; and the British subjects and American citizens vie with each other in their obedience and respect to the laws, and in promoting the common good and general welfare of Oregon.

'Although such has been the result, thus far, of our temporary union of interests, though we, the citizens of the United States, have had no cause to complain either of exaction or oppression at the hands of the subjects of Great Britain, but on the contrary it is but just to say that their conduct toward us has been most friendly, liberal, and philanthropic, yet we fear a longer continuance of the present state of things is not to be expected—our temporary government being limited in its efficiency, and crippled in its powers by the paramount duty we owe to our respective governments—our revenue being inadequate to its support—and the almost total absence, apart from the Hudson's Bay Company, of the means of defence against the Indians, which recent occurrences led us to fear entertain hostile feelings towards the citizens of the

considerable talent in this committee, and it was to be expected that this paper would be better in many respects than those usually issuing from backwoods legislation. And such was the case. The document, so different in matter, tone, and expression even from those which had preceded it during the reign of missionary influence, though crude, was the

United States. Your memorialists would further inform your honorable body that while the subjects of Great Britain, through the agency of the Hudson's Bay Company, are amply provided with all the munitions of war, and can afford by means of their numerous fortifications ample protection for themselves and their property, the citizens of the United States are scattered over a wide extent of territory, without a single place of refuge, and within themselves almost entirely destitute of every means of defence. Your memorialists would further crave your indulgence to remark that Great Britain has, by extending her criminal code to this country, guaranteed every British subject, claiming his birthright, a legitimate trial by the laws of his country. We, as citizens of the United States, having neither the military protection of our government, nor the extension to us of the civil laws of our country, are forced to the enactment and execution of laws not authorized, and, for what we know, never will be sanctioned, by our government. Your memorialists would further call the attention of your honorable body to the fact that, as citizens of the United States, we labor under the greatest commercial disadvantages. We have neither ships of war nor of commerce, nor any navigation of the rivers of the interior, and for want of adequate protection, no private capitalist among us can establish a successful competition with a wealthy and powerful monopoly, possessing all the appliances of commerce, and all the influence over the natives by an early establishment among them. We are, therefore, dependent for a market for a large and increasing surplus, and for nearly all our supplies, upon a single company, which holds the market under its control.

'Your memorialists, with a view to remedy the grievances under which they labor, pray the national congress to establish a distinct territorial government, to embrace Oregon and its adjacent sea-coasts. We pray for adequate means of protection from the numerous Indian tribes which surround us; for the purchase of territories which they are willing to sell; and for agents with authority to regulate intercourse between whites and Indians, and between Indian tribes. That donations of lands may be made according to the inducements held out to us by the passage of a bill through the United States senate, at the second session of the 27th congress, entitled "A bill to authorize the adoption of measures for the occupation and settlement of the territory of Oregon, for extending certain portions of the laws of the United States over the same, and for other purposes." That navy-yards and marine depots may be established on the River Columbia and upon Puget's Sound, and a naval force adequate to our protection be kept permanently in the adjacent seas. We pray for the establishment of such commercial regulations as may enable us to trade in our own territory, at least on an equality with non-resident foreigners. We pray that adequate military protection be given to emigrants coming to us, either by the establishment of posts upon the route or by military escort. And we pray that in the event you deem it inexpedient as a measure, or contrary to the spirit of existing treaties, to establish a territorial government in Oregon, that you extend to us adequate military and naval protection, so as to place us at least upon a par with other occupants of the country. That a public mail be established to arrive and depart monthly from Oregon City and Independence (Mo.), and such other local

most dignified communication yet emanating from any Oregon public body.[24] The memorial to congress was given to White to be carried to Washington, immediately upon its being signed by all the officials in the colony, together with a copy of the amended organic law. The turn which affairs had taken in Oregon, as well as in Washington where there was a new administration, had seriously damaged White's hopes of office; and no funds had been placed at his disposal with which to reimburse himself, or his creditors at Vancouver, for expenditures in the Indian service; and he determined to proceed to the national capital for an adjustment of his accounts, if not to ask to be returned to Oregon as governor when congress should be ready to erect a territory in that quarter.[25] White's path was by no means smooth. "Influence here is most important," he sighed. And in order to

routes be established as are essential to the Willamette country and other settlements.

'For the granting of which your memorialists will ever pray.

'OSBORNE RUSSELL,
'PETER G. STEWART,
'Executive Committee.

'J. W. NESMITH, Judge of Circuit Court.
'M. M. MCCARVER, Speaker.

'JESSE APPLEGATE, H. A. G. LEE,
'MEDARD G. FOISY, BARTON LEE,
'W. H. GRAY, JOHN MCCLURE,
'J. M. GARRISON, ROBERT NEWELL,
'ABIJAH HENDRICKS, HIRAM STRAIGHT,
'DAVID HILL, 'Members of Legislative Committee.

'Done at Oregon City, 28th June, 1845.

Or. Archives, MS., 76–83. 'Attest: J. E. LONG, Clerk.'

This memorial, as it appears on page 24 of the *Congressional Globe*, 1845–6, differs from the above in having the paragraph concerning mails inserted between those on the navy and commerce; and in having the name of J. W. Smith, which is lacking in the above copy, inserted between those of Newell and Straight; and also in the spelling of the speaker's name, which is incorrect in the *Globe*.

[24] Thomas H. Benton remarked upon it that it was drawn up in a manner creditable to the body by which it was presented, to the talents by which it was dictated, and the patriotic sentiments which pervaded it; and the application was worthy of a favorable consideration for its moderation, reasonableness, and justice. As the best means of spreading the contents of this petition before the country, and doing honor to the ability and enterprise of those who presented it, he moved that it be read at the bar of the senate. *Cong. Globe*, 1845–6, 24. It was read, and ordered printed. *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 283–4.

[25] Clyman says in his *Diary*, MS., 101: 'Spent the day in writing an answer to some queries propounded by Dr White, who leaves for the States in the hope of obtaining the gubernatorial chair.'

secure that useful commodity, as well as the more tangible one of $2,000 subscribed by citizens on condition of finding a good pass for the coming immigration, he formed the plan of exploring for a road leading from the Willamette Valley through the Cascade Mountains to the plains of eastern Oregon, which should avoid the hardships of the trail round Mount Hood and the passage down the Columbia River. On the 12th of July, accompanied by Joseph Gale, Baptiste Du Guerre, John Edmonds, Orris Brown, Moses Harris, Joseph Charles Saxton of the last immigration, and two others, he set out on an expedition along the foothills of the Cascade Range to the southern end of the Willamette Valley, finding no pass through the mountains to the east. While at the head of the valley he ascended, with Du Guerre, a prominent peak or butte in the foothills, which he named after the secretary of war, Mount Spencer.

Returning to the north along the west side of the valley, he sought to compensate himself for the disappointment by discovering a path through the Coast Range to the sea, at Yaquina Bay, after which he hastened back to Oregon City, and reported truthfully enough to the legislature, then in session, his failure and his partial success in "bringing ship navigation with all the products of the ocean within two days' drive with ox-teams of the centre of the valley,"[26] for which he received the thanks of that body,[27] together with a resolution recommending to the favorable consideration of congress his just claims for a remuneration for the expense incurred in the expedition. The *Oregon Spectator*, the first newspaper published in Oregon, and owned and controlled principally by the former members of the Methodist Mission, mentions White's exploit with much favor,[28] and says he meant to find a road into the Willamette by a route formerly travelled

[26] White's Report, in *Or. Archives*, MS., 87–94.
[27] *Grover's Or. Archives*, 103.
[28] See *Spectator*, Jan. 21, 1847.

by the fur company's trappers, leading from the Malheur or Powder River across the mountains, by Mount Jefferson. Had no revelations been made subsequent to the legislative indorsement of what was supposed to be a sincere endeavor to benefit the colony, the championship of the *Spectator* would not be out of place.

But among the letters White carried was one by Lovejoy to the secretary of war anticipating White's success, and speaking of the discovery of a pass which was to save two or three hundred miles in distance of the worst portion of the emigrant road, besides avoiding the dangers of the Snake and Columbia rivers, as a fact already accomplished, though the letter was written four days before the expedition started, and probably in the expectation that White would avail himself of the pass he meant to discover to shorten his own road to Washington. Instead of this, however, he was obliged to return and take the Columbia River route; but he did not feel himself bound to surrender the recommendations to the United States government founded on his anticipated services to the coming immigration, and all subsequent ones. It began to be whispered that the expedition had been a fraudulent pretence, intended only to create a claim on the government,[22] and the report was rife that all the testimonials secured, either from the legislature or other persons in high positions, would be used to forward his designs upon the first office in the colony.

During the month occupied in the tour of the Willamette Valley, the memorial and organic law, as first prepared and signed, had been in the possession of White, the name of Speaker McCarver not having yet been attached to the latter, because he was opposed to the adoption of the amended organic law, which supplanted the laws of the legislature of 1844, of which he was a prominent member as well as speaker. On White's return, Applegate, wishing

[22] White received from congress $486.52½ for his expenses on this exploring tour. *Concise View*, 65.

to have some resolutions attached, reclaimed the documents from him,[80] during which time McCarver clandestinely added his name as speaker of the house to the objectionable organic law.

White had no sooner started on his long-deferred journey than Barton Lee offered a resolution exposing the secret action of McCarver, disapproving it, and declaring that the house were under the humiliating necessity of signifying their displeasure to the United States government by causing the resolution to accompany the other documents. The discussion occasioned by this discovery and the explanation of McCarver ended in the house passing another resolution to despatch a messenger to Vancouver to bring back the documents in order to have McCarver's signature properly attested, and a second one that the speaker, having signed certain documents from a mistaken sense of duty, and not from contumacy or contempt, should be required to follow White to Vancouver and erase his name from the organic law and from two resolutions in favor of White. From this requirement he was, however, excused. While resolutions were in order, Applegate offered one declaring that it was not the intention of the house, in passing the above-named resolves, to recommend White to the United States government as a suitable person to fill any office in Oregon; with another that an attested copy should be forwarded to Washington. Meanwhile, the messenger who had been despatched to bring back the memorial and organic law had overtaken White's party and presented the order of the house. But unwilling to risk any changes being

[80] The resolutions were to the effect that the adoption of the organic law by the people of Oregon was an act of necessity rather than choice, intended to give them the protection which their government should have extended to them, and not an act of defiance or disregard of the laws of the United States; and that in establishing a territorial government, congress should legalize their acts so far as they were in accordance with the constitution of the United States. Also that White be requested to furnish a copy of the organic law to congress, said copy being indorsed with the above resolutions. *Grover's Or. Archives*, 106.

made in the resolutions, White declined to relinquish them, returning instead the following epistle:

"*To the Honorable, etc.*—Gentlemen: Being on my way, and having but a moment to reflect, I have been at much of a loss which of your two resolutions most to respect, or which to obey; but at length have become satisfied that the first was taken most soberly, and, as it answers my purpose best, I pledge myself to adhere strictly to that. Sincerely wishing you good luck in legislating, I am, dear sirs, very respectfully yours, E. WHITE."

This saucy defiance of the legislative body of Oregon marked the disappearance of White from colonial politics. The resolutions last passed, declaring him not a proper person to fill any office in the country, together with the changes which had occurred in Washington, utterly defeated all aspirations in that direction,[31] although he had the temporary distinction of being treated like a delegate from the provisional government, while the duplicate copies of the legislative documents, with their appended injurious

[31] White's adventures in crossing the plains with his small party consisting of Harris, Edmonds, Brown, Saxton, Du Guerre, Chapman, and another unknown man, are briefly given in his *Ten Years in Oregon*. See also *Niles' Reg.*, lxix. 224. Slight as is the narrative, I think it may safely be inferred that the unfortunate attempt of a portion of the immigration of this year to make a road up the Malheur River, and into the upper part of the Willamette Valley, was the result of his advice. Certain it is that he met all the different companies, and talked with them, and had he advised them not to attempt a new route, they would have obeyed him. Had they succeeded in finding one, he would have taken to himself the credit of giving the information.

White returned to the Pacific coast in 1861, as a special Indian agent under Lincoln's administration, a position obtained by representing himself as better acquainted with Indian affairs than any man in the department of the west. He did not long hold the unnecessary office, and failing at Baker Bay, where he endeavored to build a town called Pacific City, finally settled in San Francisco, where he died in March 1879, as before stated. He was thoroughly disliked by the western men who assumed the direction of Oregon affairs, for what they termed his smooth-tongued duplicity. That he was a sycophant to a certain extent is true. His character is revealed in a single sentence of his own concerning his reception in Washington by the Missouri delegation, to whom he was instructed to report. 'He returned to his lodgings, scarcely repressing a smile at the seeming importance a four years' residence in the Oregon woods had given him.' *Ten Years in Or.*, 316. Notwithstanding his faults, it cannot be said that he was ever an enemy to good order or good government. See p. 291, note 34, this volume.

resolutions, were taken the longer passage by sea to Washington.

Upon the reassembling of the legislative body, Governor Abernethy, who had but recently returned from the Hawaiian Islands, sent in his first message. It referred to the adoption of the amended organic law, and the duty of the members to make their legislation conform to it; adverted to the insufficiency of the revenue, recommended taxing farms as well as cattle and merchandise, and made some suggestions with regard to regulating the time of holding courts.[32]

Owing to the refusal of McCarver to sign the document to be sent to Washington, there was a disposition to ignore his rights as speaker, and a ballot was taken, which resulted in eight votes for Gray and only one for McCarver. The protest of the speaker was met by a resolution by Applegate asking him to resign. Both proceedings were reconsidered the same day, and on the third McCarver, by a motion of Garrison, was restored to his office,[33] but tendered his resignation. Gray, who desired the speakership, voted that he be allowed to resign, but the motion being

[32] The most peculiar suggestion contained in the executive message was one concerning indebtedness. To prevent litigation arising from the facility of obtaining credit in the colony, he recommended the passage of a law which would prevent the collection of all debts or notes taken for debts contracted after its passage, by judicial process. This, he argued, would save the time and labor of the courts, and make all persons more careful as to the disposal of their property, and more punctual in the payment of debts, since if they failed once, they could expect no further favors. Allowances would be made for a man who was in misfortune, but the debtor who could pay and would not would soon find himself shunned. Some further recommendations concerning the best means of securing an effective militia, and the means of establishing common schools and building school-houses, concluded the message. *Or. Archives*, MS., 31–6.

[33] Applegate remarks that McCarver was found of talking, and to prevent him from taking up too much time, they made him speaker. Gray says he obtained the sobriquet of 'Old Brass Gun.' *Hist. Or.*, 376. Roberts mentions the same thing. There are several anecdotes of McCarver. One is that when the first California con. conv., of which he was member, was in session, a proposition was made to establish the northern boundary so as to take in the Rogue River Valley; when McCarver sprang to his feet, and exclaimed, 'Mr President, as a citizen of Oregon, I protest against the segregation of that territory;' whereupon the Californians named him 'the member from Oregon.'

withdrawn, at the request of Applegate, McCarver withdrew his resignation, and matters went on more smoothly.

A resolution of Applegate's, that the people of Oregon were not, in the opinion of the house, morally or legally bound by any acts of their officers or agents not expressly sanctioned by the instrument by virtue of which they had their official existence; and further, that the house could not assume in behalf of the people the payment of any debt, or the refunding of any funds borrowed, or otherwise unlawfully contracted or obtained, without first obtaining the consent of the people[34]—was adopted in a committee of the whole, three members, Gray, Foisy, and Straight, protesting formally on the ground that such expressions by the legislature tended to destroy the confidence of the people in their agents.[35] Applegate, who was determined that the temporary government should not be made a burden, but a blessing to the colonists, cared little for so flimsy a protest, well knowing that the people could discern who were guarding their interests.

Ever since the departure of the United States exploring expedition, there had been a feeling of dissatisfaction in the minds of the American colonists on account of the disposition made of the *Peacock's* launch by Wilkes, which became stronger as the political horizon grew darker, and as the needs of the colonists for all the means of the transportation were more pressing.

McClure of Astoria offered a resolution that a committee of three should be appointed to wait on Mc-

[34] *Grover's Or. Archives*, 93. This resolution appears to have been aimed at the disposition made of the estate of Ewing Young by the legislature of 1844. It was, however, in consonance with the spirit of a resolution by Garrison at the previous session, that the legislature had no right to tax the people without previously having obtained their consent, and which was adopted. Perhaps the suggestion of the governor that farms should be taxed as well as merchandise and live-stock was also referred to, the opposition to taxing land being very strong among the settlers.

[35] *Grover's Or. Archives*, 98–9; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 429.

Longhlin, to ascertain whether the launch could be given up to the provisional government, provided said government became responsible for its safe keeping and delivery to the United States authorities when demanded; to which inquiry McLoughlin returned a refusal to deliver the boat without an order from Wilkes or from the government of the United States. Gray pretends that the effect of Applegate's resolution was such as to produce this refusal, by destroying the credit of the provisional government with the Hudson's Bay Company; as if the company were retaining the launch for security! Gray was not unaware when he penned this absurd statement that McLoughlin published in the fourth number of the *Oregon Spectator* the letter of Lieutenant Wilkes to him, enjoining upon him to have the launch kept at Fort George, under the special care of the company, to be used for the sole purpose of affording relief or aid to all vessels requiring assistance of any kind or pilots for bringing in vessels, until called for by some person authorized by him or by the government of the United States to receive it.

As a member of the body carrying on the correspondence, Gray must have known that the answer actually returned was, that it would afford him, McLoughlin, great pleasure to meet the wishes of the Oregon government, and to give up the boat on the conditions proposed, provided the government would take the necessary measures to cause the launch to be employed only for the purpose for which it was left with him, namely, to visit vessels and afford them assistance when in distress; that he could not, consistently with his respect for the flag that covered her, consent to her being employed in any other service.[36] But it appears from the correspondence that no such pledge as the doctor required was given, and he declined to relinquish his trust.[37]

[36] *Or. Archives*, MS., 68–9.

[37] From a mutilated letter in the *Or. Archives*, MS., the following is taken: 'I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the resolution left at

At the third session of the legislature, in December, an act was passed authorizing the governor "to take charge of, refit, and employ the launch in accordance with the conditions of Lieutenant Wilkes." In compliance with these legislative proceedings, Governor Abernethy addressed a letter to McLoughlin, enclosing a copy of the act which authorized him to take possession of the launch, and to request McLoughlin to deliver to him the anchor, cables, oars, sails, and all other parts of her rigging left with him. In case of refusal to deliver up these articles, the governor was to proceed to purchase materials, and have the boat immediately put in repair "for any service the territory may require."[38]

McLoughlin's answer to the governor was still the same, that he "could only deliver the articles belonging to the *Peacock's* launch on receipt of an order from the government of the United States, or from Captain Wilkes."[39] The subject of the possession of the *Peacock's* boat threatened to become a serious one.[40] The Oregon legislature acted upon the principle that they, for the people of the colony, had a right to any United States property, on the ground of their citizenship, and jealously demanded that such property should be wrested from the hands in which it had been placed; though by doing so, not having the means to put it in repair, and employ a proper officer and seamen, it would be rendered useless in the capacity for which it was intended. The matter was finally settled by McLoughlin placing the boat in the hands of Lieutenant Howison of the United States

my office with Mr Campbell. . . . But after again giving the subject my fullest consideration, I am sorry it is not in my powe:, consistent with my trust, to give any other answer than that in mine of the 12th inst. I have, etc.

'Oregon City, Aug. 20, 1845. JOHN MCLOUGHLIN.'

[38] *Or. Laws, 1843–9*, 32.

[39] *Or. Archives*, MS., 69–70.

[40] Applegate had resigned before the legislature passed this unjustifiable act. In his marginal notes to *Gray's History*, 430, he says: 'Dr McLoughlin was bound to the government of the United States for the safe-keeping and delivery of the launch of the *Peacock*, and not to any of its dependencies.' See *Niles' Reg.*, lxx. 340.

navy, a few months after the passage of the act, who sold it to a Mr Shelly, for the avowed purpose of using it as a pilot-boat.[41]

The first bill passed by the duly authorized legislature was to prevent duelling; the immediate cause for it being a quarrel between S. M. Holderness and J. G. Campbell, both estimable citizens, who could think of no other honorable way out of their difficulties than mortal combat. On hearing of this, Applegate at once introduced a bill on the subject, asked for a suspension of the rules, secured its passage, and sent it to the governor to be signed, when it became a law within thirty minutes of its inception. Under its provisions the would-be duellists were arrested and placed under bonds to keep the peace. Early in the session a bill was passed adopting the statutes of Iowa, so far as they were applicable to the circumstances of the country. This tendency in each legislative body to have its enactments based upon the code of Iowa was greatly a matter of necessity, owing to a scarcity of law-books in the territory, as I have explained; but with the legislature of 1845 it was something more. Iowa was a new state and nearest to Oregon. It was a free state, which the leading men in the colony had determined Oregon should be, and had passed its minority as Oregon was doing, under the ordinance of 1787, under conditions also similar to those of Oregon; and its laws moreover were less conservative and more progressive than those of the older states.

Having adopted a code and set the committees at work adapting it to the country's needs, which they did in a measure by adopting the laws of 1844, the next movement was to restore the jurisdiction of the provisional government to the country north of the Columbia River. This was done by setting off

[41] *Howison's Coast and Country*, 4; *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 3, 1846. Gray says because the doctor refused to deliver the boat to the Oregon legislature, it was 'allowed to rot on the beach at Astoria.' *Hist. Or.*, 430. If it did so rot, it was as the private property of a citizen of Oregon.

the district of Vancouver,[42] which embraced all that part of Oregon north and west of the Columbia River.[43] But now arose the question of apportionment and other matters connected therewith; a point in legislation upon which Applegate and a few others regarded as most important, to wit: Would the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company become parties to the articles of compact by the payment of taxes, and complying with the laws of the provisional government, which only promised protection to its adherents?[44] Should they refuse their support, they would become outlawed, and the objective point if not the prey of any turbulent spirits of the next immigration, who like Alderman might choose to settle on their lands, or like Chapman, threaten to burn Fort Vancouver.[45]

The committee on apportionment was composed of I. W. Smith, H. A. G. Lee, B. Lee, Applegate, and McClure. Applegate proposed in a private session of the committee to get the sentiments of the Hudson's Bay Company on the question of the compact, and was deputized by them to hold a private inter-

[42] It seems from the archives that McClure from the committee on districts reported a bill in relation to two counties north of the Columbia; but that Applegate, who had a prejudice in favor of the word 'district,' was allowed to control the choice. It was his wish, also, to name the two counties Lewis and Clarke; but upon reconsidering the matter, gave up Clarke for Vancouver. Only one district was defined at this time; and at the next session Lewis County was created, and the word 'county' was substituted for district in all the laws where it occurred.

[43] *Or. Laws, 1843–9.*

[44] Applegate says: 'To organize a civil or military power that did not include all parties was simply organizing internecine war. To prevent such a state of things, I took a seat in the legislature.' Marginal notes on *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 422.

[45] This man is several times referred to in McLoughlin's *Private Papers*, where he says Chapman boasted that he came all the way from the States for the purpose of burning Fort Vancouver. White relieved the country of this dread by inducing Chapman to return with him to the United States. But there were several dangerous men who came with the immigrations in the territory, of whom McLoughlin stood in fear, one of whom confessed in a Methodist camp-meeting that he had belonged to the famous Murrill band of robbers which gave the authorities trouble for a number of years in the Mississippi Valley. Burnett speaks of several 'idle, worthless young men, too lazy to work at home, and too genteel to steal; while some others were gamblers, and others reputed thieves;' but says that in Oregon they were compelled to work or starve, and that this necessity made them good citizens. *Recollections of a Pioneer*, 180–1.

view with McLoughlin before making a formal proposition. To most of the people of Oregon the bringing the officers of the British fur company into the organization was a surprise, and the manner of it a secret. Gray, who as a member of the legislature must have known much of the inside history, dismisses the subject by attributing the concession to what he calls McLoughlin's amphibiousness.[46] But this curt ignoring of a matter of the highest importance to the colony does not answer the purpose of history. McLoughlin has himself left on record a narrative of the circumstances, in which he says that Applegate approached him, privately, with the proposition to unite with the Americans in the government compact, and that at first he objected; but that Applegate pointed out to him the security it would offer the property of the company, and how much it would conduce to the maintenance of peace and order to have it known to the American people that the two nationalities were united in Oregon. "There will be a large immigration this year," said Applegate; "you may depend there will be many who will follow Williamson's example."[47]

Remembering the feelings which the person urging him to the measure had once entertained, and reflecting that he had a thorough knowledge of the sentiments of his countrymen, McLoughlin deemed it prudent to yield; especially as in June he had received in answer to his call on the directors of the company in London a communication informing him that in the present state of affairs the company could not obtain protection from the government, but it must protect itself the best way it could.[48] In the judgment of McLoughlin, the best way to protect the company's property was to accept the invitation tendered by the Americans to join in their government organization,[49]

[46] *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 422.
[47] *Private Papers*, MS., 3d ser., 15.
[48] *Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser., 13, 14.
[49] Tolmie, in his *Hist. Puget Sound*, MS., 22, says substantially that Mc-

and he, with Douglas, signified his consent to receive a formal proposition. A letter was then addressed to McLoughlin, and conveyed to him by Applegate.[50]

In the consideration of the proposition made to them, there were other subjects besides that of allegiance to be duly weighed, an important one of which was the matter of taxes, the company's property being all taxable according to the laws of the organization, and being greater in value than that of all the colonists together. To avoid being made to support the Oregon government *in toto*, an agreement was entered into that the company should pay taxes only on the goods sold to the white inhabitants of the country; and on this understanding a letter of acceptance of their invitation was returned to the committee,[51] and the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company became, with all the British residents, parties to the political compact of Oregon.[52] In the election of officers, James Douglas

Loughlin and Applegate arranged between them the method by which the British and Americans could unite without prejudice to their duties as loyal citizens and subjects of their respective countries.

[50] 'Oregon City, Aug. 14, 1845. To Dr John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of H. B. Co. Sir: As a question has arisen in the house of representatives on the subject of apportionment upon which we feel peculiarly situated, we beg leave to ask of you a question, the answer to which will enable us to come to a definite conclusion upon that subject. The question to which we would be happy to receive an answer is this: Do you think the gentlemen belonging to the company over which you preside will become parties to the articles of compact, by the payment of taxes and in other respects complying with the laws of the provisional government? Your answer to this query is most respectfully solicited. Yours, with the highest respect. I. W. Smith, H. A. G. Lee, J. M. Garrison, Barton Lee.' *Or. Archives*, MS., 71.

[51] 'Oregon City, Aug. 15, 1845. I. W. Smith and others. Gentlemen: We have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 14th inst., and beg in reply to say, that, viewing the organization as a compact of certain parties, British and American subjects residing in Oregon, to afford each other protection in person and property, to maintain the peace of the community, and prevent the commission of crime—a protection which all parties in this country feel they particularly stand in need of, as neither the British nor American government appear at liberty to extend the jurisdiction of their laws to this part of America; and moreover seeing that this compact does not interfere with our duties and allegiance to our respective governments, nor with any rights of trade now enjoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company—we, the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, consent to become parties to the articles of compact, provided we are called upon to pay taxes only on our sales to settlers. We have the honor to be, etc. John McLoughlin, James Douglas.' *Or. Archives*, MS., 72.

[52] At the very time these negotiations were going on, a resolution was offered in the house by David Hill, 'that no person belonging to the Hudson's

was chosen district judge for three years, and Charles Forrest, superintendent of the Cowlitz farm for one year; while M. T. Simmons of Newmarket on the Sound was elected to the two years' term; and John R. Jackson was made sheriff of Vancouver district. So soon after war had seemed imminent on Oregon soil were the extremes of both parties united in a common service by the sagacity of a few men of good judgment on both sides.

Having accomplished so much, the house proceeded to elect officers for the several districts south of the Columbia. The first choice for supreme judge was Nathaniel Ford, who declined, and Peter H. Burnett was elected. For Champoeg County, E. E. Parrish, F. X. Matthieu, and Daniel Waldo were chosen in the order named to fill the three, two, and one year terms of district judges; William Morrison, sheriff. For Tualatin County, B. Q. Tucker, H. Higgins, and William Burris were chosen judges; T. Smith, sheriff. For Yamhill County, James O'Neil, J. Hembre, and Joel P. Walker,[53] judges; and A. Hembre, sheriff. For Clackamas County, P. G. Stewart, Frederick Prigg, and F. W. Pettygrove, judges; William Holmes, sheriff. For Clatsop County, W. T. Perry, Robert Shortess, and Calvin Tibbits, judges; Thomas Owens, sheriff. Some changes were made at the December session, Prigg being chosen in place of Stewart, resigned; C. E. Pickett in place of Prigg, and S. Whites in place of Pettygrove. For Champoeg County, W. H. Willson was chosen president of the bench; and a Mr Golding was elected a judge for Clatsop County. The governor was elected superintendent of Indian affairs; John E. Long, secretary of the territory; F. Ermatinger, treasurer: W. G. T'Vault, postmaster-

Bay Company, or in their service, shall ever be considered as citizens of the government of Oregon, nor have the right of suffrage or elective franchise;' but was rejected by the majority.

[53] Joel P. Walker had returned from California, whither he went in 1841, and brought with him a large herd of cattle for sale. He remained several years in Oregon, but finally settled permanently in California.

general; and Joseph L. Meek, marshal. Thus was the machinery of a popular and efficient form of government set in motion, which joined the lion and the eagle not one moment too soon. For a few days after McLoughlin and Douglas had given their consent to the union, there arrived from Puget Sound, in company with Chief Factor Ogden, Lieutenant William Peel, third son of Sir Robert Peel, and Captain Park, of the royal marines, with a letter from Captain John Gordon, brother of the earl of Aberdeen, and commander of the British fifty-gun ship of war *America*, of the British squadron in the Pacific, at that time amounting to fifteen vessels, carrying over four hundred guns.[54]

Captain Park brought also a letter from Admiral Seymour, informing McLoughlin that firm protection would be given British subjects in Oregon, and not long after, another letter from Captain Baillie of the *Modeste*, which had been in the Columbia the previous summer, informing him that he was sent by the admiral to afford protection to her Majesty's subjects in Oregon, if they required it.

Had these proffers of protection, which really meant war, come in the month of June instead of August, the Oregon Question would have taken a different

[54] The English fleet of war in the Pacific, besides the *America*, consisted of the following vessels:

Collingswood, ship of the line, 80 guns, Sir G. F. Seymour, commander. Frigates: *Grampus*, 50 guns, C. B. Martin, commander; *Fisgard*, 42 guns, J. A. Duntz, commander; *Juno*, 26 guns, P. J. Blake, commander; *Talbot*, 26 guns, Sir T. Thompson, commander; *Carysfort*, 26 guns, Seymour, commander; *Herald*, 26 guns, Henry Kellet, commander. Sloops: *Modeste*, 18 guns, Thomas Baillie, commander; *Daphne*, 18 guns, Onslow, commander. Steamers: *Sampson*, 6 guns, Henderson, commander; *Cormorant*, 6 guns, George T. Gordon, commander; *Salamander*, 6 guns, A. S. Hammond, commander. Brigs: *Frolic*, 6 guns, C. B. Hamilton, commander; *Pandora*, 6 guns, S. Wood, commander. *Spy*, brigantine, 3 guns, O. Woodbridge, commander. Total number of guns, 355.

United States vessels of war in the Pacific: *Columbus*, ship of the line, 86 guns, Biddle, commander. Frigates: *Congress*, 60 guns, Stockton, commander; *Savannah*, 60 guns, J. D. Sloat, commander. Sloops: *Portsmouth*, 24 guns, Montgomery, commander; *Levant*, 24 guns, Page, commander; *Warren*, 24 guns, Hall, commander; *Cyane*, 24 guns, Mervine, commander. *Shark*, schooner, 12 guns, Howison, commander. *Erie*, store-ship, 8 guns, Turner, commander. Total number of guns, 322. *Oregon Spectator*, Dec. 10, 1846.

turn. McLoughlin could not then have refused to have the company's property protected, especially after having expressed his fears, as he did in 1843. Nor did he refuse it now; although, as he says, he was at first inclined to do so, thinking himself safe through the organization; but Douglas suggested that it would be well to have the *Modeste* in the river, in view of the threatening aspect of the political horizon, and the large immigration expected in the autumn.[55]

The discussions at Vancouver during the visit of the British naval officers were often warm, Captain Park anxiously inquiring into the practicability of bringing troops overland from Canada, and saying that if it came to blows, "we will hit them a good deal harder than we would other people," to the distress of McLoughlin, who could only answer in astonishment and disapproval, "O Captain Park! Captain Park!"[56]

Before returning to the sound, where the *America* was lying, near the lower end of Whidbey Island, Park and Peel made a brief tour of the Willamette Valley, visiting some of the principal men among the settlers, perhaps at the suggestion of the wise McLoughlin, who could foresee the effect of such contact. At the house of Applegate, who gave him an account of the emigration of 1843, Peel declared that such men as composed it must make "the best soldiers in the world," with a new comprehension of what it would be to fight them. "I told him," says Applegate, "that they were probably brave enough, but would never submit to discipline as soldiers. If the president himself had started across the plains to command a company, the first time he should choose a bad camp, or in any other way offend them, they would turn him out, and elect some one among themselves who should suit them better."[57]

[55] *Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser., 16.
[56] *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 5.
[57] *Views of History*, MS., 14, 15.

I have no doubt, from the evidence, that the visit of Park and Peel, together with the act of McLoughlin in joining the compact of the provisional government, saved the country a war, and influenced the final settlement of the boundary question. When they came to Vancouver they expected to maintain England's hold of the north side of the Columbia River; but they found the Hudson's Bay Company bound in an agreement of mutual protection with the Americans; they learned the fearless and resolute character of the colonists, and their rapidly increasing numbers, and were constantly checked in their expressions of hostility by McLoughlin, who assured them, and even wrote to England, that the country "was not worth a war." [58]

After a few weeks Park and Peel returned to join the *America*, which sailed for Honolulu and Valparaiso in September; the *Fisgard*, Captain Duntz, taking her place on the sound, and remaining some months at Nisqually; and the *Modeste* anchoring in front of Vancouver, about the 1st of October. Captain Gordon, after arriving on the South American coast, received such advices from England as to cause him to gather up in haste the money of the British residents, and sail away to England without waiting for orders from the admiral.[59] In the mean time, Lieutenant Peel was beforehand with him, taking the shorter route by Vera Cruz and Habana [60] to London, where he arrived in January 1846, as bearer of de-

[58] Says Roberts: 'The doctor counselled those about him to peace, saying that all that could be done in Oregon in the event of a war between the United States and Great Britain could not affect the final issue, and it was better to remain friends.' *Recollections*, MS., 61.

[59] It is said that Gordon, when questioned, agreed with McLoughlin, that 'the country was not worth a war,' but on entirely different grounds. He was speaking literally, because he found the Nisqually plains a bed of gravel; and because, being fond of angling, the salmon would not rise to the fly. A country where the fish were not lively enough for his sport was in his estimation worthless. But the salmon were not the only fish in Oregon that refused to rise to the fly of the British angler.

[60] This information was communicated by letter to the *N. Y. Journal of Commerce*, and copied in the *S. I. Polynesian* of April 25th, whence it found its way into the *Or. Spectator*, July 4, 1846.

spatches from Admiral Seymour. It was rumored in Habana that the whole English squadron was making sail for the Columbia River; but the rumor did not, apparently, originate with Lieutenant Peel.[61]

Before one pair of spies quitted Vancouver another arrived. On the 28th of August appeared, unannounced, at the headquarters of the fur company, Lieutenant Henry Warre of the 54th, and Lieutenant Vavasour of the royal engineers, who had left England April 5th, and crossed the continent by way of Red River, Fort Pitt, and Fort Colville. They spent their time in apparent half idleness at Vancouver, surveying a little about the mouth of the Columbia, but in reality gathering information relative to the position of affairs between the British subjects and American citizens in Oregon. That which they learned was not at all satisfactory, as it afterward appeared; and their report, though doubtless tending, like that of Peel, to influence the English government in resigning its pretensions to the territory south of the 49th parallel, was damaging in its accusations against McLoughlin, as a British subject, if not as the head of the corporation he represented in Oregon.

It was charged, mainly, that the policy pursued by the Hudson's Bay Company at the different posts in the Oregon Territory had tended to the introduction of American settlers into the country until they outnumbered the British.[62] And to prove this position, they instanced the assistance rendered the different immigrations, one of which was arriving while they were at Vancouver. They had, it was said, sold

[61] Roberts describes Peel as a 'fine young fellow, well bronzed, rather taller, but reminding me of young Dana, geologist of the U. S. exploring expedition. Peel died in India, in command of the *Shannon*.' Park, he says, was a 'well-knit man, capable of unlimited service, who probably had charge of Peel.' Neither was an officer of the *America*. *Recollections*, MS., 5.

[62] McLoughlin, in answer to this particular charge, says that ever since 1826, when Smith, Sublette, and Jackson led their trapping parties west of the Rocky Mountains, the Americans had outnumbered the British in Oregon. This would have been a point on the side of the American plenipotentiary had he known it.

goods to the American settlers at cheaper rates than to British subjects. They had suffered themselves to join the provisional organization, "without any reserve except the mere form of the oath." Their lands had been invaded, and themselves insulted, until they required the protection of government "against the very people to the introduction of whom they have been more than accessory," and more of a like import.

The answer made by McLoughlin, while it was intended only for the eyes of the London directors, or the ministry, contains matter of much interest to the student of Oregon history. Concerning the friendship shown the missionaries, he said: "What would you have? Would you have me turn the cold shoulder to the man of God who came to do that for the Indians which the company had neglected to do?" As to the first settlers, men from the mountains and the sea, he had tried to prevent their remaining idle and becoming destitute, and therefore dangerous to the good order and safety of the company's servants. Drive them away he could not, having neither the right nor the power. To the allegation that the trading posts of the company had been used to save American immigrants from starvation and the Indians,[63] he replied that it had long been safe for two men to travel from Fort Hall to Vancouver, or twenty men from Fort Hall eastward, and therefore that the immigrants owed it not to the trading posts that they were spared by the savages, and as to other assistance rendered in furnishing boats, and in some instances goods, the immigrants had not come to Oregon expecting a cordial reception from him, but quite the contrary; and that while he had done some things for humanity's sake,[64]

[63] By the wording of the report of Warre and Vavasour, it might be inferred that they preferred the immigrants to be cut off, and blamed the doctor that they were not.

[64] I have before me a letter written by Courtney M. Walker, who was for some time a clerk of the company at Fort Hall, in which he says: 'Well indeed was it that this noble man was at the head of affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company when the American pioneers came to these shores seeking homes; for without the aid they met at the hands of the doctor, they could not have

he had intended to and had averted evil from the company by using courtesy and kindness toward the American immigrants.

As to joining the organization, he showed that in 1843 he had written to England of the threats against Vancouver, and asked for protection, but had not received it, while the dogs of war were snarling and threatening, and the Americans outnumbered the British subjects ten to one in the settled portions of Oregon; and failing in this, had done the best thing he knew how to do for the company and humanity. He admitted that the lands of British subjects had been invaded, but proportionally in a less degree than those of the colonists by each other.[65] "And, after all," he says, "I have found British subjects just as keen at catching at an opportunity to benefit themselves, and that in instances to my cost, as these American backwoodsmen."[66]

To the accusation that the company had submitted to insult from the Americans, he replied: "They were not to consider themselves insulted because an ignorant man thought he had a better right to a piece of land than they had, and attempted to establish his right in the only way the law admitted." And to the taunt that having brought this state of affairs on himself, he then wanted protection, he answered that protection had been asked for British property, but more particularly for British rights, from the aggressions of a people who had been publicly encouraged by the promises of congress of donations of land—a circumstance which the British government had taken

remained or lived. When it was known at Vancouver that immigrants were coming across the plains, orders were sent along the line, to Walla Walla, Boisé, and Fort Hall, not to let the poor people suffer, but to help them along, and teach the Indians to do so also.

[65] Four cases are mentioned; the claim of McTavish, the intruder, being put off by the organization; the claim of his son, his own, and the company's lands at Vancouver.

[66] Reference is here made to the fact that some of the company's servants were allowed to made claims on the land about Vancouver, under the land law, to keep off Americans, with the understanding that they held for the company, but who refused afterward to relinquish their possession. *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 61.

no notice of, further than it had of the application of the company for protection of its property. As for the officers of the company, they required no protection, being personally as much esteemed and respected as any individuals in the country.

Having answered these several charges specifically, he summed up on the main one of being "more than accessory" to the introduction of American settlers, by saying that the company had defeated every American trader in fair opposition, while so conducting themselves that neither they nor their friends had any occasion to be ashamed of their conduct. The great influx of missionaries, whom they had no right or power to prevent coming, and the statements they circulated through the public prints, was, he said, the remote cause of Linn's bill offering donations of land, concerning which the British government had seen fit to be silent, thereby itself becoming "more than accessory" to the American settlement of Oregon. He repelled the assumption that it was the duty of the company to defend England's right to territory. The obligation of the company's officers, he asserted, was to do their duty to the company, whatever their feelings might be, and, minding their proper business, let the government take care of its own affairs.

He admitted helping the immigrants of 1843, 1844, and 1845, with boats to transport their families and property to the Willamette before the Columbia should be closed with ice, in which case those left behind must perish of starvation; taking the sick into the hospital at Vancouver for treatment, thereby saving several lives. And he also admitted assisting the immigrants of 1843 to put a crop in the ground, both as a means for providing for their support and of saving the company from the necessity of feeding the next immigration. "If we had not done this," he declared, "Vancouver would have been destroyed, and the world would have judged us treated as our inhuman conduct deserved; every officer of the com-

pany, from the governor down, would have been covered with obloquy, the company's business in this department would have been ruined, and the trouble which would have arisen in consequence would have probably involved the British and American nations in war. If I have been the means," he added, "by my measures, of arresting any of these evils, I shall be amply repaid by the approbation of my conscience, and of all good men. It is true," he said, in conclusion, "that I have heard some say they would have done differently; and if my memory does not deceive me, I think I have heard Mr Vavasour say this; but as explanation might give publicity to my apprehensions and object, and destroy my measures, I was silent, in the full reliance that some day justice would be done me; and as these gentlemen were not responsible, and I was, I took the liberty of judging for myself, communicating them only to Mr Douglas under the injunction of secrecy."[67]

The conduct of McLoughlin was discussed in the house of commons, where it was said that by some people he was called the 'father of the country,' and said to have settled it greatly at his own expense, while by others it was declared that he had discouraged settlement.[68] In his own statement of his acts and motives the remarkable passages are those in which he confesses himself guilty of the main charge, that of sympathizing with the Americans, or with equal rights, which is the same thing. Aristocrat as he was considered by the colonists,[69] and autocrat as he really was, for twenty years throughout the country west of the Rocky Mountains, he still bravely returned the assaults of his enemies in the language of a republican. He defended the American charac-

[67] I have taken this abstract of McLoughlin's defence from his remarks on the report of Warre and Vavasour, which was sent by Sir George Simpson to Mr Douglas, and by him handed to McLoughlin after he had resigned and settled at Oregon City in 1846. It constitutes series 3, *Private Papers*.

[68] *House of Commons Rept.*, 294.

[69] *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 153; *Parrish's Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 98; *Simpson's Or. Ter. Claims*, 32–5.

ter from the slurs of government spies, saying "they have the same right to come that I have to be here," touching lightly upon the ingratitude of those who forgot to pay him their just debts, and the rudeness of those whom White mentions as making him blush for American honor.

But whether he favored the company's interests against the British, or British interests against the company's, or maintained both against the American interest, or favored the American interest against either, or labored to preserve harmony between all, the suspicions of both conflicting parties fell upon him, and being forced to maintain silence, he had the bad fortune to be pulled to pieces between them. Foreseeing something of this, feeling himself spied upon by the British government, as well as by Sir George Simpson, having a large property interest south of the Columbia, and being perhaps weary of a responsibility that with increasing years became increasingly burdensome, he tendered his resignation as head of the company in Oregon, in the autumn of 1845, and took up his residence at Oregon City in the following spring,[70] with the intention of becoming an American citizen when the boundary question was settled, or his resignation was accepted. With the next spring came the news of the election of President Polk and the threat of war with England, causing him the greatest perplexity. Change his allegiance in time of war he could not, without forfeiting his estates in Canada, and perhaps his life as a traitor. Neither could he, in the event of war, retain his dearly held claim at Oregon City. Then came Warre and Vavasour, as he well knew with no good intent toward him, while the political horizon grew no brighter. In his perplexity he took advice of Burnett, then chief justice of Oregon, and Applegate, the man through whom the recent fusion of British

[70] *Tolmie's Puget Sound*, MS., 47; *Holden's Pioneering*, MS., 2, 3; *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 30.

and American interests in Oregon had been consummated. Applegate urged him to take the oath of allegiance to the United States,[71] his resignation having been accepted; but Burnett objected that he had no authority from the government to administer the oath; "and to Mr Burnett's timidity," says Applegate, "was owing the doctor's subsequent troubles with individuals and the United States government." This opinion is not mine, however. The missionary party would have found that the oath was without authority, and the result would have been the same. They made war on him after he came to Oregon City. In addition, he lost heavily through the debts of the settlers, which the company put upon him, if not wholly, at least to a great amount,[72] and was severely attacked by English writers, notably in *Fitzgerald's Hudson's Bay Company.*

It was fortunate that neither the dissatisfaction of the English ministry, the Hudson's Bay Company, nor the defiant tone of the American press and con-

[71] 'Every British subject south of the Columbia would have followed his example,' says Applegate; 'then in case of war we would have had friends instead of enemies in our midst; and it would not have left the shadow of truth to the falsehood used by his enemies that he was a British propagandist, and had refused to become an American citizen.'

[72] These debts aggregated a sum variously stated by different authorities, but usually at about $60,000. Applegate says this charge was revoked on the motion of his associates in office, who protested in a body against the injustice to a man who had been of such service to the company; but that notwithstanding this he preferred to be responsible for a large amount. The personal pride and dignified reticence of McLoughlin prevented a knowledge of his private affairs becoming public; and even his family and heirs were in ignorance concerning his losses. Sir James Douglas testified before the joint commission which settled the affairs of the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound companies, that the doctor was not held responsible for the debts of the American settlers. *H. B. Co. Ev., H. B. Co. Claims,* 61. J. Q. Thornton, who at one time was his attorney, stated before the same commission, and has frequently asserted in public, that the company held McLoughlin responsible. The same statement is made in *Thornton's Hist. Or.*, MS., 7–13; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 321–2; *Blanchet's Cath. Ch. in Or.*, 71; *Waldo's Critiques,* MS., 14, and in many authorities not here quoted, because most of them are simply copyists of the others. And while I think it quite probable that his fellow-officers made an offer to bear their portion of the loss, from the best information I can gather, I am persuaded that the principal burden came upon him by his own choice, and through his Scotch pride. His daughter states that she overheard, after his removal to Oregon City, some gentlemen conversing about his affairs, who said that he 'had trusted the immigrants more than he could himself pay.' *Harvey's Life of McLoughlin,* MS., 33.

gress, could affect the status of the Oregon government, composed of individuals of both nationalities outside of the jurisdiction of either; to which fact was due the continued peace and prosperity of the colony in 1845.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE IMMIGRATION OF 1845.

A Notable Migration—Various Starting-points—Divisions and Companies—Joel Palmer—Samuel K. Barlow—Presley Welch—Samuel Hancock—Bacon and Buck—W. G. T'Vault—John Waymire—Solomon Tetherow—California Extolled at Fort Hall—Meeting with White—His Fatal Friendship—A Long Cut-off—Hardships on the Malheur—Disease and Death at the Dalles—Heartlessness of Waller and Brewer—Emmet's Wanderings—The Incoming by Sea—Names of the Immigrants—Third Session of the Legislature—Explorations for Immigrant Pass—Wagon-road—Public Buildings, Capital, and Liquor Questions—New Counties—Revenue.

The immigration of 1845 was larger than any that had preceded it, three thousand persons arriving before the end of the year, and doubling the white population of Oregon.[1] There were present at the east the same underlying motives in this exodus which drove west the bands of former years—restlessness of spirit, dissatisfaction with home, want of a market, and distance from the sea.[2]

[1] *Hines' Or. and Ins.*, 209; *Marshall's Statement*, MS., 1; *McLoughlin's Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser., 23; *Saxton's Or. Ter.*, 20; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 453.

[2] There were some original views advanced by Charles Saxton, who, while returning to the United States with White, met this army of adventurers in the Snake River country; as these views are not without interest, I will quote them briefly. 'Causes have been operating for the last twenty-five years in the north Atlantic states to produce this unparalleled mighty movement across the American continent. A system of aristocracy has oppressed the laboring classes, and roused the people to fly to the western states to avoid the soup and parish relief societies, as witnessed in Europe; and in the west the pioneers were compelled to seek new homes for their large families, and to find, if possible, a suitable market for their produce, and a range for their herds. Congress, by an unwise act of legislation, not regarding the indomitable spirit of enterprise in the descendants of the Jamestown colony by land, and the Plymouth colony by sea, nearly blockaded the great thoroughfare of western emigration on land by congregating the various tribes of

There were two or more points of departure from the Missouri frontier this year; and there were many companies. Two divisions rendezvoused at Independence; one with twenty-five wagons, under Presley Welch, with Joel Palmer and Samuel K. Barlow as aids, and one commanded by Samuel Hancock, consisting of forty wagons. Hancock, with Bacon and others of this immigration, have contributed liberally to my historical archives.[3]

A third company, with fifty-two wagons, left St Joseph under the command of Hackleman, to which belonged W. W. Buck of Oregon City,[4] well known in his adopted country. A fourth company of sixty-one wagons and three hundred persons, starting from St Joseph also, was commanded by W. G. T'Vault, with John Waymire as lieutenant, and James Allen as sergeant. There was another company of sixty-six wagons, and about the same number of persons, under Solomon Tetherow. Here, as elsewhere in human

Indians on the western shore of the Missouri River, and inappropriately calling it our western frontier. But the pioneers of 1843 and 1844 broke over the barrier, passed the red men of the forest, and established themselves in their new homes in Oregon and California. In this mighty movement we see human nature waking in her might from the slumber of centuries, girding herself for the conflict, and overcoming every obstacle, going forth to assert her inalienable rights, and the equality of men throughout the American continent.' *Or. Ter.*, 23–4. *Niles' Reg.*, lxviii. 339–40, has some remarks on the thoughtless and aimless rush of well-conditioned people to seek poverty and hardships. *Polynesian*, Jan. 31, 1846; McKinlay, in *H. B. Co. Ev.*, *H. B. Co. Claims*, 100. Saxton's pamphlet on *Oregon Territory* appears to have been first published in Washington, and afterward reproduced in Oregon City by George Abernethy. It contains the laws of Oregon, with an account of the political condition of the country, its resources, soil, climate, productions, and progress in education, with facts and figures concerning population, and other matters, enlivened by some eloquent passages, original and quoted, of a patriotic nature.

[3] Hancock settled on Whidbey Island in Puget Sound. He has written a large manuscript volume, entitled *Thirteen Years' Residence on the Northwest Coast*, narrating the incidents of the immigration and many of his adventures on the Pacific coast. J. M. Bacon, of Barlow's division, has also written on the subject. Bacon was a native of Buffalo. Love of adventure induced him to go to Oregon. Engaging in various mercantile pursuits, he eventually settled permanently in Oregon City. His *Mercantile Life at Oregon City*, MS., is a running commentary on the business and business men of the country.

[4] W. W. Buck was born in New York in 1804, but emigrated from Ohio. He was a saddle and harness maker, a man of intelligence and enterprise, and his manuscript gives the history of several of the first manufactories of the country, in which he was interested, under the name of *Enterprises at Oregon City*, MS.

gatherings, the men of might came naturally to the front. In every migration the men selected as captains at the start continued to maintain, either by talent or habit, the leadership of their fellows after reaching their destination.

Nothing unusual befell the travellers between the Missouri and Snake rivers. At Fort Hall, according to the testimony of several, an effort was made to turn the immigration toward California; and whatever unfavorable information they received concerning the distance, the road, or the natives, was imputed to the desire of the British fur company to prevent this great influx of Americans into Oregon.[5] There were, however, other influences used at Fort Hall to turn American emigration to California, and from Americans themselves. The presence of the British and French squadrons in the Pacific, with the condition of Mexico, made it evident that California would soon fall into the hands of one of these two nations unless the United States sustained the popular Monroe doctrine, which was to leave no room for monarchies on North American soil. The cabinet at Washington well understood that should Great Britain seize California she would be in a position to hold Oregon.[6] To prevent such a consummation without hostility was the secret care of a few statesmen, of whom Benton was one of the most adroit as well as enthusiastic.[7]

[5] *Palmer's Journal*, 43; *Bacon's Merc. Life Or.*, MS., 3.

[6] *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 6.

[7] In October 1844, in a speech at St Louis, Benton uttered this prophecy, already fulfilled:

'I say the man is alive, full grown, and is listening to what I say (without believing it perhaps), who will yet see the Asiatic commerce traversing the North Pacific Ocean—entering the Oregon River—climbing the western slope of the Rocky Mountains—issuing from its gorges—and spreading its fertilizing streams over our wide-extended Union! The steamboat and the steam-car have not exhausted all their wonders. They have not yet even found their amplest and most appropriate theatres—the tranquil surface of the North Pacific Ocean, and the vast inclined plains which spread east and west from the base of the Rocky Mountains. The magic boat and the flying car are not yet seen upon this ocean and this plain, but they will be seen there; and St Louis is yet to find herself as near to Canton as she now is to London, with a better and safer route, by land and sea, to China and Japan, than she now has to France and Great Britain.' *Oregon Spectator*, Sept. 17, 1846.

No significance was attached to the fact that one of the Greenwoods of the previous year's pilgrimage to California was at Fort Hall with a young man named McDougal, from Indiana, who had been despatched from California to guide the travellers through, and who were, as Palmer says, well stocked with falsehoods to induce them to take the California road. According to Palmer, fifteen wagons had been fitted out for California at the outset, and the owners of thirty-five more were persuaded by these men to join them.[8] He was probably speaking of his wing of the immigration; for Saxton informs us that there were forty-six wagons destined for California on leaving Independence.[9] Gray admits that L. W. Hastings, of White's immigration, did all he could to turn the people to California. The anxiety to populate that territory became intelligible when in the following spring, Frémont, acting on secret despatches, retraced his steps to California, in order that by land as well as by sea English occupancy should be anticipated by Americans.[10]

The immigration progressed well after leaving Fort Hall, with the exception of the loss of two men supposed to have been killed by the natives, while hunting at the crossing of Snake River;[11] and from there to the Malheur River all went well. But at the Hot Springs near Fort Boisé a portion of the endless caravan, one of the Independence companies, was met by White, of whose unsuccessful explorations of a few weeks previous I have already given an account.[12]

[8] He also says in a note to his *Journal*, p. 44, that the immigrants alluded to, not finding California to be as represented, removed from there to Oregon; but he does not give their names.

[9] Forty-six wagons, 320 oxen, 98 men, 40 women, and 57 children. *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 453.

[10] The *Collingwood*, says Roberts, was on her way to seize California, when they found they were too late. Several nations had an eye, about that time, to this coast. The Irish were temporarily quieted by the passage of the Maynooth bill. *Recollections*, MS., 60.

[11] *Hancock's Thirteen Years*, MS., 70.

[12] The first companies White met were Barlow's, Knighton's, and McDonald's, numbering 800, near Grand Rond. The second was Palmer's near

From the fact that this company was the one to try his projected route to the heart of the Willamette Valley, it appears that White was responsible for the disasters that followed, though the guide, Stephen H. L. Meek, who probably followed White's advice, and was ambitious to distinguish himself also, incurred all the blame. However that may be, about two hundred families were persuaded to try a cut-off, with the assurance that they would save two hundred miles of travel by following the Malheur River and traversing the country to a pass in the mountains at the head of the Willamette Valley.

The route undertaken was an abandoned trail of the fur-trappers, which for several days they followed without experiencing unusual trouble. But in crossing the Malheur Mountains the country became so stony that wagons-tracks could scarcely be discerned on the disintegrated rock.[13] The feet of the oxen became so sore that the poor creatures would lie down and could with great difficulty be forced to move forward. Not finding grass, the loose cattle constantly turned back, and thus gave unceasing trouble. Forced by the nature of the country out of his proper course, the pilot bore far to the south, where was found good grass, but only nauseous alkaline water. By day the temperature was high, and at night ice formed in the

Boisé; and the third the St Joseph's company, near the Salmon Falls of Snake River. *White's Ten Years in Or.*, 282; *Buck's Enterprises*, MS., 1, 2; *Palmer's Journal*, 50.

[13] The first gold discovery in Oregon made by any American, if not by any person, was near the head of the Malheur River, on a small creek divided from the Malheur by a ridge. This stream ran south-west, and was supposed to be a branch of the Malheur, an error that caused much trouble and disappointment to prospectors eight or ten years later. Daniel Herron, a cousin of W. J. Herron of Salem, was looking for lost cattle while the company were in camp here, and picked up a piece of shining metal on the rocky bed of the creek, and carried it to camp as a curiosity. No one could tell what the metal was, and no one thought of its being gold. Another nugget was found and brought to Mr Martin's wagon, who tested it by hammering it out on his wagon-tire; but not being able to tell its nature, it was thrown into the tool-chest and forgotten, and ultimately lost. After the gold discovery in California these incidents were remembered, and many parties went in search of the spot where the emigrants said this gold was found, but were misled by being told it was on a tributary of the Malheur. S. A. Clarke, in *Portland Daily Bee*, Feb. 6, 1869; *Overland Monthly*, iv. 201-2.

water-buckets. Neither savages nor game were found in this desolate region. There was no indication that it had ever been traversed by civilized man, and it slowly dawned upon the comprehension of the wanderers that their pilot knew nothing of the country to which he had brought them, and from which it was doubtful if he would be able to extricate them. In the mean time, extremes of temperature, improper and insufficient nourishment, with mental agitation, brought on a sickness known as mountain fever, while the children were attacked with dysentery from drinking the alkaline waters, resulting in several deaths.

Refusing to go farther in this direction and turning north from here, they were led over a dry ridge between the John Day and Des Chutes rivers, where again the supply of water was insufficient, and a hundred men rode all day looking in every direction for springs or streams, while a hundred others pursued the famishing stock which ran wildly in search of water. A company which had gone in advance of the main body here returned and reported no better prospects so far as they had travelled. Despair settled upon the people; old men and children wept together, and the strongest could not speak hopefully. Only the women continued to show firmness and courage.[14]

The murmurs which had for some time been breathed against their guide now became angry threatenings; the people refused to listen to his counsel when the trail became lost, and he was warned that his life was in danger. Meek realized what it was to be at the mercy of a frenzied mob in the wilderness, but was unwilling to desert them, because he knew from the general contour of the country and the advice of natives that they would reach the Columbia River in a few days by continuing a certain course.[15]

[14] S. A. Clarke, in *Portland Daily Bee*, Feb. 6, 1869. See Staat's Address, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1877, 50–1.

[15] Tetherow, writing in the *Or. Spectator*, March 18, 1847, says that Meek procured an Indian guide to conduct him to the Dalles; and another writer in the same paper of February 18, 1847, says that the wanderers went as far

A hurried consultation took place, and by the advice of Samuel Hancock, Meek, who was supposed to have fled, was to secrete himself, while some of his friends would prepare to start with him the following morning for the Dalles.[16] This plan was carried out, and on the afternoon of the second day they reached a tributary of Des Chutes River; the joy of the suffering men, women, and children, expressing itself in silent tears or loud cries, according to age and temperament.

Continuing down the stream and coming to the main river, they found it to flow through a deep cañon with walls so precipitous that the only way in which water could be procured was by lowering a vessel at the end of two hundred feet of rope in the hands of a man, himself held by a strong rope in the grasp of his fellows. Following the river, they came at last to a place where the cattle could be driven down and crossed by swimming; but which was not considered a safe fording-place for the wagons. To overcome this difficulty, a wagon-bed suspended from a cable stretched between the banks was drawn back and forth by means of rollers and ropes; and in this vehicle families and goods were transported to the other side.

While this aerial ferry was in process of construction the main body began to overtake them, and Meek was informed that the father of two young men who had died that day, in consequence, as he believed, of the hardships of this route, had sworn to take Meek's life before the sun should set. Not doubting that the vow would be kept, if the incensed father met him while his wrath was hot, the unfortunate guide fled with his wife to the camp of some

south-west as Silver Lake, or Klamath Marsh, which would have brought them opposite Diamond Peak pass. It is doubtful if they went so far, as there were other marshes more central.

[16] *Hancock's Thirteen Years*, MS., 75. Elisha Packwood also says that Meek was not so bad a man as he was pictured by the immigrants; and that at the very time they were so anxious to hang him, if they had submitted he would have brought them to the settlements. *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., i. 59.

natives, and was sent across the river in a manner similar to that described, except that not even a basket was used to support himself and wife in mid-air, being upheld merely by a slip-noose.

Procuring horses from the natives, Meek hastened to reach the Dalles, where he made known to Waller and Brewer the condition of the lost companies,[17] and besought their aid; but they rendered no assistance.[18] He succeeded, however, in finding a guide in the person of Moses Harris, who had deserted White's party the first day out from the Dalles, and happened to be at this place. Harris gathered a few horse-loads of food and hurried to the relief of the immigrants, whom he found at the crossing of Des Chutes, and which was not more than thirty-five miles from the Dalles, near where Tyghe Creek comes into this river.[19]

The passage of the river detained them for two weeks,[20] and they arrived at the Dalles about the middle of October, having lost about twenty of their company from sickness. As many more died soon after reaching the settlements, either from disease

[17] *Hancock's Thirteen Years*, MS., 78–81

[18] Elisha Packwood, who was also among the lost immigrants, as they have always been called to distinguish them from those who kept to the beaten path, relates that Meek made great exertions to get a guide and some persons to go to their assistance from the mission, but without success; and says, in plain terms, that it was through sheer heartlessness that he was refused. Morse, who took down Packwood's statement, says it is the testimony of all the old pioneers 'that for rank selfishness, heartlessness, avarice, and a desire to take advantage of the necessities of the emigrants to the utmost, the mission at the Dalles exceeded any other institution on the Northwest Coast. This is a terrible charge, but a conversation with fifty different pioneers who crossed the plains in an early day will satisfy any one of the fact.' *Morse's Wash. Ter.*, MS., i. 60–1.

[19] Moses Harris, commonly known as Black Harris, or the Black Squire, among mountain men, like others of his class, had the gift of story-telling, and was noted for a famous fiction about a petrified forest which he had seen, on which the leaves and birds were preserved in all the beauty of life, the mouths of the birds still open in the act of singing! *Burnett's Recollections of a Pioneer*, 155. Harris is described as No. 2, on page 125 of Gray's *Hist. Or.*, and he was, I believe, made a character in Moss' novel of the 'Prairie Flower,' before mentioned. One of Stephen Meek's famous stories was of a Rocky Mountain belle with hair eighteen feet long, which was folded up every morning in the form of a pack, and carried on the shoulders of an attendant. *San José Argus*, Nov. 16, 1867.

[20] *Palmer's Jour.*, 64; *Bacon's Merc. Life Or.*, MS , 6.

already contracted, or from overeating at the Dalles food which in their starving condition they would not wait to have properly prepared.

Notwithstanding their long detour and two weeks' delay, it does not appear that the lost companies were longer travelling than the main caravan. Palmer arrived at the Dalles with his company on the 29th of September, or about the time they came to the crossing of Des Chutes River. Here awaited them the trials which had beset previous caravans. I find the condition of the whole body spoken of in the *Oregon Spectator* of January 21, 1847, as wretched in the extreme. This paper says that the supply of boats being wholly inadequate to their speedy conveyance down the Columbia, and their stock of provisions failing at the Dalles, famine and a malignant disease raging among them, a misery ensued which is scarcely paralleled in history. The loss of life and property was enormous. The people of Oregon City despatched necessaries to their relief, and Cook, owner of the only sail-boat in the country, gave them the use of his vessel.[21] The Hudson's Bay Company, as usual, lent their bateaux.[22]

In a country like western Oregon, where the principal travel was by river navigation, it seems strange that there should have been no more boat-building. The explanation lies probably in the fact that most of the population were landsmen, who knew nothing of ship-carpentry. Besides this insufficient reason, for there were some seafaring men in the country, there was so much to do on their farms to make sure of food and shelter for themselves and the expected incoming of each year, that they had given too little thought to providing transportation; and unforeseen circumstances attended every arrival for a number of years.

[21] The sloop *Calapooya*, 25 tons, built at Oregon City by Captain Cook, an Englishman, in 1845. *Bacon's Merc. Life Or.*, MS., 12.

[22] For assisting these suffering people, McLoughlin says Lieutenant Vavasour charged him with disloyalty.

When Palmer's company reached the Dalles they found sixty families awaiting transportation by two small boats, which would require at least ten days. The season was so far advanced that Palmer feared detention for the winter; and impatient of the weariness and expense of such delay, they determined to attempt the crossing of the Cascade Mountains with their wagons. This plan was strongly opposed by Waller and Brewer. Knighton had returned discouraged, for he, in company with Barlow and seven others, had penetrated twenty-five miles into the mountains without finding a pass, although Barlow was still seeking one.

On the 1st of October, Palmer, with fifteen families and twenty-three wagons, left the Dalles to join Barlow and his company, which was reduced to seven wagons. On arriving at Tyghe Creek, at the mouth of which, some five miles below, the lost immigrants were then crossing, Palmer turned up the stream, and overtook Barlow's company on the 3d. Here leaving the train, Palmer with one man began exploring for a wagon-road. At first the undertaking seemed likely to succeed. By travelling up one of the long, scantily timbered ridges that characterize the eastern slope of the Cascade Range, ten miles were made with ease; after which came a bushy level, followed by a shorter ridge running in a general direction westward, but covered with heavy forest. From this apparent gain in height and distance they were then obliged to descend to a densely wooded bench, from which, still descending, they reached a stream which they called Rock Creek, beyond which began again the ascent over a hill long and steep, covered thickly with a fine growth of spruce timber, and on the other side of the hill was a cedar swamp, which, however, they found passable where the dammed-up stream which formed it was confined within banks. Continuing westward a few miles, their course was suddenly interrupted by a deep and wide cañon, compelling

them to travel northward toward Mount Hood; darkness overtaking them thirty-six miles from camp.

On the following morning a descent to the bottom of the cañon was effected, and a stream was discovered which evidently came down from Mount Hood, the waters overflowing the banks during the night, and subsiding during the day. It had a sandy bottom, and was very irregular in width, varying from two rods to half a mile. On this low ground there were scrubby pines, alder thickets, rushes, and a little grass. Returning to the higher ground, and exploring back beyond the point where they first came to the bluff, a descent was discovered, gradual enough to admit the passage of wagons. Unacquainted with the extent and roughness of the Cascade Mountains, Palmer believed that by travelling up this gulf he would arrive at the summit, imagining that Mount Hood rose from or upon the axis of the range, whereas it is far to the east of it. In this belief he returned to camp for provisions to prosecute his explorations in that direction, being soon followed by Barlow, who had taken the same general route with no definite success.

Observing that in the mountains, owing to the density of the forest, the grass was insufficient for their cattle, the leaders thought proper to send the greater part of the herds back toward the Dalles to be driven over the trail north of Mount Hood, sending at the same time a horse-train to that place for a further supply of food, it being evident that some time would be consumed in getting through to the Willamette.

Work was then commenced upon the road, which was opened in three days as far as Rock Creek, chiefly by means of fire, which consumed the thickets of arbutus, alder, hazel, and other growths very difficult to penetrate and laborious to cut away.

On the morning of the 11th Palmer, Barlow, and

a Mr Lock set out again in advance to anticipate the road-makers by marking out their route. Their course was up Rock Creek to a branch coming in from the left, following which for a short distance and finding it impracticable, they turned north, and came unexpectedly into the cattle trail where it crossed a barren sandy plain stretching away seven or eight miles west to the foot of Mount Hood. Following this trail six miles to the summit of the ridge leading to the snow-peak, they explored unsuccessfully for the expected route down this side. Ridges and cañons thousands of feet high and deep environed the base of this majestic mountain. Icy precipices opposed their passage; and in the lower ground there were marshes filled with snow-water. After two days' severe labor they returned once more to camp, to find the wagons advanced as far as the small branch of the creek before mentioned; but the company was much discouraged with the slow progress, and annoyed with the constant straying of their cattle and the thieving of the savages. Upon consultation it was determined to make one more essay at exploration, while the road was being opened to the sandy plain near the base of Mount Hood, the wagons remaining at the small stream called Camp Creek.

The third attempt revealed equal difficulties, and although by no means convinced that a wagon-road through the Cascade Mountains was impracticable, the explorers were aware that the rainy season was at hand, and that rain in the valleys meant snow at this elevation. They therefore hastened to camp, where provisions were already nearly exhausted, and made arrangements for leaving the wagons and baggage in charge of a guard, while the women and children were carried through to the Willamette without further delay, on horses, by the cattle trail, which plan was immediately executed. Hardly had they started when the rain began to descend. The trail led over open and elevated ground; the cold was benumbing,

and a thick fog, of the temperature of melted snow, settled over the heights. On the third day so complete was the obscuration that the trail was lost, and Palmer's advance party of four, which included two women, became bewildered, and the women were left alone on their horses in the rain, while the men rambled about for two hours in search of the path, which Palmer fortunately discovered. Soon after this peril was over a breeze sprang up which cleared away the fog; and in the evening, to their great joy, they were met by a party from Oregon City,[23] who, upon hearing of the attempt to cross the Cascade Range with wagons, and of the scarcity of food among the companies, had loaded a train of eleven horses with flour, coffee, sugar, and tea for their relief. Not finding them as soon as expected, and not knowing where to look for them, the rescuers turned back, but prompted by some secret impulse, when six miles on the homeward course, returned and soon encountered Palmer's party, and thus undoubtedly saved many lives. The provisions were taken in charge by Palmer and one of the relief party, while the others returned to Oregon City with the two women and one man of Palmer's company.[24] It was found on reascending the Mount Hood ridge that the weather was even worse than before, the same icy fog being encountered, while the trail was now covered with snow, and to get the heavily loaded horses over the slippery ascents and descents was a severe and dangerous toil for man and beast. On arriving at the camp, October 20th, a miserable spectacle was presented. Several families were entirely without food, and all nearly so. The work-oxen, and most of the cattle, were being driven by the able-bodied men to the Willamette, while the women,

[23] N. and C. Gilmore and Stewart are the names of this party given in *Palmer's Journal.*

[24] These were Mr and Mrs Buffum and a Mrs Thompson. The only names mentioned in the narratives are: Rector, Bacon, Barlow, Lock, Palmer, Taylor, Caplinger, Creighton, Farwell, Buckley, Powell, Senters, Smith, and Hood.

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the children with feet almost bare, with nothing to eat, were still eighty miles from the settlements. Their wants were partially relieved by others in a not much better condition. Three of those who had first reached Oregon City were met returning with horses; and a company was found at the crossing of the Sandy cutting out a road toward the settlements from this point; the low land along the stream being covered with a heavy growth of fir and cedar.

Two of the horses in Palmer's party became too weak to proceed and were left. Of the eleven sent with provisions, not one survived. On the 30th Palmer arrived at the house of Samuel McSwain of the previous year's pilgrimage, who subsequently sold his claim to Philip Foster, and it became the recruiting station in crossing the mountains. The next night was spent at the house of Peter H. Hatch, in the Clackamas Valley. On the 1st day of November he arrived at Oregon City, having passed a month in the Cascade Mountains; but it was not until December that the last of the belated people arrived in the Willamette Valley.[26] Nor did those who last reached the Columbia River arrive in the valley any earlier. The same detentions and misfortunes which awaited every company here were meted out to these. A raft of logs becoming water-soaked, four women, mother and three

[26] *Bacon's Mercantile Life Or. City*, MS., 7. Joel Palmer was born near the foot of Lake Ontario, Canada, 1810, of Quaker parentage. When a boy he went to Pennsylvania, and married in Buck County; removing afterward to Indiana, where he was a large canal contractor and then a farmer; being also a member of the legislature in the winter of 1844–5. The excitement on the boundary question was then at its height, and influenced him to go to Oregon. Palmer returned to the States in 1846 to bring out his family. He kept a journal of his travels, which he published. In a manuscript called *Palmer's Wagon Train*, he gives an account of the publication of his *Journal*, and of the main incidents of the return to Oregon. He says that he contracted in Cincinnati for the printing of the narrative of his journey to and from Oregon, with his observations on the country, the condition of the people, the government, and other matters, the whole constituting a fund of information of value to persons intending to emigrate. He expected to have his book ready to sell to the immigration, and to realize from it enough to pay most, if not all, the expense of his second journey; but although he waited almost two months, he never received more than a dozen or two copies, and was compelled to leave it behind for the publisher to dispose of as he pleased. This is to be regretted, as it is one of the best of its kind.

daughters, were put on shore between the Dalles and Cascades, the son and father remaining with the raft. When darkness came the raft could not be found, and the desolate women, after building a fire, sat down by it to spend the night in the wet forest. But the fire attracted others in similar trouble, and they were rescued from impending dangers.[27] The incidents, pathetic and humorous, which attended the journeyings of three thousand persons would fill a volume. I only attempt to point out such as led to certain results in the history of the colony, and gave rise to certain legislation.[28]

[27] W. P. Herron, in *Camp-fire Orations*, MS., 17; James Morris, in *Id.*, 18.

[28] One of the most curious chapters in the history of overland travel is that which relates to a party who probably never reached their destination. It appears that a man named James Emmet, a Tennessean, in the winter of 1844–5 gathered from Illinois, Kentucky, and Tennessee principally, a company of men, women, and children, amounting in all to over one hundred persons, about forty-five of whom were able to bear arms. In the month of January they left Iowa City for Oregon with twenty-one wagons, a number of horses, cattle, and farming utensils—Emmet being chosen guide of the expedition. Instead of rendezvousing at any of the points from which companies usually started, or waiting for the grass to come up in the spring, they proceeded at once, under Emmet's direction, to take a north-west course, which soon carried them beyond the settled portion of the territory. After travelling north-west for a couple of weeks they turned a little more north to the Iowa River, which they ascended for a considerable distance, and then turned due west, plunging into an ocean of wilderness and prairie, without compass or anything to guide them except the rising and setting sun. After pursuing this course for forty days, and not reaching the Missouri River, some of the men became alarmed, and only the most strenuous exertions of Emmet and his adherents prevented their turning back in a body. The persuasions and threats of these men, together with the consciousness of being already so far into the wilderness that to return was about as dangerous as to go forward, kept them from abandonding the effort to reach the Missouri, In the mean time their provisions were becoming exhausted, game on the prairie was scarce, bridges had to be built, and numerous difficulties beset them that had not been expected, such as being obliged to keep along the bottoms of streams in order to find feed for their cattle, whether those streams flowed from or toward the west, the direction they wished to pursue, and to keep near the timber for game to eke out their own rapidly dwindling stock of food. After three months of aimless wandering over a trackless desert, they reached the Vermilion River, which empties into the Missouri about one hundred and fifty miles north of the Platte, where the Missouri makes a great bend to the south; but they were still several days from the main stream, and following down the Vermilion, they reached the fort at the junction, with eighteen men, and about half the number of women and children that had started from Iowa City. Some had turned back, in spite of persuasion, and some had camped higher on the Vermilion to rest and hunt buffalo. While they were encamped at Vermilion, the steamer *General Brooks* came down from the mouth of the Yellowstone River with a cargo of furs. When this company reached the post at the mouth of the Vermilion River

There is a marked difference between the people who came to the Pacific coast by sea and those who crossed the continent, that is not accounted for by the fact that one class came from the Atlantic seaboard, and the other from the western frontier; because the origin of both classes was the same. These western men came in larger numbers, and Americanized Oregon, stamping upon its institutions, social and political, their virtues and their failings. There was an almost pathetic patience and unlimited hospitality, born of their peculiar experiences rather than of any greater largeness of heart or breadth of views.

The immigration of 1845 did not differ essentially from the previous ones, except that it was drawn more from the middle states, or rather less from the Missouri border. Like their predecessors, they unexpectedly became indebted to the charitable offices of the British fur company, whom they had intended at the outset to drive from the country, and had their views much modified; though as events afterward proved, they accepted the modification with reluctance and even opposition.

Most of these adventurers had left comfortable homes, and the position they occupied on first reaching Oregon was humiliating and discouraging. The shelter afforded in the rude dwellings of the colonists, although bestowed with true hospitality, involved heavy cost and much discomfort on both sides. The community was suddenly divided again into old and new settlers, and the new were often peevish and unreasonable.[22] They had recently endured so much that they could not realize that the settlers of a year

they were reduced to an allowance of half a pint of corn a day, and had just three bushels left in the general store. Emmet kept a jealous watch over the remainder of his company to prevent them from taking passage on the *General Brooks* for the settlements below. One young man and his wife contrived to eluge his vigilence and were taken to St Louis by the steamer. What became of those who remained with Emmet is not known, but they were intending to hunt buffalo, and with this food supply to prosecute their journey to Oregon. *Niles' Reg.*, lxviii. 339–40.

[22] *Burnett's Recollections of a Pioneer*, 175.

or two had undergone similar experiences. To them it seemed as if the first comers were reprehensible for taking up the most convenient land, compelling others to travel farther and find claims, when they had come to Oregon to be near the sea and a market. With the better class this feeling passed away after a few weeks, and they became cheerful again. But there were some who never ceased complaints, and who only exerted themselves when forced to do so by necessity.

Undoubtedly the journey of two thousand miles with ox-teams, and the peculiar misfortunes incident to each migration, often exhausted vitality and changed the character of individuals, so that many never recovered their lost ambition and energy; and that the children weakened by unfavorable circumstances lacked the temper of body and mind which crowns effort with success. The few who rose superior to these trying influences, had they remained in their own country, would probably have risen to eminence.[20]

[20] The following are some of the men of the immigration of 1845: S. Armstrong, N. H. Armstrong, J. M. Armstrong, Joseph C. Avery, James Allen, William Allen, M. B. Alderman, Henry Alman, Arim, J. C. Avery, J. J. Burton, John D. Boon, H. D. Boon, Joel Barlow, Samuel K. Barlow, William Barlow, James Barlow, B. Berry, F. Baker, John Wesley Baker, Owen W. Bozarth, Arthur Burrow, Bailey, J. J. Burston, F. Budroe, C. A. Bradbury, William Buffum, Baber, H. M. Bryan, Lorenzo D. Brooks, Mahlon Brook, Lyman E. Byard, John Brown, F. Babel, J. M. Bacon, W. W. Buck, Buckley, Edwin Bryant, Benj. F. Burch, F. Berry, William Berry, Bean, J. R. Bean, Joseph Cunningham, Creighton, Jacob C. Caplinger, Benjamin Cornelius, sen., Thomas R. Cornelius, Benjamin Cornelius, jun., Samuel Cornelius, David Carson, Joseph Champion, Thomas W. Chambers, Rowland Chambers, Nathaniel W. Colwell, John M. Courtney, Joseph Charlton, Charles Craft, Patrick Conner, E. W. Conner, J. Cassada, L. W. Coon, Jesse Cayton, W. D. Cole, Samuel Y. Cook, Samuel Clark, John R. Coatney, John M. Cantrel, Ari Cantrel, Samuel Chase, Reuben Crowder, John W. Crowell, N. H. Coffin, G. W. Coffinbury, Jesse Cadwallader, Elias Cox, David Colver, James Campbell, Eli C. Cooley, F. C. Cason, Cousine, Jackson Cooley, John Conner, Andrew Chambers, Thomas W. Chambers, David J. Chambers, Albert T. Davidson, James Davidson, F. G. Dewitt, David R. S. Daley, David Delaney, Reuben Davis, Jehu Davis, Felix G. Dorris, Dodson, Franklin Duval, Solomon Durbin, John Durbin, Leven N. English, William English, Napoleon B. Evans, Harvey Evans, William Engle, J. Engle, Luther Elkins, John Edmonds, Joseph Earl, S. D. Earl, John Foster, Rev. E. Fisher, William Flett, A. H. Frair, Levi Fanning, William Finley, Farwell, Field, Sidney S. Ford, Joseph H. Foss, Dr Foley, Elisha Griffith, William Glaser, Gerrish, William Gale, Basil Ground, R. A. Gesner, J. Grazer, Thomas Hart, Silas Height, Andrew Hood, Hipes, Jacob Hampton, Isaac Hutchins, N. Huber, B. F.

On the 20th of August, 1845, the house of representatives adjourned until the first Tuesday in De-

Hale, David Hill, Henry Hawkins, Francis S. Holland, Samuel Hancock, Phineas Hunt, H. G. Hadley, W. J. Herron, Daniel Herron, N. Herron, George Hannon, Isaac Hinshaw, John Hammer, Hough, Lawrence Hall, William Hake, H. H. Hide, Amos Harvey, Hackleman, D. C. Ingalls, B. B. Jackson, Ulysses Jackson, Rev. Johnson, George W. Johnson, W. Carey Johnson, John T. Jeffries, Joselyn, H. M. Knighton, Morgan Keyes, John Killin, George Knox, Knox, Kennedy, Kirby, Orrin Kellogg, Joseph Kellogg, Rev. Thomas Simpson Kendall, John E. Lyle, Jesse Lovelady, D. R. Lewis, John Lemon, John Lloyd, Jonathan Laggett, Joseph Linn, Lampson, Lock, Jeremiah Lawson, John W. Meldrum, Job McClane, Zebediah Martin, W. B. Maley, James Maley, Job McNamee, Alexander W. McNary, James Morris, McDonald, Sylvanus Moon, Josiah Morris, Alfred Markham, George Moore, J. H. McMillan, Henry Noble, Gideon R. Nightingale, A. Nightingale, Nathan Olney, Owenby, John M. Pugh, William Porter Pugh, Dr Samuel Parker, Joel Palmer, W. Peers, Francis Perry, Patterson, Elisha Packwood, John Packwood, Robert Packwood, Tait Packwood, Larkin Packwood, Charles Packwood, James M. Pyle, Powell, John Phillips, Robert Pentland, William H. Rector, Clark Rogers, Thomas Ruge, Thomas M. Reed, Orville Risley, Joseph B. Rogers, John P. Rogers, John Rounds, William Ryan, R. A. Riggs, James B. Riggs, Sherry Ross, Thomas G. Robinson, J. S. Rinearson, Peter M. Rinearson, Raines, Roumia, John Rowe, Ridgeway, William Savage, Alonzo A. Skinner, Eugene F. Skinner, Sharp C. Senters, Samuel Simmons, Simeon Smith, Harris Speel, Samuel Smith, G. D. Smith, Hiram Smith, Shelly, William Sportsman, J. Sanders, Startuff, Stephen Staats, Henry Sewell, Green B. Smith, Davis Shannon, S. Scroggins, Isaac Staats, Spence, Stansbury, Switzler, Tabritas R. Smith, Ross Sherry, Price Scott, Solomon Tetherow, James Taylor, Philip Thompson, Rev. Lewis Thompson, William Taylor, W. G. T'Vault, John Travers, William Levi Todd, Stanley Umphlet, George Urben, J. H. Voss, C. Wheeler, William Wheeler, James White, John White, Benjamin Wood, Ellis Walker, Frederick Waymire, John Waymire, Richard E. Wylie, Ralph Wilcox, Leo Weston, H. Wright, Charles Austin Williams, J. L. Williams, John J. Williams, A. W. Walley, Henry Clay Welch, Presley Welch, Joel Welch, Amariah Wilson, Mitchel Whitlock, P. Wilkes, Anthony Whitaker, Asa Williams, James L. Williams, Henry Williamson, E. L. Walter, Helm Walter, Waldrom, Claiburne C. Walker.

Leven N. English, born near Baltimore, Maryland, March 25, 1792, removed while in his childhood to Kentucky, where he afterward married. On the breaking-out of the war of 1812 he volunteered, and fought in several battles on the frontier of Canada. After the settlement of the difficulty with England he removed with his family to Illinois, where the attempt at creating a home in the wilderness was interrupted by the Black Hawk war, in which he was commissioned captain of a company raised by himself. In 1836 he made another move westward as far as Iowa, where he settled and erected a mill. But not being yet satisfied with emigration, he sold out his Iowa property and came out to Oregon, losing one of his sons on the journey. In 1846 he built 'English's Mills' at Salem, which aided greatly to build up that town. He served in the Cayuse war of 1847–8. In 1869 he removed to California, but returned to Salem in 1871. He was twice married, living 39 years with his first wife, by whom he had 12 children; and by his second marriage 7 more, making, even in prolific Oregon, a family of unusual size. English died March 5, 1875, being nearly 85 years old. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875–6.

William P. Pugh, born in Sullivan County, Ind., March 9, 1818, settled in Marion County, Oregon, in 1845; died Feb. 21, 1877, at his home, leaving a

cember, which, according to organic law, was the appointed time for the assembling of the legislature.

large family of children, and numerous friends by whom he was respected and honored. *Id.*, 1877, 73.

Simeon Smith, born in Columbiana County, Ohio, Feb. 16, 1823, was a son of James Smith, who also emigrated to Oregon. The family removed from Ohio to Missouri in 1838, from which state they started for the coast of the Pacific. Simeon Smith settled in Marion County, but left his farm near Turner's station for Salem after 10 years of country life. He died May 1879, leaving 4 children. His wife was a Miss Barger. *Id.*, 1878, 92.

Joseph Cunningham was born about 1796, and was the son of Nathaniel Cunningham, one of the foremost men of the town of Spencer, Massachusetts, who helped to capture Fort Ticonderoga under Ethan Allen, and who fought through the revolution. Joseph, when not quite 17 years old, was a volunteer in the war of 1812–13, and served under General Crawford. In 1818 he went west, and joined Ashley's company for the Rocky Mountains. After 2 years spent with Ashley he returned to Boonville, Missouri, whence he went to Oregon. He settled on the lower end of Sauvé Island; and in 1847, in partnership with the Canadian Plumondon, built a saw and grist mill at the falls of Des Chutes River, at the head of Puget Sound. He afterward resided on Suavé Island and at McMinnville, where he died March 14, 1878. *Salem Mercury*, March 26, 1878.

Henry Hawkins was 70 years of age when he came to Oregon. His wife was the first white woman at Louisville, Kentucky. He followed flatboating on the Mississippi River before the days of steamboats. He lived for 33 years in Marion County, dying at Silverton, at the age of 103, in July 1878. *Portland Standard*, July 13, 1878.

Sidney S. Ford was born in the state of New York in 1801. In 1846 he settled north of the Columbia in the region of Puget Sound. He belongs, therefore, to the history of Washington, where he took an active part in public affairs. Mr Ford died October 22, 1866.

Owen W. Bozarth was a native of Marion County, Missouri, born in 1820. He settled on Lewis or Cathlapootle River, a short distance north of the Columbia, where he died Feb. 15, 1875.

Henry Clay Welch was a native of Randolph County, Virginia, born September 2, 1839. He died in Oregon April 11, 1863.

Thomas G. Robinson resided for many years at Portland, where he died July 27, 1867.

James Barlow, who came hither at the age of 19, and resided in Clackamas County, died at his home July 20, 1866, aged 40 years.

J. J. Burton settled on a farm in Marion County; died September 8, 1878.

Hiram Smith came to Oregon from Danville, Ohio, in 1845, but returned to the States the following year, and came out again in 1851. He brought with him several hundred head of choice cattle, and 100 horses, for improving the stock of the country. He afterward made a similar expedition for this purpose. Mr Smith was a charitable, intelligent, and successful business man. He died in San Francisco January 17, 1870. *Portland Oregonian*, April 2, 1879.

James B. Riggs settled in Polk County, where he resided till his death, which occurred at his home in Dallas August 15, 1870, at the age of 69 years. *Salem Statesman*, Aug. 26, 1870.

George Moore, who was about twenty years of age when he arrived in company with John D. Boon, died at Salem in April 1871. *Salem Statesman*, April 5, 1871.

John Lemon was born in 1800, in Kentucky. He died at French Prairie, September 13, 1869.

Charles Craft settled at Salem, where he assisted in erecting some of the first residences. He died July 23, 1869. *Salem Unionist*, July 31, 1869.

J. R. Bean, with his father and family, settled in Yamhill County, where

The recent large immigration could not but affect legislature to some extent. Governor Abernethy, in

they resided many years. Bean removed with his family from McMinnville, in that county, to Seattle, Washington, in 1874. He was born in 1824.

Mrs Mary A. Noble who with her husband crossed the plains in 1845, and settled in Washington County, died February 20, 1870. *Portland Advocate*, March 12, 1870.

Lawrence Hall was one of the lost immigrants. He settled in Tualatin County—now Washington—and was elected to the legislature in 1846, and served with a strong American bias. After the territorial government was organized, he was elected a member of the council. He died in Portland, February 11, 1867. *Portland Oregonian*, Feb. 16, 1867.

William Engle was born in Montgomery County, Maryland, removed with his parents to Jefferson County, Virginia, and in 1820 to St Clair County, Illinois, and thence removed to Oregon. He settled in Marion County, where he died May 18, 1868, aged 79 years. *Portland Oregonian*, May 30, 1868.

Francis G. Dewitt engaged in mercantile pursuits in Portland, where he resided for a number of years. He removed to California, and was accidentally killed at Point Arenas in the spring of 1872. *Id.*, April 20, 1872.

Benjamin Cornelius was a native of Kentucky, born February 9, 1802. He went to Missouri, and thence to Oregon, settling with his family in the Tualatin plains, Washington County, where he lived in the midst of his sons until his death, December 13, 1864. *Id.*, Dec. 24, 1864.

Job McNamee settled on the town site of Portland, and at one time claimed the land but failed to secure it through the decision of the United States land-office. In 1868 he removed with his family to Pacific County, Washington. He died at Portland, October 1, 1872, aged 59 years. Mrs Hannah McNamee, his wife, born in 1815, in Ross County, Indiana, died in Pacific County, Washington, one month before her husband. *Portland Herald*, Sept. 19 and Oct. 2, 1872.

Orrin Kellogg was one of the fathers of masonry on the Pacific Coast. He brought the charter from Missouri in 1845 for the organization of Multnomah Lodge No. 1, at Oregon City. By the masons made at that time, the first lodge in California was instituted about 1848. He was esteemed a useful and public-spirited citizen. His death occurred at Portland in February 1873. *Portland Bulletin*, Feb. 17, 1873.

Gideon R. Nightingale was a printer, who came to Oregon in the same year with Fleming. It is stated, although the *Oregon Spectator* does not show it, that he set the type for the first number of that paper, issued four months after his arrival. He removed to Marysville, California. *Id.*, Aug. 12, 1871.

Rowland Chambers settled in King's Valley, Benton County, where he resided continuously until 1869, when he made a visit to the scenes of his early life. A few days after returning to Oregon, in January 1870, he suddenly died. *Portland Advocate*, Jan. 29, 1870.

Jonathan Laggett was born in Wythe County, Va., March 7, 1790. In 1814 he was married to Elizabeth Fanning of Tenn., and the following year removed to Missouri, whence he came to Oregon in 1845, settling in Polk Co., where he resided until his death, November 26, 1868. *Id.*, Feb. 20, 1869.

E. L. Walter was born in Ohio in 1813. After coming to Oregon in 1846 he married Naomi Williams, and settled in Linn County, where the town of Brownsville now stands. He was for several years justice of the peace, and for one term a member of the legislature, and afterward treasurer of the county; a man esteemed for his intellectual and moral traits. He died April 11, 1867. *Id.*, April 27, 1867.

Ross Sherry was born in Indiana, February 11, 1824. He married Rebecca Deardorff in November 1851, and resided in Portland until his death in January 1867. *Id.*, Jan. 19, 1867.

Morgan Keyes was born May 14, 1814, in Washington County, Penn.,

his message to the house of representatives in December, recommended the consideration of military

being the second son of a family of 12 children. In 1832 he removed to Illinois, and thence to Iowa in 1837, where in March 1841 he married Mary Banning, and four years later reached Oregon. He settled in the spring of 1846 on the Santiam River, in Linn County, where he continued to reside for the 20 years preceding his demise on the 7th of March, 1866. *Id.*, March 31, 1866.

Elisha Griffith, the son of William N. and Sabra Conner Griffith, was born in Fayette Co., Penn., March 13, 1803. He married Elizabeth Findley, in Clark Co., Indiana, in 1824. They lived some years in Indiana and Illinois before removing to Oregon; and after arriving in the Willamette Valley, lived in Linn Co. Mr Griffith died at Brownsville, October 12, 1871. *Id.*, Nov. 16, 1871, and Aug. 13, 1874. Mrs Elizabeth Griffith, his wife, born in Westmoreland Co., Penn., March 11, 1805, died at her home, June 6, 1874.

Isaac Hinshaw was born in Highland Co., Ohio, December 15, 1813. He, like others, moved from Ohio to Indiana, and from Indiana to Mo., ever drifting westward until he arrived on the shores of the Pacific. His first wife was Mary Cox, whom he married in 1838, and who died in 1843. He married Miss Melissa Buell, Jan. 1, 1851. Becoming insane from continued ill health, he committed suicide by drowning, June 27, 1873. *Id.*, July 17, 1873.

John Lloyd came from Clay County, Missouri, and settled in Benton County, near the present town of Monroe. His son W. W. Lloyd, who was but four years old when he started for Oregon, and who grew up to be an esteemed citizen, died at the age of 33, in Benton County. *Id.*, March 19, 1872.

John Wesley Baker was born in Fairfield County, Ohio, November 12, 1831. He came with his father's family to Oregon; and in 1848 settled on French Prairie, where he married Mary Jane Brown in March 1866. He removed to Pacific County, Washington, in 1872, and died on the 26th of March 1874. *Id.*, April 16, 1874.

Harris Speel, a native of Philadelphia, went from Oregon to California in 1846, and served in Frémont's battalion. He was killed by a fall at Santa Cruz in June 1858, aged 52 years. *S. F. Bulletin*, June 10, 1858.

Mrs Tabitha Ridgeway, a native of Kentucky, accompanied her husband to Oregon in 1845. She died at Sheridan, in Yamhill County, Nov. 4, 1877—6 years after the death of Mr Ridgeway—aged 55 years. *Portland Advocate*, Dec. 13, 1877.

George Hannon was born in Cork, Ireland, in 1820. At the age of 23 he removed to New York, and thence to Missouri, in which state he married Liza Jane Eavens, Feb. 2, 1844, and the following year joined the caravan to Oregon. He went first to Oregon City, where he remained some years, finally settling in the Umpqua Valley, where he died Feb. 23, 1877, leaving his wife and 7 children at Garden Bottom in Douglas County. *Roseburg Plaindealer*, March 17, 1877.

David C. Ingalls, a native of Maine, was born Oct. 31, 1808. In 1836 he removed to Columbus, Ohio, in which state he was married in 1839, moving to Iowa in 1840, and to Oregon five years later. In the spring of 1849 he settled at Astoria. His daughter, Mary Columbia, was the first child of white parentage born at that place. Ingalls was much esteemed and beloved by the people of Astoria, among whom he lived until the 31st of Aug., 1880, when he quietly passed away, according to an impression entertained by him for five years that he should die at that time. *Daily Astorian*, Sept. 12, 1880.

John T. Jeffries, born in Missouri, in 1830, emigrated to Oregon in 1845, and settled in Yamhill County. When eastern Oregon began to attract attention he removed to the Dalles, where he practised law, but finding cattle buying and selling more profitable, he engaged successfully in that business. He died Feb. 24, 1867, at the Dalles, leaving two children, a son and a daughter. *Dalles Mountaineer*, March 2, 1867.

affairs, currency, the sale of spirituous liquors, weights and measures, the seat of government, and a new road

Thomas Simpson Kendall, born in Ohio, was educated at Jefferson College and Cannonsburg Theological Seminary, Pennsylvania. His first congregation was in Tennessee, from which state he was driven on account of his denunciation of slavery. He was an influential minister of the Presbyterian denomination in Oregon from 1845 to the time of his death, which occurred Dec. 5, 1871, at the age of 62. His wife was the daughter of James Williams of Linn County. *Albany Register*, Dec. 10, 1870.

Francis S. Holland was born in Liberty, Indiana, Dec. 21, 1823. He settled in Clackamas County in 1845, of which he was clerk for many years. In 1862 he removed to the Dalles, where he held the office of recorder for the remainder of his life, his death occurring in San Francisco, Feb. 10, 1867. He left two children. *Dalles Mountaineer*, March 2, 1867.

William Berry emigrated from Farmington, Illinois. He was one of the men left at Fort Deposit in the Cascade Mountains in the winter of 1845. He went to the Willamette Valley in the spring of 1846, but eventually settled on the Lewis and Clarke River of Clatsop plains. In March 1875 he died alone in his boat, in which he was returning from Astoria, at the age of 55 years, leaving a family. *Astorian*, March 27, 1875.

Mrs Rebecca Fanning, mother of Levy Fanning, died at her residence near Albany, in Feb. 1881. She was believed to have been 100 years of age on the 1st of January previous. She was the mother of 18 children, 15 of whom lived to be men and women, and 13 of whom were living at the time of her death. *Portland Standard*, Feb. 18, 1881.

Samuel Simmons settled on Howell Prairie. His wife died November 6, 1879, aged 79 years. Their children were 5 sons, and one daughter who is the wife of Wesley Shannon of Salem. *Salem Statesman*, Nov. 14, 1879.

Thomas Hart settled in Polk County soon after arriving in Oregon. For 30 years he resided on his farm, amassing a considerable fortune. He was 95 years old at the time of his death, in February 1874, and until 5 years before had continued to labor upon his farm, doing the work of a man in his prime. He served in the war of 1812, being then 33 years of age. *Portland Oregonian*, Feb. 14, 1874.

Elisha Packwood, brother of William and Samuel who arrived the previous year, was born in Patrick County, Virginia, in July 1810, and removed with his father's family to Indiana and Missouri, whence he migrated to Oregon. He remained two years in the Willamette Valley, after which he went to Puget Sound with his brother William, who determined to settle there, but not liking the country, returned to the Willamette, and in March 1848, went to California by sea with his family, arriving just before the gold discovery. His first expedition from Yerba Buena was to the Santa Clara Valley, where a cousin, Parrington Packwood, was living. He then went to the New Almaden quicksilver mine, but soon hearing of the gold found above Sutter's Fort, fitted up a wagon, and with it moved his family to the gold-field. He spent the summer of 1848 working with his 16-year-old son Samuel Tait, at Mormon Island, after which he went to Coloma and established a trading post, where he remained until November 1849, when he returned to the States by way of the Isthmus of Panama, by the steamer *Unicorn*, Captain Paster—a British vessel with an American crew—arriving by way of New Orleans and the Mississippi River at their former home. In the spring of 1850 Mr Packwood returned across the plains to California, with a large train, arriving in the San José Valley in October. He brought out several hundred cattle, chiefly cows, and went into the business of supplying fresh milch cows to milkmen, taking from them their old stock. In 1852 he brought out, by an agent, another herd of cattle, and continued in this business of dealing in neat stock until the great flood of 1861-2, having acquired property to the amount of about $40,000; but the disasters of that memorable year deprived him of

into the Willamette settlements.[31] With regard to the latter, no less than three petitions were presented to the legislature for authority to construct roads across the Cascade Mountains, and a committee was appointed to take testimony in relation to the practicability of the routes suggested; and also to prepare a memorial to congress praying for an appropriation to construct a road over the Blue and Cascade mountains. The memorial when read in committee of the whole was rejected. Among the applicants for road charters was Thomas McKay, who received authority to open and construct a toll-road from the settlement on Santiam River, now the town of Albany, across the Cascade and Blue mountains to Fort Boisé,[32] to be completed before the 1st of August, 1846, or in time for the next immigration. The road was not built, nor the pass discovered,[33]

all his profits. His land was ruined by being covered with sand, and his stock was drowned, while he narrowly escaped with his life. After this he returned to Oregon, and went to the mines then recently discovered in Baker County. After several efforts to repair his fortunes, he finally settled, with his son, S. Tait Packwood, on the Snohomish flats, in the year 1868, at a place now known as Packwood Landing. Elisha Packwood died May 27, 1876, aged 66 years, having furnished a striking example of the industry, courage, and patience of the early pioneers of the Northwest Coast, as well as of their small rewards. His son while living in California married Matilda Wardle. His eldest daughter, Chilitha, married Bennett, living at Ellensburg, in the Kittetas Valley, Washington. He had also a son Joseph. His brothers who came to Oregon in 1845 were Larkin, John, Charles, and Robert Tait. A cousin, James Packwood, also belonged to this immigration. *Morse's Notes on Hist. Wash. Ter.*, i. 55–85.

Mrs Florentine Wilkes Cornelius, who accompanied her father, P. Wilkes, was born in Indiana, and married Benjamin Cornelius. She died June 26, 1864, aged 34 years. *Salem Statesman*, July 11, 1864. Benjamin Cornelius, who settled near Hillsboro, on the Tualatin Plains, was a successful farmer and trader. He lost his life in the spring of 1882 in a quarrel with his son-in-law, who, he believed, had ill treated his daughter.

Mrs Laodicea McNary, of the Alexander McNary Company, who discovered gold on the head waters of John Day River, in 1845, died near Eola, in Polk County, Feb. 26, 1875, aged 77 years. *Salem Record*, Feb. 27, 1875.

John Killin, a native of Pennsylvania, settled in Clackamas Co., and died October 23, 1867, aged 70 years. *Portland Adv.*, Nov. 2, 1867.

[31] *Larkin's Off. Corr.*, MS., ii. 60–3.

[32] This application does not confirm the supposition that British subjects in Oregon desired to prevent immigration.

[33] A writer in the *Oregon Spectator* alleges that McKay gave up his charter without attempting anything; but that this was not so I can show by the testimony of one of the exploring party, which left Salem July 3, 1846, and consisted of Cornelius Gilliam, James Waters, Seyburn P. Thornton, and T.

although it is now known that such a pass exists. The great breadth and confused upheaval of the Cascade Range, together with the dense covering of forest and tangled undergrowth on the western declivities, opposed almost insurmountable obstacles to exploration. Even the Indian trails that once existed when the natives were numerous had fallen into disuse, and were completely overgrown and lost. It is therefore not surprising that McKay, famous for wood-craft, met with failure on his first expedition in search of a wagon route.

Stephen H. L. Meek also, still of the opinion that a pass would be found at the sources of the Willamette by which a road could be opened direct from the head of the valley to Fort Boisé, petitioned for a charter; but the prejudice created by his leadership a few weeks previous defeated his endeavor to set himself right in the estimation of the public.[34]

A third applicant for a road charter was S. K. Barlow, who was personally interested in the completion of the road to Fort Deposit, where his wagons and baggage still remained with those of his company. He was permitted to address the house in behalf of the Mount Hood route, and received authority to construct a toll-road, which was so far completed in July that the wagons were brought through, and a few weeks afterward large numbers passed over it.[35]

After further improvement the road was still so steep that in descending some of the hills on the western declivities the oxen could only be prevented from dashing themselves against some way-side tree

C. Shaw, Americans; and Thomas McKay, Joseph Gervais, J. B. Gardipie, George Montoure, Zavier Gervais, Antonio Delore, and McDonald, British subjects. They explored up to the Santiam, but failed to find where a road could be made. T. C. Shaw, in *Salem Mercury*, June 4, 1875.

[34] An attempt was made in the spring of 1846 to find this pass, which failed. The company consisted of J. M. Garrison, J. B. McClane, Thomas Holt, James P. Martin, J. W. Boyle, A. R. C. Shaw, and Moses Harris. *Or. Spectator*, March 19, 1846.

[35] Samuel K. Barlow continued to be an active and public-spirited citizen of Oregon up to the time of his death, in July 1867. He resided at Canemah, above the falls of the Willamette. *Portland Oregonian*, July 20, 1867.

by chaining to the rear of the wagon a heavy tree-top to hold back its weight.[36]

The memorial to congress concerning the important matter of a good and safe road into Oregon was not the only one rejected by the legislature in December. Gray made a motion to appoint a committee to draft a memorial to the people of the United States, giving a brief account of its soil, climate, productions, and social condition, with the difficulties and facilities of travel and settlement, and was made chairman of that committee, and in due time presented his letter to the people of the United States. It contained some unfortunate passages, and was condemned by the house to the seclusion of the archives.[37] Mr Applegate resigned after having accomplished his purpose in the legislature.[38]

Gray mentions that at the August session Applegate adopted the suggestion of Governor Abernethy, that an act should be passed to prevent litigation on account of debt, but that the bill failed, and apologizes for the ignorance of the legislature and governor in the business of law-making; but Applegate writes that he still believes laws for the collection of debts, where no fraud is alleged, are injurious, and at a future day will be abolished in all civilized communities; but that there were special reasons why they should not be enforced by provisional government, which might never be acknowledged—a side of the subject which had escaped recognition.

At the December session Gray introduced a bill on currency, which after several amendments was passed. It was suitable to the time and country, he alleges, and was made necessary by the disposition of the

[36] Victor, in *Overland Monthly*, iv. 202.

[37] In this memorial it is said that while in certain parts of Oregon the soil would produce 54 bushels of wheat to the acre, other parts in the interior would 'produce scarcely anything of the vegetable kind.' *Or. Archives*, MS., 44. Spalding, on the contrary, in his report to White, had given a very favorable, and as it is now known to be an intelligent, account of the productiveness of the soil in the interior.

[38] Applegate's marginal notes on *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 438.

Hudson's Bay Company to force payment in an oppressive manner. But as this was the first law passed for the collection of debts, and the company were heretofore wholly without the power to enforce payment, being entirely outside the pale of colonial war, Gray's explanation of his motives in presenting such a bill lacks consistency.[39] The law on currency, after declaring that in addition to gold and silver treasury drafts, approved orders on solvent merchants, and good merchantable wheat at the market price, delivered at some customary depot for wheat, should be lawful tender for the payment of taxes, judgments rendered in the courts, and for all debts contracted in the territory, where no special contract had been made to the contrary—provided that no property should be sold on execution for less than two thirds of its value after deducting all encumbrances; and that the value of the property should be fixed by two discreet householders, who should be sworn by the officer making the levy, and they should make a written statement of the value, which the officer should append to his return. Should the property remain unsold on the return day of the writ, the officer having so indorsed it, the writ and indorsement should constitute a lien on the property; the defendant having the right to remain in possession of the unsold property by executing a bond with sureties, in double its value, to deliver the property at the time and place appointed by said officer.[40]

An act supplementary to the currency law was passed, requiring all those who paid taxes in wheat to deliver it at stated places in their districts; at Fort George in Clatsop County; at Cowlitz Farm or Fort Vancouver in Vancouver County; at the company's

[39] The act provides: 'The personal estate of every individual, company, body politic or corporate, including his, her, or their goods or chattels, also town lots, city property, or improvements claimed and owned in virtue of occupancy secured and allowed by the treaty between Great Britain and the United States, shall be subject to execution, to be taken and sold according to the provisions of this act.' *Or. Spectator*, Feb. 5, 1846.

[40] *Or. Laws, 1843–9.*

warehouse at Linnton; at the store of F. W. Pettygrove in Portland, Tualatin County; at the mills either of McLoughlin or the Island Milling Company in Clackamas County; at the warehouses of the Milling Company or the Hudson's Bay Company in Champoeg County; and at some place to be designated by the collector in Yamhill County. These places were to be considered depots for receiving the public revenue, and the persons in charge should give a receipt stating the amount which should be placed to the credit of the treasurer of the county or territory.[41]

Soon after the organization of the house, on Gray's motion it was resolved that the supreme judge be called upon to inform them whether he had examined the laws, which he, Burnett, had helped to make, and how many of them were incompatible with the organic articles of compact adopted by the people in July previous—a piece of irony which might well have been spared the chief justice, whose reply was referred to the judiciary committee.[42] For the first time there was a prospect of having the laws printed when revised, a company having been formed which owned a printing-press and material at Oregon City, to which application was made for proposals to print the laws. This company was known as the Oregon Printing Association, one of the articles of whose constitution declared that the press owned by the association should never be used by any party for the purpose of propagating sectarian principles or doctrines, nor for the discussion of exclusive party politics.

If it is proper to judge by appearances, the reason of the introduction of this article was that there were men in the association who wished to curtail the Methodist influence, the Mission being largely repre-

[41] *Or. Laws, 1843–9*, 27. These quaint laws concerning currency and revenue are still the pride of the pioneers of Oregon, who contend that gold was of no advantage to the country when discovered, but that they progressed more safely with wheat as a legal tender.

[42] *Grover's Or. Archives*, 140–1.

sented in the company.[43] How they succeeded will appear hereafter.

The recommendation of Governor Abernethy, that proposals should be received for locating the seat of government, created little interest and small competition. The only propositions received were from Robert Moore, whose claim of Robin's Nest, opposite Oregon City, was by legislative enactment named Linn City; and Hugh Burns, who occupied an adjoining claim. Neither of these proposals meeting with entire approbation, and a petition, signed by sixty persons of Champoeg County, being received, praying that action on the seat of government question might be deferred,[44] it was practically postponed by the passage of an act ordering that the future sessions of the house of representatives be held at Oregon City until otherwise directed by law. By the same act the governor was authorized to give notice by publication in the newspapers or otherwise, that he would receive sealed proposals from all who desired to make donations to the government for the purpose of aiding in the erection of public buildings and locating the capital; which proposals should be submitted to the next legislature.

Two other topics of general interest to the people which received attention were the liquor law and the districting of the territory. Burnett's liquor law of 1844 was found to be insufficient to prevent the use of intoxicating drinks since the advent of the British sloop of war *Modeste*, whose officers and crew, being independent of colonial laws, not only did not see fit

[43] Gray says the originators of the printing association were the same that started the Multnomah circulating library, the Wolf association, and provisional government. The pioneers of 1843 founded the library, and Gray claims to have originated the Wolf association, while Jason Lee was the first projector of the provisional government. The truth is, that Abernethy was largely interested in the printing association, and that in spite of the protest contained in the 8th article, the press was controlled by missionary influence. The first officers of the company were W. G. T'Vault, president; J. W. Nesmith, vice-president; John P. Brooks, secretary; George Abernethy, treasurer; John H. Couch, John E. Long, and Robert Newell, directors.

[44] This was the beginning of the long fight made by the people of Salem to secure the capital.

to forego this indulgence, but in their efforts at social intercourse among the colonists, introduced it with a freedom offensive to the temperance sentiment so sedulously cultivated in Oregon, thereby bringing reproach upon the officers of the fur company who supplied them with liquors, and furnishing their adversaries a justifiable cause of complaint, where they were already only too eager to discover evidences of moral turpitude.[45]

The alterations in the liquor law in December made it an offence to give away ardent spirits, as well as to sell or barter; the fine being fifty dollars for each violation of the law. It made it the duty of every person, officer or private citizen, who knew of the distillation of any kind of spirituous liquors, to seize the distilling apparatus and deliver to the nearest county judge or justice of the peace, who should issue a warrant causing the premises of the distiller to be searched, and all liquors, or implements for manufacturing them, discovered should be seized and delivered to that officer, who should arrest the offender and proceed against him according to law; the punishment being forfeiture of the property, and a fine of one hundred dollars, one half of which was to go to the informant and witnesses, and the other half to the officers engaged in arresting and trying the criminal. No more than half a pint of liquor was permitted to be sold by practising physicians for medical

[45] With regard to this matter Minto says: The officers of the *Modeste* made frequent excursions into the Willamette Valley, and did not always choose the most discreet means of cultivating feelings in favor of British subjects. The scenes enacted at the residences they visited indicated that they did not regard the laws of the colony; and even their temporary association with an American was a cause of suspicion. *Early Days*, MS., 30. Roberts admits that the company furnished rum for the *Modeste's* crew, and that brandy was placed upon the table while her officers were at Vancouver, in addition to the usual wine; not because temperance was not the rule at Vancouver, but because Douglas could not refuse to furnish to the officers and men sent there to protect the company any supplies they might require. *Recollections*, MS., 53. But the colonists were not disposed to make allowances for the position in which the company was placed. As an evidence of the efforts made by the Hudson's Bay Company to do away with the use of spirituous liquors, not only in Oregon but east of the Rocky Mountains, see *Fitzgerald's Vanc. Isl.*, 211-13.

purposes. Such was the rigor resorted to in the effort to promote temperance, and prevent British subjects from defying colonial law.

But at the following session there was a reaction, the legislature taking advantage of its power under the organic law to regulate the manufacture and sale of wine and distilled spirituous liquors, to pass an act which allowed the manufacture and sale of them under certain restrictions. This act, like the previous one, was chiefly inspired by opposition to the fur company; it being held by the majority that so long as the company kept liquors in store at Vancouver to sell or to give away, Americans should not be deprived of the profits of the traffic.[46] Every British subject in the house voted against the new law, and Governor Abernethy vetoed it in an admirable message, recommending the repeal of the clauses making it an offence to give away a glass of liquor, and of that also which allowed the fines to be divided between the informant and the officers of the law, by which they became interested in the conviction of the person charged; and advising only the alteration of Burnett's law of 1844, to make it agree with the organic law, if it was in any way adverse to it. But the legislature passed their act over the governor's veto, and prohibition, which up to 1846 was the law and the rule in colonial Oregon, has never been restored.

Two new counties were created and organized: one called Lewis county on the north side of the Columbia, comprising all of Oregon Teritory north of that river, and west of the Cowlitz River, up to the latitude of 54° 40′; another called Polk County, south of Yamhill, comprising all the territory between the Willamette River and the Pacific Ocean, and extending from the southern boundary of Yamhill County, which line extended due west of George Gay's house, to the northern boundary of California.

[46] *Tolmie's Puget Sound*, MS., 22-3.

Neither of these new counties was allowed a sheriff of its own; but the sheriff of Vancouver was compelled to do duty for Lewis, and the sheriff of Yamhill to serve Polk. Judges were not appointed, but it was left for the people to choose them at the annual election of 1846.[47] The boundaries of the five counties previously created were definitely fixed as follows: Clatsop embraced the territory bounded by a line drawn from the middle of the main channel of the Columbia River at Oak Point Mountain, thence south to the line dividing Tualatin from Yamhill, thence west to the Pacific Ocean, thence north to the mouth of the Columbia, and east along the middle of the main channel, to the place of beginning.

The southern line of Tualatin and northern line of Yamhill commenced one mile north of Butteville, the Butte, as it was then called, and extended due west to the Pacific Ocean.[48] Tualatin County embraced all the territory lying north of this line, south of the Columbia, east of Clatsop, and west of the Willamette River; and Yamhill all that bounded by Tualatin on the north, the Willamette River on the east, Polk County on the south, and the ocean on the west. Clackamas County was divided from Champoeg by a line running due east from a point in the Willamette River one mile below Butteville, being an extension of the north line of Yamhill. Both of these counties stretched east to the Rocky Mountains, and Champoeg covered all the territory south to the California boundary, in order that everywhere in Oregon the benefits of the provisional government might be enjoyed.

One other matter connected with the welfare of society was settled by authorizing every ordained

[47] *Grover's Or. Archives*, 152.

[48] This line was definitely fixed by the legislature of 1846, beginning opposite the mouth of Pudding River, running north-west to the summit of the dividing ridges, between the Chehalim and Tualatin and the Yamhill and Tualatin. The county seat was also fixed at or near the falls of Yamhill River where the town of Lafayette was laid off in that year.

minister of good standing, of any denomination, the supreme and district judges, and justices of the peace, to solemnize marriages.

As to the means of carrying on the government, a revenue was to be raised by levying an *ad valorem* tax of one fourth of one per cent for territorial purposes; the county taxes to be regulated by the county courts, not to exceed the territorial tax; the levy to be made upon town lots and improvements, mills, carriages, clocks and watches, horses and mules, cattle, sheep, and hogs; upon every qualified voter under the age of 60 years, a poll-tax of 50 cents; upon every merchant's license where the capital employed was under $10,000, $20; over $10,000, $30; over $15,000, $45; over $20,000, $60; upon each auctioneer's license, $10; upon each pedler's license, $10; upon each ferry license, not less than $5 nor more than $25.

There should be paid into the county treasuries, as the costs of the courts, a tax of one dollar upon each petition of a public nature to be paid by the petitioners; for hearing and determining each motion of counsel, one dollar; for each final judgment, three dollars; for allowing an appeal, one dollar; and the fee allowed masters in chancery, where like services were performed by the court.

Thus, while farming lands and farm products were not taxed, the people were, notwithstanding their former protests, assessed on every other species of property and on their business capital, which taxes the farmers paid principally in wheat. The legislature of 1845, in framing laws, had not, after all, greatly improved upon the committee of 1844, being compelled to conform to the usages of other governments in even a greater degree, as the wants of the community increased.

Although the laws were still imperfect even for present uses, they covered, by enactment and adoption, nearly the whole ground embraced by the legis-

lation of the territories established by the authority of the United States.

On the 19th of December the house adjourned. Its last act was to pass a resolution, "that one of the principal objects contemplated in the formation of the government was the promotion of peace and happiness among ourselves, and the friendly relations which have, and ever ought to exist between the people of the United States and Great Britain; and any measure of this house calculated to defeat the same is in direct violation of the true intention for which it was formed."

CHAPTER XX.

OPENING OF THE SOUTHERN OREGON ROUTE—IMMIGRATION OF 1846.

ROAD-MAKING AS A WAR MEASURE—A PASS REQUIRED—A COMPANY ORGANIZED—THEY PROCEED TO ROGUE RIVER—WHENCE THEY CONTINUE EASTWARD AND CROSS THE CASCADE RANGE INTO THE HUMBOLDT VALLEY—THEY PROCEED TO FORT HALL—HASTINGS AND HIS CUT-OFF—IMMIGRATION OF 1846—APPLEGATE'S CUT-OFF—J. Q. THORNTON, HIS BOOK AND HIS VINDICTIVENESS—SUFFERINGS OF THE EMIGRANTS BY THE NEW ROUTE—COMMENTS OF THE SETTLERS ON THE SOUTHERN ROUTE—BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

THE disasters attending the immigrations of 1843, 1844, and 1845 stimulated exploration, as we have seen. The United States government was not indifferent to the need of a better route to Oregon, as the attempts for the third time of one of its officers attest, even if he was always floating away toward California. There were other reasons, besides the sufferings of the immigrants, which influenced both the government and the colonists to desire a route into the Willamette Valley which led away from the chain of the fur company's posts. As the British officers Park and Peel had been anxious to know whether troops could be brought from Canada overland to Fort Vancouver, so thoughtful men among the colonists were desirous to make sure, in the event of their being needed, that troops from the United States could be brought without interruption into Oregon,[1] knowing that in case of war nothing would be easier than for a small force of the enemy to pre-

[1] 'One of the road-hunters,' in *Or. Spectator*, April 15, 1847; Lindsey Applegate, in *Portland West Shore*, June 1877; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 162.

vent the passage of the Columbia from the Dalles to and beyond the Cascades.

It was still doubtful whether the road that Barlow had undertaken to open would prove practicable; in any case it must be difficult, from the nature of the mountains near the Columbia. The passes looked for at the head waters of the Santiam and Willamette rivers had not yet been found, and there was the prospect that if war should be declared neither immigrants nor troops could force their way to the settlements.

ROUTES AND CUT-OFFS.

In order to settle the question of a pass to the south through the Cascade Mountains, the colonists offered to raise money for the purpose of paying the expense of an expedition, and the cost of opening a road in that direction, and early in May 1846 a company was formed in Polk County to undertake this enterprise; but being insufficient in numbers, after travelling seventy miles south of the Calapooya

Range, which forms the southern boundary of the Willamette Valley, and being deserted by four of their number on the border of the hostile Indian country, which left them not men enough to stand guard, they returned for reënforcements.

The head of the first company had been Levi Scott, a native of Illinois, who came to Oregon in 1844 from near Burlington, Iowa, a man of character and determination. He appealed to the patriotism of the Polk County settlers, and secured the coöperation of Jesse and Lindsey Applegate, who had privately promoted the expedition from the first, but who now left their homes and families with the fixed resolve never to retrace their steps, never to abandon the enterprise, until a good wagon-road should be found, if such existed, as they did not doubt, from what they knew of Frémont's expeditions, and the accounts given by the lost emigrants of 1845, of the level appearance of the country to the south of their route in the lake-basin.[2] The company as finally organized consisted of fifteen men, well supplied for a protracted expedition, who set out from La Créole settlement June 22d.[3]

[1] Nathaniel Ford, in *Or. Spectator*, July 9, 1846.

[2] They were Levi Scott, Jesse Applegate, Lindsey Applegate, John Scott, Moses Harris, Henry Bogus, John Owens, John Jones, Robert Smith, Samuel Goodhue, Bennett Osborne, William Sportsman, William Parker, Benjamin Burch, and David Goff. From notes and reminiscences by Lindsey Applegate, in *Portland West Shore* from June to September 1877, the following biographical facts are taken:

John Scott accompanied his father, Capt. Scott, to Oregon in 1843. He resided at Dallas in Polk County.

Benjamin F. Burch emigrated from Missouri, his native state, in 1845. He has long occupied positions of trust in Oregon, and resides at Salem.

David Goff was an immigrant of 1844. He settled in the neighborhood of the Fords, and one of his daughters was the wife of J. W. Nesmith. He belonged to that class of pioneers whose patriotism extended beyond a desire to secure a grant of land. He died in Polk County in 1875, aged 80 years.

William G. Parker was a native of Missouri, and an immigrant of 1843. He left Oregon for California, where he resided many years; but returned finally to Lake County, Oregon, and long resided in the country he assisted to explore in 1846. He was a brother of Mrs Jesse Applegate.

Robert Smith was born in Virginia, and came to Oregon in 1843. He married a daughter of Charles Applegate, and was brother-in-law of S. F. Chadwick.

Samuel Goodhue was a native of New York, and an immigrant of 1844. He

The exploring company proceeded south by the California trail. On arriving at the cañon of the Umpqua River, where trappers and travellers had formerly taken to those high, wooded ridges, where drought, chaparral, and savages had so vexed the soul of P. L. Edwards, and tried the firmness of Ewing Young in 1837, finding that no wagon-road could be made over them, they returned to explore the cañon, which they found to be a practicable pass, though rocky and filled with a thick growth of scrubby trees and underbrush requiring much labor to cut away. The greatest vigilance being used in guarding against natives in the Rogue River Valley, the company encountered no hostilities, although they discovered the evidences of trouble to a California party of about eighty persons who had left the rendezvous on La Créole two weeks before. This party had been detained in camp in the Rogue River Valley by the loss of some of their horses, which they had endeavored in vain to recover.[4] Signal-fires were seen burning on the mountains nightly, but finding the road-hunters watchful, the natives finally left the explorers, and followed the California company to ambush them in the Siskiyou Mountains.

On arriving in the Rogue River Valley the course followed was along the river to a branch coming from the south-east, which led them to the foot of the Siskiyou Range, where the California trail crossed it, from which they turned eastward toward the Cascade

married a daughter of Albert T. Davidson of the immigration of 1845, and resided for several years at Salem, but finally removed to Ohio.

William Sportsman came from Missouri in 1845, and left Oregon in 1847.

John Owens was a native of Missouri, and an immigrant of 1843.

Moses Harris, the 'Black Squire,' a famous scout and trapper, came to the Willamette Valley in 1844. He was well versed in the Shoshone dialect, and was in this and other ways of much service to the expedition. Harris returned to the States in 1847, and died at Independence, Mo.

[4] Applegate says the party consisted of Canadians, half-breeds, and Columbia River natives, with a few Americans. These natives were probably some of the Walla Wallas, who were going down to claim the indemnity which White had promised them for the losses sustained in their cattle expedition of 1844, and who arrived just in time to join Frémont's battalion against the Californians.

Mountains through a region hitherto unexplored, and from a point now ascertained to be only six miles north of the 42d parallel, or southern boundary of Oregon. A few miles brought them to slopes of gradual ascent, where wagons could pass without great difficulty, to a fine stream of water, Keene Creek, which they followed to a small valley, later known as Round Prairie. On the following day, however, they found themselves confronted by a rocky ridge, which it was impossible for wagons to pass, and three days were consumed in searching for a route over or through it. On the third day, Long Prairie was discovered, and near it the desired pass, from which they followed a ridge trending northward to the summit of the Cascade Range, which they reached on the 4th of July; coming soon after to the Klamath River, and travelling through a magnificent forest of yellow pine for six miles farther, where they had a first view of the Klamath Valley.

"It was an exciting moment," says Lindsey Applegate, "after the many days spent in dense forests and among the mountains, and the whole party broke forth in cheer after cheer. An Indian, who had not been observed until the shouting began, started away from the river-bank near us, and ran to the hills, a quarter of a mile distant. An antelope could scarcely have outstripped him, for we continued shouting as he ran, and his speed seemed to increase until he was lost from our view, moving among the pines."

Following up the river about six miles to where it leaves the lower Klamath Lake, a ford was discovered, which, though the water was deep, was passed in safety, and the west shore of the lake followed down for two miles. By this time columns of smoke were seen rising in all directions, the natives who had discovered the party telegraphing to others the presence of strangers. Keeping down the shore of the lake, they encamped on Hot Creek, at the identical spot where Frémont's party had been a couple of months

previous, and where the Hot Creek Modocs murdered his three faithful Delawares.

The explorers were made aware of the fact that white men had been there, by fragments of newspapers lying about; doubtless those that Gillespie brought from the States with him, on his mission to Frémont, who turned back just before the real pathfinders struck his trail. Observing that the turf had been removed as well as the willows, and the ground trampled on the bank of the creek, and remarking also that there were many places where horses could get to the water without this trouble, the company were convinced that some persons had been buried there, and this method adopted of concealing their bodies from the savages, the marks of digging being obliterated by driving the animals of the party many times over the spot. This opinion was confirmed by the excitement evident among the Modocs, who naturally judged that these white men had come to avenge the murder of the three members of Frémont's party whom they were conscious of having killed,[5] and which were the first of a long list of murders committed by this tribe, extending from 1846 to 1873.

With every precaution not to expose themselves to attack, they pursued their way along the shore, and passing around the southern end of the lower Klamath Lake, arrived on the evening of the 5th opposite the camp on Hot Creek, with the lake to the west, and a high rocky ridge to the east of them. This ridge they ascended next morning, and discovered at its eastern base the since famous Túle or Modoc Lake, and apparently about thirty miles to the east of that a timbered butte, near which appeared to be a pass through the rocky range encircling the basin of the lakes. The route seemed to lie around the north end of Tule Lake. In attempting to descend the ridge, however, they found themselves entangled

[5] *Martin's Nar.*, MS., 19–21; *Shasta Courier*, July 7, 1876.

among short lava ridges, and yawning crevices and caves in the rocks, which compelled a retreat to smoother ground. Some difficulty was experienced in conducting a retreat, as the party had become separated and hidden from each other by the numerous jutting rocks.

When all, with the exception of Scott, were reassembled, a northern course was taken toward the meadow country which was observed from the bluff, surrounding Modoc Lake on that side. The lake being in full view, great numbers of canoes were seen putting off from the shelter of the bluff and tules, and making for what seemed to be an island several miles distant; this was in reality a rocky promontory, now known as Scorpion Point, projecting into the lake from the south-east side. The wild men were apparently alarmed at seeing Scott riding along the margin of the lake, and believing that the whole company that they had seen in the lava-beds were close at hand, were fleeing from a single horseman. Still under the impression that the explorers were vengeful foeman, they remained out of their reach, and gave them no trouble.

On coming to Lost River where it enters Modoc Lake, and where the water is deep, a native was discovered crouching under the shelter of the bank, who on being made to understand by signs that the party wished to cross, was induced to point out an excellent fording-place, where a ledge of stone runs quite across the stream.[6] He was compensated by some trifling presents; his new friends shook hands with him at parting, and he returned, apparently pleased, to join his tribe, while they kept on eastward, finding a good spring of water at the foot of a ridge to the north, where they encamped.

Still making for their former landmark, they passed

[6] A gradual rise in the waters of Modoc Lake has overflowed the meadows where the exploring party grazed their horses, and backed up the water in Lost River, so named from sinking in the ground in places, until the ford, or Stone Bridge as it was called by the early immigrants, has become impassable.

eastward over the rocky juniper ridge, between Langell Valley and Clear Lake, then to Goose Lake, round the southern end of which they continued, encamping the 8th on a small stream coming in from the southeast, and where game was found in abundance.

Ascending a spur of the mountains bordering Goose Lake Valley, a view was obtained of another beautiful valley, with trees and streams, beyond which was a mountain ridge supposed to be a part of the California sierras. This was Surprise Valley, into which a good pass was found, with grass and water plenty, in the gap.[7]

The party had now come to the dividing ridge between the waters of the lake-basin of the Pacific coast and that other great basin which contains the Humboldt River and the great inland sea of Salt Lake. Their horses had worn out their shoes on the rocks of Klamath land; the sandy desert that lay before them beyond the borders of Surprise Valley seemed to stretch interminably, with no indication of water or grass as far as the eye could see, and unbroken except by rocky ridges; and the prospect for the future looked gloomy. But pressing on to the close of the day over sand, gravel, and rock, at evening a little spring was most unexpectedly found. Proceeding in an eastward course over a sage plain, by the middle of the afternoon of the 10th the weary travellers found themselves confronted by a sheer wall of solid granite, varying in height from twenty or thirty to several hundred feet, and entirely impassable. Separating into two divisions, the country was explored to the north and south, where was found a gap varying from two hundred feet to the width of little more than a single wagon. It was about twenty miles in length. A stream ran through it in places under overhanging cliffs. After examining this strange

[7] The small stream spoken of as coming into Goose Lake, and the pass into Surprise Valley, have taken the name of Lassen, from Peter Lassen, who two years after the discovery by the Oregon company, led a party of California immigrants through it on to the waters of the Pit and Sacramento rivers.

defile for some distance, it was determined to follow it on the 11th; and on arriving at the eastern end, it was found to terminate in a lake-basin containing little water but much mud, to which the name of Mud Springs was given. On the farther side of the basin was another ridge extending parallel to the Granite Mountains, which appeared to terminate about fifteen miles to the south of the gorge. Travelling toward the end of this ridge along its base, grass and water were found, but not in abundance; and at the extremity, hot springs, with immense piles of volcanic rock and scoriæ of a dark color, from which the place received the name of Black Rock. At this point the company divided, half going east and the rest south.

Finding nothing encouraging in the outlook eastward from the Rabbit-hole Mountains, this party also turned southward along their base, and at the termination found a large spring, but too strongly alkaline to be used except in making coffee. From this spring looking east, nothing could be seen but a vast plain glittering with an alkaline efflorescence, which greatly aggravated the heat of a July sun. In travelling over it the party suffered not only from heat and thirst, but from those atmospheric illusions so tormenting to those who traverse deserts. All that day and night, and until four o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, they were without water, and one of the men had succumbed, and was left lying in the shadow of some rocks, while his companions in suffering directed their course toward a small green spot several miles distant. While on this errand they fell in with the southern division, which had also been without water about as long, and was travelling toward the bit of green in the distance. That night all encamped together again, the sick man having been brought to camp. But so warm, alkaline, and disagreeable was the little water found, that few of the company could retain it. The horses drank it eagerly, and this small relief, with a night of rest, sufficed to raise the sinking courage of

these determined men. On the morning of the 18th they proceeded southward over a level plain, passing burning peat-beds, and coming at noon to the Humboldt River, near the present site of Humboldt City.

Although rejoiced to reach this river, which had been from the first an objective point, the explorers found the route from here too southerly for their purpose, and began a course up the valley in a northeasterly direction, looking for a pass more directly westward from a point east of Black Rock. The march continued for two and a half days, until they came to a dry branch of the Humboldt coming in from the north, where there was an extensive meadow, and where they encamped with the intention of exploring back toward what seemed to be a gap through the ridge round which they had travelled to the south.

At a distance of fifteen miles up the dry creek they came to a fine spring; and fifteen miles west, up a gradual rise, to a table-land covered with good grass, from which Black Rock was plainly visible. Satisfied that they had now discovered a direct route from the Humboldt westward to Black Point, with grass and water, and making assurance doubly sure by rediscovering Rabbit-hole Springs, after remaining in the Humboldt Meadow to recruit their horses three days, they turned their faces once more toward the east, knowing that the source of the Humboldt was in the vicinity of their destined point, and that there could be no lack of water or grass for the remainder of the way.

On the 25th of July the march was resumed. The intention of the explorers was to locate their road directly to Bear River, fifty or sixty miles south of Fort Hall, where, in case of hostilities with England, the American traveller would not wish to go. But provisions running short, only two thirds of the company proceeded to Bear River, while Jesse Applegate, Harris, Goff. Owens. and Bogus turned off from

Thousand Springs Valley to Fort Hall for supplies,[8] and, if possible, to induce a portion of the immigration, which would probably be in that vicinity, to travel the new route and open the road. Before arriving at Fort Hall, Henry Bogus, learning that a son of Mr Grant of the fort had started for St Louis, and wishing to return there, left the party, and took a cut-off, in the hope of overtaking the St Louis Company, but was never again heard from.[9]

The immigration of 1846 was not so large as that of the previous year, and many were destined to California, whither efforts were made to direct the wavering.[10] From the best evidence I can gather, about twenty-five hundred persons left the Missouri frontier this year for the Pacific coast. Of these, from fifteen

[8] *Bryant's What I saw in California*, 196–7.

[9] Lindsey Applegate of the Bear River party, who kept a journal, relates that in travelling slowly up the monotonous Humboldt Valley, where game was scarce, and the natives seemed to live on crickets and grasshoppers, Scott and he turned aside one day to pursue a band of antelope, and came to wagon-tracks leading away from the river toward a rocky gulch two or three miles distant. There seemed to have been several wagons, and the prints of bare feet were numerous beside the track. In the gulch were found the ashes and irons of the wagons which had been burned. No human remains were seen. The emigrants had probably been murdered. They were one of the small parties which from 1843 to 1846 sought to enter California by the Humboldt route.

[10] I find that this effort was understood and resisted by the people of Oregon. The 15th of June a public meeting was held at Oregon City, to provide for sending an express to Soda Springs to meet the emigration, 'to prevent their being deceived and led astray by the misrepresentations of L. W. Hastings, who is now on his way from California for that object.' The committee selected to compose the express was W. Finley, J. S. Rinearson, and W. G. T'Vault. The committee took the depositions of Truman Bonney, Jarius Bonney, Abner Frazer, John Chamberlain, Robert C. Keyes, and Allen Sanders, recently from California, concerning the intention of Hastings, and the general condition of affairs in California. The first three affiants deposed that by the representations of Mr Grant at Fort Hall the year previous, they were induced to go to California, but on arriving in the Sacramento Valley found the whole country burned by the sun, and no food either for man or beast. Flour was $10 or $12 per cwt., and vegetables there were none. Five to eight bushels of wheat was an average crop. No rain fell from March to January; there was no timber except on the mountains. Society did not exist, and it was difficult for a man to keep his own. The Catholic missions were destroyed; no land could be obtained without purchase, and titles were not good; duties were so high that no shipping came in, and clothing was almost impossible to obtain. And above all, Mr Hastings and Captain Sutter were intending to revolutionize the country as soon as people enough had come to fight the Spaniards. Similar depositions were made by the other three, to be used in undeceiving the immigrants whom Hastings would endeavor to mislead! *Or. Spectator*, June 25, 1846.

to seventeen hundred went to Oregon; the remainder to California.[11]

As usual with the migrations, there was a lack of adhesiveness, and large companies split into half a dozen smaller ones, and there were many quarrels arising from trifling causes. In 1846 these feuds were intensified by a scarcity of grass, the season being dry.[12]

[11] The authorities differ. The *Spectator* of Dec. 10, 1846, gives the number of immigrants for the year at 1,000. (Message of Governor Abernethy.) But at that time several hundred had not yet arrived. In *Hyde's Statement*, 6, the Oregon immigration is spoken of as 'large.' Saxton, in his *Or. Ter.*, says that at St Joseph, Elizabethtown, Iowa Point, and Council Bluffs were collected 271 wagons, and at Independence 174 wagons; and estimates the emigrants at 1,841. The best authority is probably Joel Palmer, who says that his party of 16 continued to meet for 200 miles companies of from 6 to 40 wagons, and that in all he passed 541 wagons, averaging 5 persons to each; and that 212 wagons were bound for California. *Journal*, 137; *McGlashan's Hist. Donner Party*, 17. I find corroborative evidence in *Niles' Reg.*, lxx. 211, 272, 281, 341, 343, 416. An extract from the *St Louis Republican*, in the *Register*, says: 'The Oregon emigrants have gone on in advance of the Californians, to their great encampment on the Kansas River, about 100 miles west of this. We have not yet received a census of their company, but will in a few days.' A letter to the *Register*, from some one in Weston, Mo., says the emigration must be strung along the road for 300 miles; 40 wagons were yet to start, on the 18th of May; 216 wagons exclusive of these had left the Iowa agency; each of these 356 wagons had 4 yokes of oxen, which added to the loose stock would make 2,000 head of cattle on the road. The number of persons he estimated at 2,000, 800 of them being 'able-bodied men of resolute spirit.' This same writer says: 'On yesterday, I for the first time heard the news from Mexico. It did not surprise me in the least, but I wish an express could be sent to overtake the emigrants, after congress has acted, and authorize them to make the conquest of California. They could and would do it, and I take it for granted our government will declare war; all they want is a chance.' A correspondent of the *St Louis Republican*, quoted in the *Register*, says the Oregon emigration was a fine-looking body of people, and well fitted out for their expedition. Some wagons were carpeted, and had chairs and other conveniences for families. One old man of more than 70 years was going to accompany his children and grandchildren; and this family all together had 10 wagons. Some of the wagon-covers bore '*Oregon*, 54° 40'; *all or none!*' Josiah Gregg, writing to the *Register*, thinks the emigration numbers 2,000, but that the larger part of it is for California. I learn also that the Pawnees fired upon 2 emigrants, killing one, named Edward Trimble, from Iowa. See also *Home Missionary*, xviii. 89; and *Rabbison's Growth of Towns*, MS., 1–5.

[12] In volume lxxi. 146, of *Niles' Reg.*, is an extract from a letter written by one of the California emigrants, dated July 23d at Fort Bridger, near Black Fork of Green River, not far from Bear River Mountains, which was 'brought by Capt. Walker, who was returning from California with Lieut. Frémont.' The letter runs as follows: 'At Fort Laramie Colonel Russel, and many other of the emigrants, sold off their wagons, and with a pack containing a few articles, pursued their journey on horseback. The grass on the route from Fort Laramie was deficient, and the animals fared badly.... The parties were in the South pass of the Rocky Mountains on the 13th of July, and had then seen no Indians after leaving Fort Laramie, and considered themselves beyond their dangerous vicinity, and only a few of the emigrants kept a night guard. From Fort Laramie they had pleasant weather, with cool nights and warm

The character of these pilgrims was in general good; they were intelligent, and in comfortable circumstances. That this was true, many well-written letters that appeared in the public prints give evidence, both as regards their authors and their travelling companions. I find in a book by a writer always successful in making a readable narrative, as well as in recording useful information, but who occasionally gives proof of powers of observation put to good use, that there was the usual substratum of the hardy pioneer element; and also, that though the companies scattered along the road for two hundred miles were all well fitted out at the start, some of them, through carelessness, or strife amongst themselves, became much distressed before the conclusion of even the first half of their journey.[18]

days, though very dusty roads until they reached Fort Bridger, and during the whole route they had not seen more than a dozen buffalo. Col. Russel and his party, by hard travelling, reached Fort Bridger 2 or 3 days before the others; but his horses had their backs badly worn, and he remained 3 or 4 days to recruit. At that place they were met by Mr Hastings, from California, who came out to conduct them in by the new route, by the foot of Salt Lake, discovered by Captain Frémont, which is said to be 200 miles nearer than the old one, by Fort Hall. The distance to California was said to be 650 miles, through a fine farming country, with plenty of grass for the cattle. Companies of from one to a dozen wagons are continually arriving, and several have already started on, with Hastings at their head, who would conduct them to near where the new road joins the old route, and there leave them, and push on with his party. Russel had also started, guided by a man who came through with Hastings. He is said to be very sick of the journey, and anxious to complete it. Instead of entering California as the commander of a half-military caravan, he had been forsaken by his most cherished companions, and even his understrappers had treated him with indignity. Grayson had quarrelled with all his companions, and every one who could raise a horse had left him. Boggs and many others had determined to go to Oregon, and were expected to arrive at Fort Bridger in a day or two. Curry had also been persuaded to go to Oregon, and from thence he would go to California and the Sandwich Islands... The Oregon route may be considerably shortened by avoiding Fort Bridger and passing a stretch of 45 miles without water, but most of the companies go that way. The emigrants were heartily tired of their journey, and nine tenths of them wished themselves back in the States. The whole company has been broken up into squads by dissatisfaction and bickerings, and it is pretty much every man for himself. The accounts they had received of Oregon and California, by the parties they met returning to the States, had greatly disheartened them, and they had horrible anticipations of the future, in the country which they believed to be, when they set out, as beautiful as the Elysian fields.'

[18] 'Far off on the other side of the Platte was a green meadow, where we could see the white tents and wagons of an emigrant camp; and just opposite to us we could discern a group of men and animals at the water's edge. Four

J. Quinn Thornton [14] dealt with the opening of the southern route to the Willamette Valley in a partic-

or 5 horsemen soon entered the river, and in 10 minutes had waded across and clambered up the loose sand-bank. They were ill-looking fellows, thin and swarthy, with care-worn, anxious faces, and lips rigidly compressed. They had good cause for anxiety; it was 3 days since they first encamped here, and on the night of their arrival they had lost 123 of their best cattle, driven off by the wolves, through the neglect of the man on guard. This discouraging and alarming calamity was not the first that had overtaken them. Since leaving the settlements they had met with nothing but misfortune. Some of their party had died; one man had been killed by the Pawnees; and about a week before, they had been plundered by the Dakotahs of all their best horses...The emigrants recrossed the river, and we prepared to follow. First the heavy ox-wagons plunged down the bank, and dragged slowly over the sand-beds; sometimes the hoofs of the oxen were scarcely wetted by the thin sheet of water; and the next moment the river would be boiling against their sides, and eddying fiercely around the wheels. Inch by inch they receded from the shore, dwindling every moment until at length they seemed to be floating far out in the very middle of the river...As we gained the other bank, a rough group of men surrounded us. They were not robust nor large of frame, yet they had an aspect of hardy endurance. Finding at home no scope for their fiery energies, they had betaken themselves to the prairie; and in them seemed to be revived, with redoubled force, that fierce spirit which impelled their ancestors, scarce more lawless than themselves, from the German forests, to inundate Europe, and break to pieces the Roman empire. A fortnight afterwards this unfortunate party passed Fort Laramie while we were there. Not one of their missing oxen had been recovered, though they had encamped a week in search of them; and they had been compelled to abandon a great part of their baggage and provisions, and yoke cows and heifers to their wagons to carry them forward upon their journey, the most toilsome and hazardous part of which lay still before them.'

It is worth noticing, that on the Platte one may sometimes see the shattered wrecks of ancient claw-footed tables, well waxed and rubbed, or massive bureaus of carved oak. These, many of them no doubt the relics of ancestral prosperity in the colonial time, must have encountered strange vicissitudes. Imported, perhaps, originally from England; then, with the declining fortunes of their owners, borne across the Alleghanies to the remote wilderness of Ohio or Kentucky; then to Illinois or Missouri; and now at last fondly stowed away in the family wagon for the interminable journey to Oregon. But the stern privations of the way are little anticipated. The cherished relic is soon flung to scorch and crack upon the hot prairie. *Parkman's Cal. and Or. Trail*, 105–8.

[14] *Oregon and California in 1848*, by J. Quinn Thornton, etc., in two volumes, with illustrations and a map, New York, 1849. Mr Thornton's book was written after one year's residence in Oregon, his account of its political history and the description of California being drawn from the writings of Hall J. Kelley, whose acquaintance he formed in 1848. To this is added a sketch of the early settlement of the country by missionaries and others; a sketch of the establishment of the provisional government, with an account of his late participation in its affairs; an account of the general features, geology, mineralogy, forests, rivers, farming lands, and institutions of Oregon; all of which, considering the date of publication, is useful and interesting and in the main correctly given, establishing the author's ability to produce literary matter of rather unusual merit. But these two volumes could well have been contained in one by the omission of the author's narrative of the incidents of the immigration, which reveal a narrowness of judgment and bitterness of spirit seldom associated with those mental endowments of which Mr Thornton gives evidence in his writings.

ular and detailed manner, which makes him the principal authority upon the incidents attending it. It is there stated that Thornton and his wife left Quincy, Illinois, on the 18th of April, and went to Independence to join the Oregon and California emigrants. He left that place May 12th, and soon overtook the California Company under W. H. Russell. The train with which Thornton travelled together with Russell's made a caravan of 72 wagons, 130 men, 65 women, and 125 children. The ill-fated Donner party subsequently joined them, and all travelled together, or not far apart, to Fort Bridger, where about 80 persons were persuaded to take the newly discovered route to the Humboldt Valley by the way of Weber Cañon and Salt Lake, which Hastings, who had come to Fort Bridger to meet the immigrants, recommended

J. Quinn Thornton was born August 24, 1810, near Point Pleasant, Mason County, West Virginia. From his manuscript *Autobiography*, it appears his ancestors arrived in eastern Virginia in 1633 from England, and that the Thornton family are now widely scattered over the southern and western states. In his infancy Thornton removed with his parents to Champaign County, Ohio, and grew up a studious boy, reading all the books that came in his way, among others Sully's Memoirs, from which he drew his favorite *nom de plume* of 'Achilles De Harley,' used in later years as a signature to certain political articles in the *New York Tribune*. His mother desired him to study for the ministry; but he chose law as a profession, and went to England to study, remaining nearly three years in London, living in retirement and learning little of the great world about him. At the end of that time he returned to Virginia, and studied law under John Howe Peyton, of Staunton in that state, being admitted to the bar in May 1833. Thornton says that during the period of his studies he became interested in trying to discover the nature of gravitation; being of the belief that the word 'attraction,' as applied to gravitation, is a misnomer, and that the force is external to rather than inherent in matter; and claims that the identity of that force was discovered by him in August 1832. The results of his investigations on this subject, being committed to manuscript, were twice destroyed by fire, since which no further effort has been made to place his discovery before the world. After being admitted to the bar, Thornton attended law lectures at the University of Virginia under Prof. John A. G. Davis. Having had all this preparation, he opened a law office in Palmyra, Missouri, in 1835, and in 1836 edited a political paper in that place, in the interest of Martin Van Buren during the presidential campaign. On the 8th of Feb., 1838, he married Mrs Nancy M. Logue of Hannibal in that state; and in 1841 removed to Quincy, Illinois. The Oregon Question being popularly discussed by all ranks of society about this time, led him, as it did thousands of others, to think of adding his individual weight to the American claim, and in 1846 he resolved to emigrate. I am indebted to Mr Thornton for many favors. When in Salem, in 1878, he not only gave me a valuable dictation, but placed me in possession of many important documents collected by him during an eventful life.

to them[15] with so much urgency. The remainder of the California company kept to the old route turning off west of Fort Hall.

When Applegate's party were at that post, they met and conversed with many persons on the subject of routes, among whom was a company led by William Kirquendall, to which belonged Thornton and Boggs, and which determined to take the southern route, piloted by the explorers. Without question Applegate represented, as he believed, that the southern route was superior in many respects to that along the Snake and Columbia rivers. The grass, except on the alkali desert, which he expected in returning to avoid for the most part, was better than in the Snake country; there were no mountains to cross before coming to the Cascade Range, and the pass through it was greatly superior to the Mount Hood pass; while in the Klamath, Rogue River, and Umpqua valleys grass and water were of the greatest excellence and abundance. The distance he judged to be shorter than by the old route, though in this he was mistaken. Influenced by the misrepresentation of Has-

[15] The narration of the misfortunes which attended the emigrants on Hastings' cut-off does not belong to this division of this history, but will be found in *Hist. Cal.*, this series; also in *McGlashan's Hist. of the Donner Party*, and in *Thornton's Or. and Cal.*, ii. 95–246. Thornton became well acquainted with Boggs of Missouri, and several of the most prominent persons in the California emigration, including the Donner party, and has recorded many facts concerning them. Hastings undoubtedly exaggerated in persuading the Donner company to take his route, and in trying to influence the Oregon immigrants to go to California, thereby producing the effect spoken of in the letter already quoted from *Niles' Register*. On the other hand, the Oregon committee sent out to counteract his influence, by showing the depositions of the last year's emigrants to California, added to the feeling of uncertainty. The travellers knew not which statement to believe, and chose at random which route to take. According to Hastings, the 800 miles between Fort Hall and the Pacific was a 'succession of high mountains, cliffs, deep cañons, and small valleys,' with a scarcity of fuel along the Snake and Columbia rivers. McGlashan in the *Hist. Donner Party*, 22, says that Bridger and Vazquez, who had charge of Fort Bridger, earnestly advised the California emigration to take Hastings' cut-off, because they wanted to sell supples to the trains which would otherwise refit at Fort Hall. He also says that Hastings was a famous hunter and trapper, and employed to pilot the emigration: which departure from facts clouds the credibility of the previous assertion. Time confirmed the merits of the Hastings cut-off as a road to California; and it is certain that to dissensions among themselves, and unwise delays, was to be attributed the tragedy of Donner Lake.

tings as to the northern route, and hoping to escape its eight hundred miles of mountains, ravines, and precipices by taking the southern one, a caravan of ninety or a hundred wagons, including Kirquendall's company, left Fort Hall on the 9th of August, arriving at the rendezvous of the exploring party at Thousand Springs on the 12th, where David Goff and Levi Scott assumed the duty of guiding them to the Willamette, while the Applegates and the remainder of the company pushed forward to mark out or cut out the road, as the case might demand, accompanied by a volunteer party of young men from the immigration.[16]

On arriving at the tributary of the Humboldt, they proceeded up the stream to the spring before discovered, which they called Diamond, but which is now known as Antelope spring, and which they enlarged by digging. Thence they took a north-west course to Rabbit-hole Mountains, where they enlarged the Rabbit-hole spring. They found no way of avoiding the Black Rock desert of alkali and mud lakes between there and the Granite Mountains, the same course being followed in locating the road west of Black cañon that was pursued on the first exploration. The real labor of road-making began when the company reached the Cascade Mountains, and was repeated in the chain to the north of the Rogue River Valley, and in the Umpqua cañon. On arriving in the Umpqua Valley, at the north end of the cañon, feeling that they had removed the greatest obstacles to travel with wagons, and being reduced to the necessity of hunting to supply themselves with provisions, the passage through the Calapooya Mountains was left to be opened by the immigrants themselves, and the company hastened to their homes, from which they had been absent fifteen weeks.

[16] These were Thomas Powers, Alfred Stewart, Charles Putnam, who married a daughter of Jesse Applegate, Burgess, Shaw, Carnahan, and others. William Kirquendall and J. M. Wair also joined the road company.

Before the Applegates left the caravan at Thousand Springs to smooth as far as possible the road which the wagons were to follow, they instructed the immigrants to be careful in passing through the country occupied by savages, no companies of less than twenty wagons being considered safe; that diligence should be used in travelling, and that in making the long drives over the desert portions of the road certain precautions should be observed. With these explicit directions, and two reliable men as guides, they apprehended no difficulty for those who were to follow.[17]

The first companies to take the road after the explorers were those led by Harrison Linville, and a Mr Vanderpool; and although upon them fell the severer toil of breaking the track, and reopening the road over the Cascade Mountains made by Applegate's company, which a fire had filled in places with fallen timber, they arrived in the Rogue River Valley on the 9th of October;[18] while the rear companies, disregarding the instructions of the guides, loitered by the way, some, indeed, from circumstances over which they had no control,[19] but many from dilatoriness and a desire to evade sharing in the labor of road-making. These detained the main companies, some of whom were compelled to wait for them at the parting of the California and Oregon roads on the Humboldt, because Goff, their guide, was compelled to do so, lest they should mistake the turning-off point.[20]

[17] *Or. Spectator*, April 15, 1847; L. Applegate's Klamath Lake Road, in *Ashland Tidings*, Oct. 1877 to July 1878; Zabriske, in *U. S. Surveyor-general's Report*, 1868, 1042; *Burnett's Recollections*, 229–30.

[18] D. Goff, in *Or. Spectator*, April 29, 1847.

[19] On the 13th of August a young man named Roby who had long lingered in a consumption died. On the 21st a Mr Burns died, leaving a wife and three children; a few others were ill.

[20] Thornton says that Applegate affirmed that the distance from Fort Hall to the Willamette Valley by way of the Dalles was from 800 to 850 miles; that the distance by the southern route was 200 miles less; that the whole distance was better supplied with grass and water than the old road; and that the road was generally smooth, and the dry drive only 30 miles long. 'If the total absence of all truth in each of these affirmations affords any means by which to judge of the principles of the man making them, he may unhesitatingly

According to Thornton's journal, the scarcity of grass, water, and fuel was no greater than it had been from the South Pass to Fort Hall, nor indeed so great; and the travellers by this route were relieved of the clouds of dust which accompanied the caravans on the Snake River route. But of the sufferings of those who travelled that route he could not then be aware, and was intent only on his own supreme wretchedness. Every ox that died upon the way was spoken of as a sacrifice to the misrepresentations of the explorers of the road, though oxen had died before reaching Fort Bridger; and every caravan that crossed the plains had its course marked out by the whitening bones of cattle that had fallen exhausted by the way.[21]

be said to be *parthis mendacior*.' He also says that he all the time held the opinion that Applegate was attempting to deceive him from motives purely selfish, and that he intended to profit by the misfortunes of the emigrants. He excuses himself for following such a man by saying that he was influenced by Gov. Boggs, who confided in the statements of Applegate. In considering Thornton's statements, I have taken into account, first, the unpractical mind of the man as set forth in his autobiography, where we discover that with opportunities seldom enjoyed by American young men for acquiring a profession, and with admitted talents of a certain kind, he achieved less than thousands who studied the law in the office of a country attorney; secondly, that he was at the time in question in bad health; and thirdly, that he was unused to physical labor. Add to those that he possessed an irritable temper and suspicious disposition, and we have the man who could pen such a record as that contained in the first volume of his *Or. and Cal.* Rabbison, in his *Growth of Towns*, MS., 3, mentions that Thornton had a quarrel with a man named Good, who furnished him a part of his outfit, and that on the Platte Good undertook to reclaim his property, but the Oregon emigrants decided as Thornton had a family he was not to be entirely dispossessed, but took the wagon out of the California train and cut it in two to make carts, also dividing the oxen—in which manner they proceeded; but Thornton gives a different version, and says that he conquered in the quarrel by an exhibition of spirit and fire-arms. *Or. and Cal.*, i. 123–5. I do not know which account is correct, nor is it of any consequence. At Green River, Thornton began to take care of his own team for the first time, and experiencing much difficulty from not knowing how to yoke or drive oxen, only succeeded by the assistance of the charitable Mr Kirquendall and others, who pitied his infirmities. From information obtained from his own journal, it is evident that he loitered by the way; and from comparing his estimates of distances with others, that he has nearly doubled the length of the worst portions of the road. See R. R. Marcy's *Hand-book of Overland Expeditions*, published in 1859, in which this route is described; or any railroad guide of the present day giving distances in the Humboldt Valley. The whole distance to Oregon City was really 950 miles from Fort Hall, whereas Thornton makes it 1,280. *Or. and Cal.*, i. 175; *Frémont's Cal. Guide Book*, 124; *Bancroft's Guide*, 87–8; *Hastings' Or. and Cal.*, 137.

[21] An emigrant who travelled the Dalles route in 1848, and who wields a pen not less trenchant than Thornton's, treats these incidents of early emigra-

There is no question as to the hardship endured both by explorers and emigrants. The natives along the Humboldt annoyed the small straggling companies, of which Thronton's was one. They concealed themselves behind rocks and shot their poisoned arrows at men and animals, and often stole cattle from the herds while grazing. In return for these depredations, a Humboldt Indian was shot in the camp of the emigrants.[22] One of the foremost companies had a skirmish with a band of Indians who were lying in ambush among some willows, in which two white men were wounded, one of whom died,[23] and a number of the attacking party were killed. A greater degree of caution might have avoided these encounters; but it was not possible for the guides to be with every train, or to compel the wagons to keep together in numbers sufficient to intimidate the savages.

Notwithstanding the length of the road, which should have warned the travellers not to lose time, a week was wasted in unnecessary delay before commencing the crossing of the Cascade Mountains. The sour of this chain up which the road was first located

tion in a different spirit. 'Our cattle stampeded when they were yoked up, and were being watched by herdsmen. Many ran off in the yoke that we never saw again. They often stampeded in the night, and once over 400 head were overtaken the next day nearly 40 miles from camp, having travelled this whole distance through an alkali plain, without grass or water. We lost so many cattle this way, that many wagons were left in the wilderness. We cut other wagon-boxes down to 8 feet in length, and threw away such articles as we could spare in order to lighten our loads, now too heavy for the weak and jaded cattle we had left. Some men's hearts died within them, and some of our women sat down by the roadside, a thousand miles from settlements, and cried, saying they had abandoned all hopes of ever reaching the promised land. I saw women with babes but a week old, toiling up mountains in the burning sun, on foot, because our jaded teams were not able to haul them. We went down mountains so steep that we had to let our wagons down with ropes. My wife and I carried our children up muddy mountains in the Cascades, half a mile high, and then carried the loading of our wagons up on our backs by piecemeal, as our cattle were so reduced that they were hardly able to haul up the empty wagon.' *Adams' Or. and Pac. Coast*, 33–4.

[22] The Indian was killed by Jesse Boone, a great-grandson of Daniel Boone of Kentucky, and a Mr Lovelin, both of whom shot at him. *Thornton's Or. and Cal.*, i. 171.

[23] Whately and Sallee were shot with arrows, and Sallee died. Daniel Tanner of Iowa also died from wounds received in the skirmish, and a Mr Lippincott of New York City was seriously wounded. *Or. Spectator*, Nov. 26, 1846.

is steep,[24] and teams had to be doubled until eighteen or twenty yokes[25] were put to a wagon to drag it up the sharp acclivity. But even this was better than having to carry the loads up steep hills while the oxen drew the empty wagons, as sometimes occurred on the north road.

Two months from the time the southern immigration left Thousand Springs, the last companies entered the Rogue River Valley, where according to Thornton they were met by Jones of the exploring party with some fat cattle for the relief of those whose provisions were consumed.[26] Being extremely weary, and their teams wellnigh exhausted, the last of the families unfortunately lingered too long in this beautiful country, at a season of the year when one day of rain might be productive of disaster by raising the streams, and chilling fatally the thin blood of the worn-out oxen.[27] And alas! they tarried in the valley until

[24] The road was subsequently changed so as to avoid going round the south end of Lower Klamath Lake, and proceeded by the eastern shore of the lake to Link River a little below the present town of Linkville, from which point the ascent of the mountains is gradual.

[25] Such is Thornton's statement.

[26] The *Spectator* of the 29th of October speaks of relief parties already sent out to assist the southern immigration; but they were behind that sent by the exploring party.

[27] There is a great effort apparent in this portion of Thornton's narrative to make it appear that his misfortunes, and the sufferings of other belated travellers, were owing to the misrepresentations of the explorers, whom he classes with the 'outlaws and banditti who during many years infested the Florida reefs, where they often contrived so to mislead vessels as to wreck them, when without scruple or ceremony, they, under various pretences, would commence their work of pillage.' As this was written after he had been a year in Oregon, and learned the high character of the men who composed the expedition, besides seeing a considerable immigration arrive in the Willamette Valley by the southern route the year following his passage over it, in the month of September, in good health and condition, the vituperative censure indulged in by Mr Thronton is, to say the least, in bad taste. Certain inaccuracies also in his statement, into which he is led by his desire to cast opprobrium upon the men who opened the road, are calculated to bring him into discredit. For instance, he professes to account for not giving the itinerary of the journey after leaving the California road, by saying that the third volume of his journal was stolen by a person who took charge of some of his property left in the Umpqua Mountains, to prevent the true character of the road being made known. Page 170, vol. i. On page 190 he says: 'A very bad Umpqua Indian having, upon a subsequent part of the road, relieved me of my third volume of journal notes of this part of the road, I write from memory only.' It may be asked, what interest had the Umpqua Indian in suppressing the journal? and why was one of this untamed tribe sent to take charge of his property?

the rains began,[28] and were subjected to a thousand discomforts before they came to the pass through the Canon Mountains, which in its best condition would have been bad, the road party not having a force sufficient to make a smooth road, but which was now, in its narrowest part, filled with water for a distance of three miles, the stream being cold and swift, and from one to four feet in depth.[29]

While the miserable men, women, and children were making their way through this defile, their condition was pitiable in the extreme, a number having abandoned their wagons, and some, like Thornton and his wife, being compelled to wade the stream, not only through the three-mile gorge, but over and over again at its numerous crossings. A great loss of cattle and destruction of property followed, unattended, however, by any loss of life which could be traced directly to these causes.[30] The famine which so far had attacked the rear of every immigration since the wagon-roads were opened assailed these unfortunate travellers in the Umpqua Valley, and although everything possible was done for their relief by the men who explored the new route,[31] and other citizens, who on learning of their situation hastened to send them horses, cattle, and flour, nothing availed to supply the utter destitution of some families who had thrown away or abandoned their property in the Umpqua cañon and

[28] They were on the western flank of the mountains, a day's drive from the open country, on the 11th of October, the distance thence to the south end of the Umpqua cañon being about 60 miles, yet they did not arrive at this pass until the 4th of November, the rains having begun on the 21st, when they should have been in the Umpqua Valley.

[29] *Thornton's Or. and Cal.*, i. 222.

[30] Thornton mentions a man suddenly falling dead near the entrance to the cañon; also that a Mr Brisbane and a child had died at this place; but does not attribute their deaths to their hardships, though he might have said something of the kind without being doubted. A Miss Leland Croley, who had long been ill, also died, and was buried on Grave Creek—whence the name. *Jacksonville Sentinel*, May 25, 1867; *Dowell's Nar.*, MS., 9.

[31] On page 235, vol. i., *Or. and Cal.*, Thornton admits that Applegate sent out horses, one of which he had to use, but asserts that the agent who brought them demanded a fine suit of clothes in payment. He admits, too, that the first flour and beef which reached him in the Umpqua Valley, on Nov. 14th, were sent by Applegate; but that he was purposely starved by him, in order that a

Calapooya Mountains, or to avert their sufferings from the cold rains and colder snows of November and December.

market might be found for such articles. From the journal of Thomas Holt, who with a French Canadian and five half-breeds went to the assistance of the belated immigrants, it appears that on learning from Thornton and others who arrived in the settlements the condition of those still in the Umpqua Valley, he left the French settlement on the 3d of December with a band of horses and all the provisions he could gather, Father Bolduc of the mission of St Paul freely contributing a portion to be given to the needy. On the 5th he met Mr Goff coming in with a company who had brought their wagons through, and particularly in charge of a Mrs Newton, whose husband had been murdered by the Umpqua Indians while sleeping at the door of his tent. *Minto's Early Days*, MS., 39. On the 8th he overtook Moses Harris and three others with horses and provisions, going to the relief of the immigrants. On this day they met three families on horseback and one wagon, coming in, whom they supplied with flour. On the 9th they met eight wagons and families, and supplied them with provisions. On the 10th they came to a camp of several families whose teams were exhausted, and on the same day another relief party came up with horses. Next day the Frenchmen and three half-breeds turned back, being afraid if they crossed the Calapooya Mountains they would not be able to return that winter, while Holt and the other two continued. Near the head of the Willamette Valley they found five families unable to go farther, who were assisted to resume their journey by three men from the other relief parties. At the foot of the mountains were three families without food, whose oxen could travel no farther. 'It is hard for me to pass them,' says the *Journal*, 'but when I know there are helpless families among hostile Indians, I am bound to go and assist them.' They received some flour and were left to the mercy of others who might follow with horses. On the summit of the Calapooyas a single family was met on horses, and many dead cattle by the way. At the foot of the mountains on the south side were two families with their wagons, but doubting if their oxen would be able to cross. They were furnished with flour. On the 14th, having come to the north folk of Elk River, five families were found who had neither flour, meat, nor salt, and who were depending upon game, which was scarce. One of the half-breeds killed a deer for them, and they received some flour. [These families were those of Ezekial Kennedy, Croizen, R. B. Hall, Lovelin, and another.] On the 15th, crossing the forks of Elk River by swimming their horses, and ferrying the packs on rafts of logs, they came to the camp of the families of James Campbell, Rice Dunbar, and Rev. J. A. Cornwall. Mr Campbell, having been to the settlements and returned in company with Harris and his party, brought horses to carry his family and some of his goods back with him. Harris and a Mr Jenkins remained with these persons to assist them; but there were not enough horses to take Cornwall's family out, and he was left in charge of a considerable property belonging to Campbell. On the 17th Holt met the last company of five families on the south folk of the Umpqua. 'They rejoiced very much when they saw us,' says the *Journal*. There had been no flour among them for eight weeks. While busy making pack-saddles, four of the precious horses were stolen by Indians. The families relieved at this last point were those of Crump, Butterfield, James Townsend, David Townsend, J. Baker, and Mrs Butterfield, widow. Those who rescued them were Holt, Owens, Duskins, and Patten—the last three being a part of the company which overtook Holt on the 10th—and the two half-breeds, Baptiste Gardapie and Q. Delore. The 20th all started once more for the Willamette, the natives refusing to grant the use of a canoe to cross the families over the north fork of the Umpqua which was too high to be forded, except they were paid with a gun be-

About a dozen families were detained until January in the Umpqua Valley, a part of whom were unable to get out before February, when their cattle having recruited on the excellent grass of that region, they were able to resume travel with their wagons and stock. These last found refuge at Fort Umpqua on Elk River through the few cold weeks of midwinter, except three or four men who guarded the property left in camp on that stream by those who escaped to the settlements.

The discussion of the events connected with the opening of the northern and southern roads into the Willamette Valley bade fair to overshadow the political questions which had led, among other causes, to the establishment of the southern route. Two parties were formed over the discussions of the latter: one which favored the Barlow road, because it brought travellers directly to Oregon City, and promoted the

longing to Delore. The 22d it snowed all day; the 24th the empty wagons which were brought to the south branch of Elk River were there left, the water being above the banks. Two oxen were drowned in swimming across. Christmas day the snow was a foot deep, and no progress was made. Next day they travelled one and a half miles to the north fork of Elk River, where the families of Kennedy, Hall, and others were encamped. These two families had been without food for four days, except a little tallow boiled in water, and Holt proposed to Baker, who had purchased some oxen driven from the settlements, to let the starving people have these, telling him the people of the Willamette would make good his loss. They were accordingly slaughtered and divided between Kennedy, Hall, Croizen, and Cornwall, who had joined this camp; Lovelin having been taken to the Willamette by Barrows of Owens' party. This, the 26th of December, was the first clear day since the 3d of the month. So many horses having died or been stolen, the lean oxen in Holt's company had to be packed. The first of January the snow was three feet deep in places on the Calapooya Mountains and the weather very cold. The 5th, Holt arrived at the house of Eugene Skinner, the most southern settlement in the Willamette Valley, presumably where the town of Eugene now stands. So frosty was it on the 8th, that the women and children who became wet in crossing streams were almost frozen. The streams, being high from the recent rains, were too deep to ford, and were crossed by swimming the horses and oxen. On the 12th the house of Williams on the Luckiamute River in Polk County was reached, where the company was compelled to remain four days on account of cold and storms. Not until the 21st of January, 1847, did these storm-beaten pilgrims reach the friendly shelter of the settlers' homes in the central portion of the Willamette Valley. Holt and the others who went to their rescue were absent fifty days, and endured great hardships in their service, besides expending some $400 at their own risk, over and above the assistance rendered by other companies. *Holt's Journal in Or. Spectator*, March 4, 1847.

improvement of the lands in the lower end of the valley. To this party belonged the Methodist interests; and Thornton, who was a Methodist, and who soon made the acquaintance of Abernethy and other leading persons among the missionaries, gained the friendship of that society greatly by his abuse of the explorers of the southern road, who, besides having been guilty of this crime, were also of that dominating western element that opposed itself to the Methodist influence in colonial affairs.

Thornton was also a lawyer, and a Methodist lawyer was an acceptable addition to the Methodist influence, supposing that he should be controlled by it; and to gain him over to that position, on the resignation of the office of supreme judge by Mr Burnett, Abernethy appointed Thornton in his place, February 9th, or a little more than six weeks after his arrival in the territory.[32]

Article after article on the merits and demerits of the southern route, as contrasted with the Barlow road,[33] came to the *Spectator* from various sources, the true effect of which was to call attention to the Rogue River and Umpqua valleys, their desirability for settlement, and the need of a road to them leading directly from forts Hall and Bridger; and also to the fact that a road now really existed by which wagons could go all the way to California, by passing through the Umpqua cañon, and over the Applegate pass of the Cascade Range to the California road in the Humboldt Valley, this happy discovery following immediately upon the news of the conquest and Americanization of that country.

In May 1847 Levi Scott led a company of twenty men destined for the States over the southern route,

[32] If this collusion were not sufficiently obvious, we have Thornton's own word for it, who says, in his *Hist. Or.*, MS., 11: 'When I came to the country one of the early missionaries said to me, "You must under no circumstances become counsel for Dr McLoughlin. Give him no professional advice or assistance; if you do you will be denounced as a Hudson's Bay man, and you will lose caste among our citizens."'

[33] *Or. Spectator*, Oct. 29, 1846.

and also guided a portion of the immigration of the following autumn into the Willamette Valley by this road, arriving in good season and in good condition, while the main immigration, by the Dalles route, partly on account of its number, suffered severely. This established the reputation of the Klamath Lake road; and the legislature of this year passed an act for its improvement, making Levi Scott commissioner, and allowing him to collect a small toll as compensation for his services. The troubles with the Cayuses, which broke out in the winter of 1847, and which but for the Oregon volunteers would have closed the Snake route, demonstrated the wisdom of its explorers in providing the mountain-walled valleys of western Oregon with another means of ingress or egress than the Columbia River;[34] their road to-day being incorporated for nearly its whole length with some of the most important highways of the country.

In June 1847 a company headed by Cornelius Gilliam set out with the intention of exploring the Rogue River and Klamath valleys, which from this time forward continued to be mentioned favorably on account of their climate, soil, and other advantages.[35]

[34] Applegate says: 'It is a well-known fact that when it was necessary to meet the Oregon rifle regiment in 1849, then on its march to Oregon, beef-cattle could not be driven to Fort Hall by the Snake River route with any beef on their bones; yet the regiment slaughtered at Fort Hall fat bullocks from the Willamette, kept fat by the abundant pasturage of the southern route.' *Views of History*, MS., 49. See Ross' Rept., in *Or. Jour. Council, 1857–8*, App. 19; *Overland Monthly*, v. 581.

[35] I find in *McKay's Recollections*, MS., 2, a reference to the ubiquity of the Americans. He says: 'Shortly after my arrival (1844) I was ordered into Oregon to join Mr Paul Frazer, who had established a station for the Hudson's Bay Company near the mouth of the Umpqua River. Mr Frazer was alarmed at the influx of American immigrants into his immediate neighborhood from different parts of the United States. Several trains arrived overland during the autumn. On account of this many of the Indians had shifted their location, hunting was neglected, and our business very poor.' Herewith I give the names of those belonging to the immigration of 1846, so far as I have been able to gather them:

Levi Anderson, J. C. Allen, John B. Albright, Elijah Bristow, Elijah Bunton, David Butterfield, John Baker, Hugh L. Brown, Jesse Boone, W. P. Breeding, George William Burnett, J. H. Bosworth, Alvin C. Brown, Orus Brown, D. D. Bailey, G. W. Bell, M. Brock, Sutton Burns, William Burns, Elisha Byrd, William Byrd, sen., William Byrd, jun., L. A. Byrd, Brisbane, Rev. J. B. Baldrauch, Jairus Bonney, Truman Bonney, A. Boon, William P. Bryant, J. H. Bridges, Heman C. Buckingham, Alphonso Boone, Tolbert

In 1849 Jesse Applegate removed to the Umpqua Valley, at the foot of a grassy butte called by the natives Yonc-calla, or 'eagle-bird,' which use has

Carter, George H. Carter, J. S. Church, Jones Cutting, Charles Cutting, Thomas M. Chambers, John W. Chambers, J. L. Collins, John Chamberlain, Samuel Y. Coop, M. Chambers, B. F. Cooper, A. S. Cone, J. M. Currier, Dr W. M. Carpenter, Stephen C. Cummings, C. W. Cooke, George Law Curry, Henry Croiyers, Croley, Crabtree, Richard S. Caldwell, Smith Collins, Henry Cooper, William Connel, James Campbell, E. B. Comfort, John W. Champ, Rev. J. A. Cornwall, Crump, Croizen, Conduit, W. Champ, Clopzore, James Cluse, T. Canlo, G. S. Cox, John Costa, Davidson, Dodd, Samuel Davis, William Dodson, Rice W. Dunbar, John N. Durham, Dickinson, Duskins, John Edgar, William Elliott, N. A. Eberman, Milton Elliott, J. Elliott, Gardiner Elliott, Espy, Eastburn, Everest, Abner Frazer, Isaac A. Flint, Jesse Fleming, Nathan Fry, E. C. Fitzhugh, Frederick W. Geer, Rev. A. E. Garrison, Waterman Gale, Laurence Gale, David M. Guthrie, Geddes, Reason B. Hall, John B. Hall, Washington Hall, Rev. Helm, Robert Henderson, Capt. Richard Hoyt, William Hibbert, John Hammond, J. D. S. Hardison, H. H. Hunt, James Howard, J. J. Heath, Mark Hattan, Thomas F. Howard, Joseph L. Hunsaker, Andrus Harper, Calvin W. Ish, William Kirkquendall, Ezekiel Kennedy, Thomas Knight, Henry Knowland, F. Ketchum, Andrew Layson, Harrison Linville, Vanderpool Linville, Wilson Lee, Thomas Linklater, Robert Logan, Geo. C. Lawton, Thomas Leggett, Lovelin, J. W. Ladd, D. H. Lownsdale, A. R. T. Locey, Lord, Long, Luce, A. R. Lancefield, F. Martin, W. Mulkey, S. C. Morris, Joel McKee, Josiah Milorn, H. McDonald, G. C. Motley, Henry Marlin, Richard Miller, W. R. Munkers, McKissick, J. McCormick, Josiah Morin, Laban Morin, John McCord, McGunigale, William C. McClay, T. G. Naylor, Chauncy Nye, Newton, Nealy, Franklin Nicoll, John M. Pugh, William Pringle, Virgil K. Pringle, Truman P. Powers, George C. Preston, William Porter, James Parkinson, James Porter, Piper, Eli Perkins, Charles Putnam, James Nathan Putnam, Thomas Powell, A. Phillips, H. B. Polley, Thomas Purvis, J. W. Pugh, A. Pugh, William Parker, L. C. Rainey, A. B. Rabbison, Thomas M. Read, John Robinson, William Riley, Robey, J. T. Rainey, Walter Ross, Lewis Rogers, F. R. Smith, Henry M. Smith, Towner Savage, James Savage, Charles Stewart, Sallee, William Stokes, Allen Sanders, Levi L. Smith, Thomas Stevens, Felix Scott, Morgan R. Savage, D. E. Savage, William Sheldon, D. C. Smith, H. N. Stephens, G. W. Smith, James Smith, J. S. Scoggin, D. Shumake, A. Stewart, Daniel Stewart, William M. Smith, John Striethoff, Reuben Striethoff, John W. Shrum, N. Shrum, Asa Stone, William Sherley, Carlos W. Shane, R. Slocum, St Clair, Rev. Wm Simpson, Benjamin Simpson, Sappington, Sturgiss, Joseph S. Smith, John Savage, Henry Smith, James Stanley, Shelton, R. R. Thompson, J. Quinn Thornton, A. H. Thompson, David Townsend, W. P. Tyrrell, Towler, Thomas Townsend, James Townsend, Lazarus Van Bibber, Martin Vaughn, Vanderpool, William Webb, William Wheeler, C. Wheeler, J. T. Wingfield, R. White, Whately, Joseph Waldo, Charles Wren, A. E. Wait, J. M. Wair, John Williamson, J. B. Walling, Henry Worden, E. Wask, A. C. West, Watkins, Rev. Andrew Zumwalt.

Robert Henderson was born in Green County, Tennessee, on February 14, 1809, and at the age of 8 years moved with his father to Fleming Co., Ky. In 1830 he immigrated to Mo., where in 1834 he married Rhoda C. Holman, the daughter of John Holman of the immigration of 1843. Here he lived until 1846, engaged in farming and trading in stock, when, in consequence of losses sustained by going security for friends, he determined to remove to Oregon. Well provided with teams and supplies of food and clothing, the first part of the journey was comparatively a pleasant one. But later in the season, in the journey over what is known as the southern or Applegate route, the family suffered great hardship. Mr Henderson gave away his flour and

shortened to Yoncalla, on the head waters of Elk Creek, near which a railroad now passes. His brother Charles settled near him; and Lindsey Applegate

bacon to those in the train who were in want, until, when he entered the Umpqua cañon, on Oct. 28th, he was reduced to two pieces of the latter and ten pounds of the former. They were five days struggling through this then almost impassable gorge. Much of the way they toiled over and along the bed of the cold, rocky stream with the rain pouring down on them steadily. The two eldest children were lying sick and helpless in the jolting wagon, with a babe that came on the journey only a few weeks before. Soon after they got through the cañon they met some of the Applegate party, with supplies, from whom Mr Henderson and Mr Collins bought a beef weighing about 700 pounds for $60 in cash. This left Mr Henderson with $2 and one ox-team and wagon to begin life with anew. He settled on the South Yamhill, where in due time he obtained a grant of a section of land under the donation act, which he still owns, and where he and his three sons have made the handsomest farm in Oregon. Mr and Mrs Henderson are still living, surrounded by their descendants to the third generation, and honored and beloved by all who know them. They have eight surviving children, who are all married, and among the most respectable people of the country. Their oldest child, Lucy Henderson, was married to Matthew P. Deady, since United States district judge, on June 24, 1852.

Elijah Bristow migrated from Ky. to Ill. after the war of 1811–12, in which he was a soldier, fighting under Johnson at Talladega, and afterward in Tenn. He came to Cal. in 1845, wintering at Sutter's Fort. In 1846 he removed to Oregon, and took a land claim at Pleasant Hill, in Lane Co., being the first settler in that co. He was a liberal and just man, respected by all. He died Sept. 1872, aged 73. *P. C. Advocate*, Oct. 3, 1872.

Reason B. Hall, born in Ga. 1794, removed to Ky 1802, to Ind. 1811, and to Oregon in 1846, settling where Buena Vista now stands, of which town he was proprietor. He died Dec. 13, 1869, *Salem Statesman*, Jan. 29, 1870.

John Williamson settled in West Chehalem, Yamhill County. Mrs Williamson was a daughter of Nathaniel M. and Mary Martin, and was born in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, Aug. 29, 1825. She removed with her parents to Indiana, and from there to Missouri, while still a child. She was married April 30, 1846, and started soon after for Oregon. She died May 18, 1872. *Id.*, May 30, 1872.

F. R. Smith, born in Rochester, New York, in 1819, went to Oregon in 1846, and settled near Salem. He was a vigorous man physically and mentally; and was a member of the state legislature in 1876. *Salem Statesman*, Oct. 14, 1876.

Smith Collins settled near the Luckiamute River, in Polk County, and died in 1870. Mrs Collins, who was a daughter of Douglas Wyatt, an early settler in Missouri, was born near Mount Sterling, Kentucky, January 12, 1812, and removed to Missouri at the age of 12. She married Dec. 24, 1830, and with her husband went to Oregon in 1846. Excessive grief over his loss hastened her death, which occurred April 29, 1872. She was the mother of 12 children, 10 surviving her, 8 of whom were sons. It is mentioned as an instance of filial affection that all these children agreed in not opening their father's will during the life-time of their mother, lest they should deprive her of the use of a part of the estate. The eldest son was J. L. Collins of Polk County. *Portland Advocate*, May 16, 1872; *Dalles Republican*, May 11, 1872. Smith Collins was born in Virginia in December 1804, emigrated to Missouri in 1828, and to Oregon in 1846. *Dalles Republican*, March 26, 1870. J. L. Collins, eldest son of Smith Collins, was 15 years of age when he came to Oregon. In 1855 he was employed as reporter in the legislature of the state. He belonged to the regiment of Colonel Cornelius in the Yakima war of 1856. In 1859 he was admitted to the practice of law at the Dalles. He was chief clerk of the house of representatives in 1864. *Salem Statesman*, May 7, 1866.

somewhat later made himself a home on Ashland Creek, where the town of Ashland now stands, and directly on the line of the road he assisted in open-

John Coats, one of the earliest settlers of Douglas County, and whose home was about 10 miles from Roseburg, died suddenly while walking, in the summer of 1876. *S. F. Call*, June 19, 1876.

Samuel Davis died at his home in Yamhill County, Feb. 28, 1875. *Monmouth Christian Messenger*, March 6, 1875.

D. H. Good was born in Pennsylvania, June 19, 1818. On arriving in Oregon in 1846, he settled near Oregon City, where he resided till his death, September 18, 1871. *Oregon City Enterprise*, Sept. 22, 1871.

John Robinson settled in Benton County in 1846. Mrs Robinson was born in South Carolina, Feb. 14, 1792, married in 1815, and died Aug. 27, 1878. *Corvallis Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1878.

John Baker settled in Benton County. Mrs Baker was born in East Tennessee, in 1801; married in 1821, and removed to Missouri in 1843, whence she emigrated with her husband in 1846. Mrs Baker died Nov. 27, 1877, at Corvallis, where her son William R. Baker resided. *Id.*, Dec. 7, 1877.

Rev. J. A. Cornwall was born in Georgia in 1798. He lived in the southern and western states till 1846, when he joined the Oregon emigration, taking the southern route, and wintering in the Umpqua Valley. In 1865 he removed to Ventura County, California. He was a Cumberland Presbyterian, and a minister for 53 years. He died January 2, 1879. His son, Rev. J. H. Cornwall, is a resident of Eugene City, Oregon. *Eugene State Journal*, Jan. 18, 1879.

J. T. Rainey, in 1851, with his brother, L. C. Rainey, purchased of Wm Mosgrove, for a horse, a squatter's right to the land on which the town of Roseburg was afterward laid out. The only improvement on the land was a pile of newly cut logs for a cabin. The brothers erected a frame house, and sold the land to Aaron Rose, who laid it off in lots and blocks, long residing there. J. T. Rainey removed to the Rogue River country, where he settled on a farm in Sam Valley. *Roseburg Western Star*, Nov. 14, 1879.

James Campbell was born in Greenville, Kentucky, April 6, 1807. He emigrated with his parents to Missouri at an early age, and to Oregon in 1846, spending the early part of the winter of 1846–7 in the Umpqua Valley with the belated immigrants of that season. He settled near Salem, but in 1859 removed to Puget Sound, where he resided 7 years, when he returned to Salem. He died on the 31st of July, 1873, leaving the memory of a good man. *Salem Statesman*, Aug. 5, 1873.

Virgil K. Pringle and Pherne T. Pringle emigrated from Warren County, Missouri, to Oregon in 1846, and settled in Marion County. A son, Albra Moffett Pringle, born in Missouri in 1834, died at Seattle, Washington, June 21, 1876. Virgilia E. Pringle Smith, born in Missouri, June 7, 1828, married Fabritus R. Smith of Salem, September 1, 1847, and died December 3, 1875. *Portland Advocate*, Dec. 23, 1875; *Id.*, Sept. 21, 1876; *Salem Farmer*, Dec. 16, 1875.

Andrew Zumwalt and Elizabeth Zumwalt, his wife, settled in Polk County in 1846, where their son Isaac continued to reside. Andrew Zumwalt was a deacon in the Methodist church. Mrs Zumwalt's maiden name was Fraser. She was born July 17, 1792, in Kentucky, and died September 10, 1878, at her son's home, near Lewisville, Polk County; her husband preceded her. *Portland P. C. Advocate*, Sept. 26, 1878.

Hugh L. Brown emigrated from Tennessee, and settled in Linn County. The town of Brownsville on Calapooya Creek is named after him, and owes much of its prosperity as an agricultural and manufacturing place to Mr Brown's ability and example. *Portland Weekly Standard*, Feb. 20, 1880.

Alphonso Boone, a great-grandson of Daniel Boone of Kentucky, with his family, was a member of this emigration. His daughter, Chloe Donnely

ing. Their children are many of them living in the grass valleys of the Klamath basin which they were the first of the American frontiersmen to

Boone, married George L. Curry, afterward governor of Oregon Territory. *Curry's Biography*, MS., 4.

W. P. Breeding settled at Salem, and put up the first blacksmith's forge there. He served in the Cayuse war under Colonel Waters. In 1850 he returned to Missouri, to bring to Oregon his father and mother, and in the following year was married, and removed to a farm in Lane County, near the present town of Junction City. In 1875 he removed to Whitman County in Washington, where he erected a flouring mill and made other improvements, at the same time laying off the town of Palouse City on his land, at the falls of Palouse River. Mr Breeding was a genial man, his head as white as snow, with 'keen, kindly blue eyes and rugged features on which the glow of health' was stamped. *Nichol's Indian Affairs*, MS., 17, 18.

George William Burnett was born in Nashville, Tennessee, October 18, 1811. At 6 years of age he removed with his parents to Missouri, and was married in that state to Miss Sidney A. Younger in 1831. He settled in the autumn of 1847 on a land claim in Yamhill County, where he resided till his death in December 1877. He was a brother of Peter H. Burnett, a religious-minded, exemplary man, and useful citizen. In 1868 he was elected to the state legislature. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1877, p. 74; *Burnett's Rec.*, 182.

Ezekiel Kennedy was born in Kentucky in December 1789, but removed to Frankfort at an early age. He built the state-house in that city in 1817. His wife was Fanny Thurston of Shelbyville, Ky., whom he married about this time. In 1834 he removed to Missouri, and in 1846 to Oregon in the southern branch of the immigration, being one of those who were detained in the Umpqua Valley. In the spring of 1847 he settled in Yamhill County, where for a number of years he remained and occupied offices of public trust and honor. He finally settled at Dallas, where he died June 11, 1869, leaving a widow and 4 children. *Dallas Times*, June 26, 1869.

Frederick W. Geer, with his wife Mary Ann, and 2 children, settled on the west bank of the Willamette, opposite the present town of Butteville. The family was increased after arriving in Oregon to 10 children. Like others of this name in Oregon, Mr Geer achieved success in his undertakings. *Portland Oregonian*, May 20, 1876.

Towner Savage was born in the state of New York in 1801. He removed to Kalamazoo Co., Mich., and thence to Oregon, and settled in Marion County. He died at Salem, March 3, 1871. *Salem Statesman*, March 4, 1871.

David Colver settled 14 miles east of Salem, where he continued to reside until his death, December 31, 1874, at the age of 80 years. *Salem Statesman*, Jan. 9, 1875.

James Smith, born in Virginia in 1802, settled in Polk County, Oregon, in 1846, where he died March 25, 1872. *Dalles Republican*, March 30, 1872.

James D. Fay came to Oregon, an orphan, in 1846. He possessed good talents, and studied law under A. A. Skinner and Judge Thayer of Corvallis. He married a daughter of Jesse Applegate; but his politics and conduct being obnoxious to her family, there was unhappiness. She died, and he married Miss Rosa Young of Jacksonville. He had a son by his first and a daughter by his second wife. He committed suicide at Empire City in Coos County, June 4, 1879. *Portland Oregonian*, June 7, 1879.

James T. Crump, whose father opened the first store in Salem, and died about 1864, was born in Missouri, and emigrated with his parents in 1846. He was a young man of promise, but committed suicide in February 1870, a few months after his marriage, on account of disappointment in not securing a business situation. He had two brothers, one of whom is William R. Crump, and two sisters, living in Salem. *Or. Statesman*, Feb. 25, 1870.

Wilson Lee settled on the Little Luckiamute in Polk County. Mrs Lee

explore. Levi Scott was the founder of Scottsburg, on the Umpqua River. He died in 1878, in Lane County, at the age of eighty, respected for his many virtues and his generous character.

was married while *en route* to Oregon in June 1846. She died July 14, 1872, at Dallas, aged 47 years. *Dalles Republican*, July 20, 1872.

Rev. A. E. Garrison settled in Yamhill County. His wife, Margaret Garrison, died at Salem, August 29, 1870. She was born in Pennsylvania, March 26, 1813, emigrated with her parents to Indiana, was married at the age of 17 to Mr Garrison, and in 1846 accompanied him to Oregon. She was the mother of 14 children, only 9 of whom outlived her. *Portland Advocate*, Oct. 1, 1870.

Rice Dunbar was born in Ohio, February 6, 1802. While a young man he removed to Illinois, where he married Jane Miller Bisbin, January 22, 1830. Together they emigrated, and settled in the Waldo hills. His wife died in 1868. He died in September 1870. *Id.*

Martin Vaughn emigrated from Indiana. He lived on the Nachess River, Washington; one of his daughters married a Gibbs. *Id.*, March 27, 1873.

Andrus Harper and his wife, Eliza, settled in the Tualatin plains. A daughter married L. P. Pratt in 1854, removed to Wasco County in 1871, where she died April 17, 1873. *Id.*, May 1, 1873.

Mrs Cynthia Howard was born in Kentucky, October 19, 1810; removed early in life to Illinois, was married in 1828 to R. R. Howard, and with him crossed the plains and settled in Oregon City, where she resided the remainder of her life. She was the mother of 10 children, two of whom were Methodist ministers. She died August 20, 1877. *Id.*, Aug. 30, 1877.

Rev. John Howard, son of R. R. and Cynthia Howard, married Miss Jane E. Wingfield, daughter of J. T. Wingfield, in November 1854. She was born in Missouri, July 19, 1840, and died January 1, 1876, leaving 4 children. *Id.*, Jan. 13, 1876.

J. W. and A. Pugh lived for several years in Yamhill County, but afterward settled in Linn, where they married. Mrs John Pugh, their mother, was born in Virginia, October 1, 1791; removed with her parents to Kentucky, and was there married to John Pugh, about 1818, who was killed by lightning 2 or 3 years afterward, leaving her with 2 boys. After the death of her husband Mrs Pugh removed with her children first to Illinois and then to Iowa, and finally they brought her with them to Oregon. She died January 23, 1872. *Id.*, March 21, 1872.

Joseph Waldo was born March 19, 1805, in Harrison County, West Virginia. Thence he first emigrated to St Clair County, Missouri, and from the latter place to Oregon in 1846. He was a brother of Daniel Waldo, but unlike him he was of a religious turn of mind, and a generous supporter of the Willamette university, of which he was a trustee, and other Methodist institutions. He died while on a visit to Clarksburg, West Va., Nov. 24, 1871. *Id.*, Feb. 8, 1872.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE WAR FEELING IN OREGON.

1846.

SOCIAL EFFORTS OF THE CREW OF THE 'MODESTE'—FIRST THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENTS—FIRST AMERICAN NEWSPAPER ON THE PACIFIC COAST—A MILITARY COMPANY—ARRIVAL IN THE SOUND OF H. B. M. SHIP 'FISGARD'—PRESIDENT POLK'S MESSAGE—ARRIVAL OF THE U. S. SCHOONER 'SHARK'—HORSE-RACING—HOWISON ON THE SITUATION—WRECK OF THE 'SHARK'—A FLAG AND GUNS FOR OREGON—PASSAGE OF THE NOTICE BILL—OVERLAND RAILWAY—THE BOUNDARY DETERMINED—HOW TIDINGS OF THE TREATY WERE RECEIVED.

WHILE the events just narrated were taking place the political condition of the colony remained unchanged. From the newspapers brought by the immigrants, and occasional news received by way of the Hawaiian Islands, the Oregon question still threatened war. Among other rumors was one that the British plenipotentiary had proposed as a *dernier ressort* to leave the question open for twenty years, to be settled finally by the choice of the people. But this was believed by Americans to be improbable, because it was shown by Gallatin in 1827 that the country must be settled by Americans, and the late immigrations had demonstrated it.[1] British subjects received the rumor with equal incredulity, believing that England would not consent to any compromise by which the country north of the Columbia would be endangered.[2] So uncertain and critical seemed the

[1] *Honolulu Polynesian*, Jan. 10 and March 14, 1846.

[2] *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 6; *Niles' Reg.*, lxix. 242; *Dunavan's Great Divide*, 330; *Yreka Union*, June 28, 1871; *San Bernardino Guardian*, July 29, 1871; *Antioch Ledger*, Aug. 5, 1871; McKay, in his *Recollections*, MS., 3,

position of affairs, that an agent was sent in March, by the fur company, to San Francisco and the Sandwich Islands, to make arrangements for obtaining supplies for the Hudson's Bay Company's posts, in case their farming lands should be seized.[3] The Russians also, who depended on Oregon for the larger part of their supplies, anticipating trouble, forestalled the action of the British company, and purchased, early in the spring, the whole tara crop of the Islands, and large quantities of sugar and rum, for Sitka.

Everything in the Pacific seemed to point to an early collision. The *Modeste*, as a British man-of war stationed in the Columbia, was regarded ominously, and to soften the resentment thus created, the officers and men, following the advice of the fur company, gave a series of entertainments, to which all were invited, which served the purpose of diverting the minds of many from that strained feeling which McKay says obtained between the rival nations, perceptible even in the Sandwich Islands. A better acquaintance enabled men of either nation to express political bias freely, and wordy encounters were harmless, as there were no offensive exhibitions of patriotism.[4]

says the officers of the British war ship *America* expressed to him the opinion that the country between the Columbia River and Puget Sound must be held at all hazards—'an opinion which apparently carried no weight with the home government.'

[3] This was J. W. McKay, who says that he found the whole population much excited over the prospect of annexation to the United States; and various rumors were afloat concerning Frémont's intentions. 'Such of my countrymen,' he says, 'as I had an opportunity to converse with during my stay in San Francisco seemed to take sides with the Americans; though they blamed the English government for not taking prompt action with a view of securing to the British crown a colony which would certainly prove valuable in the future.' *Recollections*, MS., 4, 5; *Marsh's Letter*, MS., 14, 15.

[4] As the first theatrical representations ever produced on the Pacific coast, the performances on the *Modeste* are worthy of mention. I find by the *Spectator* of Feb. 19, 1846, that on the 3d of the month, under the patronage of Captain Baillie and the officers of the *Modeste*, and before a full and respectable audience, was performed the comedy of *Three Weeks after Marriage*, followed by *The Deuce is in Him*, and *The Mayor of Garratt*. The scenery was painted by the crew. The prologue was composed and spoken by Pettman, and ended with the mot referred to in the note, '*Modeste* is our ship,' etc. The young ladies who took part in the play were the daughters of Oregon settlers: Miss Allen, Miss Hedgecock, Miss Lloyd, and Miss Rossi. These were the earliest pupils of the mimic art on the Northwest Coast. At

Little of all this would have been preserved had not the printing association, just previous to this happy thought of the crew, commenced the publication of the *Oregon Spectator*, the first American newspaper on the Pacific coast.[5] This publication was begun just in time to record the occurrences of the eventful year of 1846.

a second performance in May, *Love in a Village*, *The Meek Doctor*, and *Mayor of Garratt* were played. *Or. Spectator*, May 12, 1846; *Taylor's Spec. Press*, 247.

[5] There had been a small press in California since 1834, but no newspaper was published until after the American conquest, 6 months later than the publication of the Oregon newspaper. The *Spectator* was a semi-monthly journal of 4 pages, 15 by 11 inches in size, containing 4 columns each, printed in clear type and a tasteful style, by John Fleming, a practical printer, and an immigrant of 1844. The paper was first edited by the president of the Oregon printing association, W. G. T'Vault, after whom several other editors were employed and removed in quick succession for holding opinions adverse to the controlling power in the association. The general aim of the *Spectator* was, while advocating good morals, temperance, and education, to pursue the Hudson's Bay Company with unremitting, if often covert, hostility; and in this respect it might be considered the organ of the American merchant class against the British merchants. T'Vault was dismissed at the end of 10 weeks for being too lenient. H. A. G. Lee then issued 9 numbers, and was dismissed for publishing some articles reflecting with good reason on the course of the American merchants toward the colonists; and several numbers appeared without any ostensible editor, when in October 1846, George L. Curry, an immigrant of that year, took the chair. He pursued the plan of allowing both sides a fair hearing, and after successfully conducting the paper a longer time than any of his predecessors, was dismissed for publishing some resolutions of the house of representatives of 1849, reflecting on the Methodist candidate for the important office of Oregon delegate to congress. He was succeeded by A. E. Wait, and subsequently by Wilson Blain. In 1850 the paper and press were sold to Robert Moore, who employed Blain for a time to edit it, but displaced him by D. J. Schnebley, who soon became proprietor, and associated with himself C. P. Culver as editor. In March 1854 the paper was again sold to C. L. Goodrich, and by him discontinued in March 1855. It was published semi-monthly until September 1850, when it changed to a weekly; and was printed on one of Hoe's Washington presses. Its first printer, John Fleming, went from Ohio to Oregon in 1845, and continued to reside in Oregon City till the time of his death, Dec. 2, 1872, at the age of 78 years. He left a family in Ohio, to whom he never returned. He was esteemed in his adopted home as an honorable and exemplary man. He was appointed postmaster in 1856. Associated with Fleming for a time was T. F. McElroy, who after Fleming's retirement from business formed with C. W. Smith a partnership as printers and publishers. These were succeeded in the publishing department by T. D. Watson and G. D. R. Boyd, and they by Boyd alone. Having outlived colonial times and seen Oregon City dwindle from the first town in Oregon to the rank of second or third, the press and material of the *Spectator* were sold in 1855 to publish a paper under another name, and for political purposes. That paper became finally merged in another at Salem, and the old *Spectator* press was taken to Roseburg to start a paper at that place, and finally to Eugene City, where it remains. The type and material were carried to Portland to be used in the publication of the *Daily Union*, for a short time, after which it was taken to Astoria, where was printed on it the *Marine Gazette*, in which *Gray's*

With the exception of drinking, no objection seems to have been made to the *Modeste's* officers or men.[6] Captain Baillie rarely left his ship; but the younger officers, besides giving theatrical entertainments, horse-races, balls, and curling matches, visited among the settlers wherever invited, and attended a ball given at Oregon City, in honor of Washington's birthday, by H. M. Knighton, an immigrant of 1845, who was the second marshal of Oregon under the provisional government, and sergeant-at-arms of the house of representatives in the winter of 1846. The editorial notices received of these amusements were studiedly

History of Oregon first appeared. On the termination of that journal, what was left of the material of the *Spectator* was taken back to Oregon City. The authorities through which I have followed the course of Oregon's first press are *Portland Oregonian*, March 25, 1854; *Olympia Columbian*, Sept. 10, 1853; *Olympia Pioneer and Democrat*, March 18, 1854; *Parrish's Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 5, 6; *Lane's Nar.*, MS., 5, 6; *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875, p. 72; *Portland Weekly Oregonian*, Dec. 26, 1868; *Olympia Transcript*, Dec. 26, 1868; *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 333; *Applegate's Views of Hist.*, MS., 50; *Brown's Willamette Valley*, MS., 34; *Pickett's Paris Exposition*, 10; *Or. City Weekly Enterprise*, Dec. 19, 1868; *Solano (Cal.) Herald*, Jan. 9, 1869; *Olympia Wash. Standard*, Jan. 2, 1869; *Niles' Reg.*, lxx. 340–1; *S. F. Alta*, March 15, 1855; *Sac. Union*, April 10, 1855; *Portland West Shore*, Nov. 1878. The general news chronicle in the *Spectator* was usually at least 6 months old, and was obtained from papers brought out by the annual immigrations, from the Sandwich Island papers brought over in chance sailing vessels, or through the correspondence and mail of the fur company, which arrived once or twice a year overland from Canada, or by the annual vessel from England. But the intelligence conveyed was read as eagerly as if the events had but just transpired, and by the extracts published, it is easy to gather what kind of news was considered most important.

[6] The officers of the *Modeste* were Thomas Baillie, captain; T. M. Rodney, T. G. Drake, and T. P. Coode, lieutenants; G. J. Gibbon, master; John Gibson, surgeon; J. M. Hobbs, purser; A. A. D. Dundas, mate; A. Gordon, asst. surgeon; A. T. De Horsey, J. Montgomerie, Charles Grant, and R. T. Legge, midshipmen; Thomas James Clarke, G. Pearce, master's assistants; J. White, clerk's assistant; J. Hickman, gunner; J. Stevens, boatswain; Wm Ellicott, carpenter. *Or. Spectator*, Feb. 5, 1846. Roberts says these officers were fine fellows, and that the men could not be induced to desert by the temptation of 640 acres of land, the ship losing but one seaman during a stay in the river of more than a year. McLoughlin also says: 'I am convinced that it was owing to the *Modeste* being at Vancouver, and the gentlemanlike conduct of Captain Baillie and his officers, and the good discipline and good behavior of the crew, that the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company have had less trouble (though they have had a great deal more than I suspected) than they would have had, and which certainly they have done nothing to incur, but everything they could to avoid.' *Private Papers*, MS., 2d ser., 16, 17. One of the midshipmen of the *Modeste* was afterward Admiral De Horsey. Rodney, 1st lieutenant, was grandson of Admiral C. R. Rodney. Drake, 2d lieutenant, was the author of *Lines to Mary* and other similar effusions published in the *Spectator*. *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 38–9.

inoffensive, but never cordial. The ultra-American and missionary portion of the inhabitants regarded them with disfavor, and beneath guarded phrases a covert sneer could be detected.[7]

There was another object in the gayeties of the *Modeste*, which was to avert the temptation on the part of the inferior officers and seamen to desert and take up a section of land, without price, under the Oregon land law. Though the legislature of 1844 had passed an act in relation to deserting seamen, that they should be returned to their vessels, there to be dealt with by their officers, the practice of abandoning their ships in the Columbia River was one that gave sea-captains much trouble. In a country so wild and free, it was useless to employ severe measures, even if a captain might venture it, and kindness and tact were judged by the officers of the *Modeste* and the Hudson's Bay Company as more effectual. Roberts remarks that sufficient importance has never been attached to the influence of the good order maintained at Fort Vancouver in preserving the peace of the country; and also that the naval service gave them more trouble than the landsmen, the captains of vessels often having to appeal to the authority of McLoughlin or Douglas to keep their men under control. Palmer, who visited Vancouver during the Christmas holidays, one of

[7] *Recollections*, MS., 5. At a ball held in McLoughlin's mill, one of the *Modeste's* officers wagered a bottle of wine that the majority of the men present would fight on the British side in the event of having to choose; but a count being made he lost his bet. He then singled out one man who he offered to bet would fight on England's side, W. H. Rees. On the question being put, 'Sir, which flag would you support in the event of war?' Rees replied, 'I fight under the stars and stripes, sir!' to the no small chagrin of the challenger. *Minto's Early Days*, MS., 10; *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1874, 26-7. 'At one of the plays,' says Roberts, 'I heard, "*Modeste* is our ship, and modest men are we—one word more, and up shall rise the scene: Ladies and gentlemen all—God save the Queen!" One slouched hat was unremoved amongst the uncovered crowd, and I heard a tar say, "Please, sir, may I pitch that chap overboard?"' *Roberts' Rec.*, MS., 38. On the other side: George W. Jackson, an immigrant of 1845, being at an entertainment on board the *Modeste*, where there was singing, treated the audience first to the 'Star-spangled Banner,' to which they did not object, and afterward to 'Ye Parliaments of England' of 1812 memory, which displeased his entertainers. *Camp-fire Orations*, MS., 8, 9; *Palmer's Journal*, 111.

those rare occasions, as aleady mentioned, on which the company's servants received their small allowance of spirits, describes a grand carouse, ending on shipboard.[8]

The subject of military organization had been neglected in the amended organic law, through a wise forbearance, as its existence was calculated to create suspicion and prevent the perfect fusion of rival elements. The apparently critical aspect of affairs in the spring of 1846, however, induced some public-spirited citizens to call a meeting at the house of David Waldo, in Champoeg County, and organize a company of mounted riflemen.[9] Charles Bennett was made captain. It appears to have been a revival of

[8] 'This was holiday with the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and such ranting and frolicking has perhaps seldom been seen among the sons of men. Some were engaged in gambling, some singing, some running horses, many promenading on the river-shore, and others on the large green prairie above the fort. H. B. M.'s ship of war *Modeste* was lying at anchor about fifty yards from the shore. The sailors also seemed to be enjoying the holidays—many of them were on shore promenading and casting sheep's-eyes at the fair native damsels as they strolled from wigwam to hut, and from hut to wigwam, intent upon seeking for themselves the greatest amount of enjoyment. At night a party was given on board the ship, and judging from the noise kept up until ten at night, they were a jolly set of fellows. About this time a boat came ashore from the ship with a few landlubbers most gloriously drunk. One of them fell out of the boat and his comrades were barely able to pull him ashore.' *Journal*, 111.

[9] The preamble to this organization reads: 'Whereas, the people of Oregon Territory are situated remote from, and without the protection of, any government, we therefore, as members of a free and enlightened community, wishing to preserve the principles of a free and republican form of government, and being well aware that the body of the people is the only power capable of sustaining such institutions, therefore, we deem it advisable to form ourselves into military bodies, for the purpose of preserving peace and order at home, and preventing aggressions from abroad.' *Or. Spectator*, June 11, 1846. The officers of the company were: captain, Charles Bennett; 1st lieut., A. A. Robinson; 2d lieut., Isaac Hutchins; 3d lieut., Hiram English; ord. sergeant, Thomas Holt; 2d sergeant, Thomas Howell; 3d sergeant, S. C. Morris; 4th sergeant, William Herring; 1st corporal, P. C. Kaiser; 2d corporal, Robert Walker; 3d corporal, B. Frost; 4th corporal, John Rowe. The privates were 33 in number. This company, when called upon to pursue some supposed horse-thieves, charged upon a peaceable native village, and shot an Indian who was innocent of any offence. It seems an anomaly that men who were able to pen sentiments as lofty as those contained in their preamble were so little to be trusted in the execution of their duty. It is due, however, to Captain Bennett to state that he was not in command; and to the company, to say that all regretted the occurrence which happened rather through a mistake than by design. *Kaiser's Emigrant Road*, MS., 6, 7; *Kaiser's Nar.*, 12–14.

Captain Kaiser's company of Oregon Rangers, as they took that name, some of the same members being again enrolled, and the former captain acting as president of the meeting.

On the very day that Kaiser sent his report of these proceedings to Oregon's journal, Ogden, writing from Fort Vancouver to the same, announced the arrival at Nisqually of H. M. frigate *Fisgard*, forty-two guns, and a crew of three hundred and fifty men, which had come to remain for the summer, or as long as the war-cloud threatened.[10] The news brought by the *Fisgard*, as late as December from England and January from New York, was rather quieting than otherwise. It was thought that the corn laws would be repealed and free-trade instituted, which would open British ports to American bread-stuffs, and it was believed greatly lessen the war feeling in the western states, where President Polk's supporters were strongest.[11] The president had also made proposals for altering the tariff, favorable to Great Britain; all of which was reassuring. At the same time it was evident that the French government, whose officers in the Hawaiian Islands courted the favor of the officers of the English fleet in the Pacific, would support the claims of Great Britain; and the pretensions of the French in the Pacific were tolerated by England in order to obtain this support.[12]

[10] The *Fisgard* was officered as follows: captain, J. A. Duntz; lieutenants, John Rodd, Charles Dyke, George Y. Patterson, Edward W. Lang, Edward D. Ashe; marines, Lieutenant Henry H. M'Carthy, and Fleetwood J. Richards; master, Edmund P. Cole; chaplain, Robert Thompson; surgeon, Thomas R. Durm; purser, Thomas Rowe; second master, James Crosby; iustructor, Robert M. Joship; 14 midshipmen. Roberts says: 'A small building erected for a midshipmen's school at Nisqually was standing only a few years ago. It was known to us as the "castle of indolence."' *Recollections*, MS., 78.

[11] Had the corn laws of England been abolished a few years earlier, so that a market could have been found for the grain raised in the Mississippi Valley, the history of Oregon might now be read differently, since the farmers who emigrated to the Pacific coast would have remained at home to raise corn and wheat for Great Britain.

[12] The *N. Y. Herald* of Nov. 30, 1845, remarks: 'The accounts from Tahiti state that H. B. M. ship *Collingwood*, Admiral Sir George Seymour, had arrived there and saluted the French Protectorate flag. This is rather singular, and seems to indicate that the English, in order to carry some point in the Pacific,

The newspaper mail of the *Fisgard*, however, revealed the fact that there was a majority of the democratic party in the United States house of representatives of nearly two to one, and in the senate a majority of six. This latter circumstance was regarded as indicating that the president's policy would be carried out as defined in his message.

On the 23d of August, 1844, said President Polk, the negotiations on the subject of the Oregon boundary, which had been pending in London since October 1843, were transferred to Washington. The proposition of the British plenipotentiary was to divide the Oregon Territory by the 49th parallel, from the Rocky Mountains to the point of its intersection with the northernmost branch of the Columbia River, and thence down that river to the sea, leaving the free navigation of the river to be enjoyed by both parties; the country south of this line to belong to the United States, and that north to Great Britain. In addition to this, it was proposed to yield a strip of coast north of the Columbia extending from Bullfinch Harbor to the Strait of Fuca, and from the Pacific to Hood Canal; and to make free to the United States any ports they might desire, either on the Mainland or on Vancouver Island—a proposition identical with one offered in 1826, with the exception of the free ports, and which was promptly rejected by the United States plenipotentiary. A request was then made that the United States should frame a proposal. Nothing, however, had been done when the administration changed, and Polk came into office.

The president said that though he held the opinion that Great Britain had no title to the Oregon Territory that could be maintained upon any principle of public law recognized by nations, he had felt it his duty to defer to the opinions and acts of his prede-

have concluded to recognize and tolerate the French aggressions in that sea. See also *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. i. 294; *Id.*, tom. ii. 254; *Greenhow's Hist. Or.*, 159, 341-3.

cessors, who had offered to adjust the boundary on the 49th parallel, two of them also offering the free navigation of the Columbia; and a proposition had accordingly been made, repeating the offer of the 49th parallel, but withdrawing the free navigation of the Columbia; and which in its turn had been indignantly rejected by the British plenipotentiary. He was now of opinion that the year's notice required by the convention of 1827 should be given, and the treaty of joint occupancy terminated, before which neither government could rightfully assert or exercise exclusive jurisdiction over any portion of the territory.[13]

In the mean time he recommended such legislation by congress as would be proper under the existing treaty, and considered it beyond question that the protection of the United States laws and jurisdiction ought immediately to be extended over Americans in Oregon, who had just cause to complain of long neglect, and who had been driven to organize a government for themselves. The extent to which jurisdiction might be extended over the territory should be in full as far as the British government had gone in the act of parliament of July 2, 1821, by which the courts of Upper Canada were empowered to take cognizance of civil and criminal cases,[14] and to appoint justices of the peace and other political officers in Oregon. He also recommended that the laws of the United States regulating trade and intercourse with the natives east of the Rocky Mountains should be extended over the tribes west of the mountains; that a suitable number of military posts should be established on the route to Oregon, to give protection to emigrants; that an overland mail, as often as once a month, should also be established; and in addition to these proposed measures, congress should be prepared,

[13] *29th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Doc. No. 1*, 11-14; *London Chronicle*, Dec. 24, 1845; *Or. Spectator*, June 11, 1846.

[14] Civil cases, not exceeding in the cause of action the sum of £200, and criminal cases, where the punishment was not capital. *Wyse's America*, ii. 304.

as soon as the year's notice had expired, to make liberal grants of land to the settlers in Oregon.

The president closed that portion of his message which related to Oregon with the avowal of his belief in the Monroe doctrine of non-interference of foreign powers with North American territories, and the assurance that should any such interference be attempted it would be resisted at all hazards.[15]

Notwithstanding this decided policy of the new administration, it was generally thought by the leading men in congress that there would be no war. The senate was entirely against it, and it was ridiculed even in the house, though the propriety of increasing the navy was considered, as a peace measure. The house would probably be in favor of giving notice; but in the senate the measure was opposed, particularly by southern members.[16]

Such was the intelligence that reached Oregon in May, and was published in the *Spectator* in June. News of a few weeks' later date, received from the Islands, informed the colonists that a resolution had passed the house to give the notice, by a vote of one hundred and sixty-three to fifty-four; but that in the senate, the vote, if taken, it was believed would stand twenty-two for and thirty-four against it. By the

[15] The president's message changed the tone of the French press. In the *Spectator* of August 20th was a quotation from the Washington *Union*, taken from the *Courrier des Etats Unis*, containing these comments on President Polk's message: 'Not that the message does not bear the impress, in all the questions to which it refers, of a frankness and vigor which invest it with a powerful interest or thrilling importance, but Mr Polk has displayed an admirable skill in disguising the energy of thoughts and the boldness of intentions under forms full of moderation, address, and courtesy. It has been many years since the people of the United States held toward foreign nations a language so proud and so calm. Upon the Oregon Question the *Courrier* remarked that 'there had been little suspicion of the extent of the concessions which had, up to the last hour, been offered to Great Britain, and which are now for the first time revealed. Public opinion is scandalized, and with great reason, at the blundering obstinacy which England has shown in refusing these concessions; and those even who were least disposed to insist on the rights of the United States are of opinion that concessions were carried sufficiently far; and if they have any regrets, they are not disposed to blame the resolution taken by Mr Polk to yield nothing more to John Bull, whose avidity is insatiate.'

[16] *N. Y. Jour. of Commerce*, Jan. 21, 1846.

same paper they learned that the frigate *Congress*, Commander Dupont, with Commodore Stockton on board, had sailed for the Pacific coast, her cruising ground supposed to be the Oregon coast; and also that it was rumored that the whole British force in the Pacific was making sail for the Columbia River.[17]

There was always something to protract anxiety; yet the colonists continued the cultivation of their fields, building, and road-making, with unceasing faith that their claims to land and improvements would be protected. In this spirit preparations were made for a Fourth-of-July celebration in Salem, recently so named, and in Oregon City. At the latter place was erected a liberty-pole presented to the committee of arrangements by William Holmes; a round of thirty-one guns was fired, and an oration delivered by Peter H. Burnett,[18] which was followed by a dinner and toasts, with cheering and firing of guns, the festivities being concluded by a ball in the evening.

At Salem the management of the celebration was placed in the hands of the newly organized military company, the Oregon Rangers. It was on this occasion that the company was presented with a flag made by Mrs Horace Holden and Miss Looney. The

[17] *Honolulu Friend*, May 1, 1846; *Polynesian*, April 25, 1846.

[18] As this was the first public celebration by the colonists of the Fourth of July, the following facts concerning its observance may not be without interest. The procession was formed under the management of Wm Finley, marshal of the day, at the City Hotel, kept by H. M. Knighton, and marched to the Methodist church, the flag of the United States being borne at the head. The ceremonies opened with prayer by J. L. Parrish; the declaration of independence was read by A. L. Lovejoy, after which followed the oration of Judge Burnett. The assembly then marched back to the hotel, where a public dinner was served, after which the usual toasts were read, with cheering and firing of guns, but without the use of wines or liquors. There were 13 regular toasts, full of the spirit of 1776, and a number of others, all more or less colored by the peculiar situation of the country. The toast, 'Oregon belonging to the United States and rightfully claiming her protection, and ever ready to repel any insult offered in seducing her from that path by hired emissaries, come from what source they may,' was received with 10 cheers and 3 guns. 'The United States of America, an example for the world, a bone of jealousy to tyrants, the home of the free, the land of the brave, and an asylum of the oppressed,' received 13 cheers and 5 guns. Among the volunteer toasts was one by A. L. Lovejoy, 'May the time soon come when the lion and unicorn may cease to go about the North American continent seeking whom they may bite!' *Oregon Spectator*, July 9, 1846.

oration was delivered by W. G. T'Vault, after which a barbecue and public dinner was served, followed, not by a ball, but by a sermon, as was considered proper in a missionary town,[19] delivered by Harvey Clark.

It had been a subject of annoyance to the colonists that two well-equipped British men-of-war should be stationed in Oregon waters, and that while a fleet of American vessels sported in the Pacific, not one was in the Columbia. But this grievance was removed when there entered on the 18th of July the schooner *Shark*, twelve guns, Neil M. Howison, commander,[20] which had been repairing at the Islands since the month of April, and left Honolulu on the 23d of June. Reaching the mouth of the Columbia, she anchored, and fired guns signalling for a pilot, but no pilot appearing, Lieutenant Howison, with the master, pulled in between the breakers and sounded the channel, after which he brought the vessel in. On rounding Cape Disappointment he was hailed by a boat which contained A. L. Lovejoy, H. H. Spalding, and W. H. Gray. The negro pilot, already mentioned, was recommended, but in twenty minutes he ran the schooner hard aground on Chinook shoal. Lovejoy and Gray immediately put off to Astoria for assistance, and in the morning Mr Latta, the pilot of the Hudson's Bay Company, was brought on board, who took the *Shark* to her anchorage off Astoria, the vessel having worked off the sands during the night. Howison then proceeded with his ship to Vancouver, where he was received July 24th with the utmost cordiality by the officers of the *Modeste* and the fort. On the 26th he made an attempt to cross the bar at the mouth of the Willamette, with the intention of as-

[19] The ceremonies took place where the house of Asahel Bush now stands. *Kaiser's Nar.*, MS., 11–12.

[20] The *Shark's* officers were Neil M. Howison, lieut. commanding; W. S. Schenck, acting master; James D. Bullock, lieut.; Wm S. Hollis, purser; Edward Hudson, assist. surgeon; T. McLanahan, T. J. Simes, and H. Davidson, midshipmen; J. M. Maury, passed midshipman, captain's clerk. *Oregon Spectator*, Aug. 6, 1846.

cending that river as far as possible; but not being able to get the schooner over, was forced to return to Vancouver, while a party of the *Shark's* officers proceeded in a boat to Oregon City.[21]

Howison arrived at Vancouver in time to participate in the first formal horse-races on record,[22] which occurred on the 25th of July, and which, together with the advent of a United States war vessel, drew together an unusual number of people, and furnished the American officers an opportunity to become acquainted with the prevailing state of feeling. Every courtesy was extended to the commander of the *Shark*, which attentions were received as courteously as rendered; but, as in the case of Wilkes, the independent American settler would have preferred that the United States officers should not have been thus placed under obligations.

Howison's report is probably the best authority extant upon the condition of affairs in Oregon at this time. He came as an observer, had good opportunities of hearing both sides of the question, and appears to have written fairly, and without prejudice. There was no motive for him to conceal anything from the eyes of government. He affirms that he found prevailing an intense excitement on the boundary question among all classes; and that he enjoined his officers in writing to refrain from arguments touching the ownership of the soil, but to allay instead of increase the excitement, while at the same time they were to seek all the information they could gather respecting the country.[23]

But it would have been impossible, under the circumstances, to prevent the marines and sailors from mixing with the people, and becoming inspired with

[21] *Howison's Coast and Country*, 1–3.

[22] *Oregon Spectator*, Aug. 20, Oct. 1, 29, 1846.

[23] *Coast and Country*, 3. The excitement was kept up by the surmises of the Sandwich Islands papers concerning the destination of the English fleet, the *Polynesian* of the 6th of June reporting that the *Collingwood* was going to Puget Sound, to deposit naval stores and to fortify. *Or. Spectator*, Aug. 20, 1846.

much of their intolerance of foreign intrusion; for in that spirit, notwithstanding the facts in the case, they insisted on viewing the presence of the British men-of-war, the *Modeste*, *Fisgard*, and *Cormorant*, which latter strongly armed vessel was stationed at the entrance to Puget Sound.[24]

The presence of the British flag, which had been a source of ill-suppressed ire, was rendered more openly obnoxious by the appearance of the United States colors,[25] and the intelligence brought by the *Shark* that the United States squadron, consisting of the frigates *Congress* and *Savannah*, and the sloops of war *Cyane*, *Portsmouth*, *Levant*, and *Warren*, were on the coast of Mexico and California, while the store-ship *Erie* was at the Islands provisioning for the fleet. Thus sustained, the belligerent feelings of the ultra-patriotic were privileged to exhibit themselves. Nor was the feeling of hostility with which many of the colonists regarded the officers of the British vessels entirely of a national character. In the eyes of the free and independent emigrants from the border of the United States, anything so cultivated, disciplined, and formal as a British military officer was an offence. They were not inspired with awe, like an Englishman, but with dislike and envious contempt.[26]

After ascertaining that the *Shark* could not be taken into the Willamette, Howison visited Oregon City, where the people received him with a salute fired from a hole drilled in an anvil, probably the same which had done service on the 4th of July, and where

[24] 'The *Shark* people had said they would take the *Modeste* out of the river any time they were ordered.' Jackson, in *Camp-fire Orations*, MS., 9.

[25] 'Any future Martin who may write from the British side will say we got on smoothly, even lovingly, with the early immigrants, until after the advent of the U. S. schr. *Shark*, Capt. Howison. She came to show the flag. There was, we found, a noticeable change after that.' *Roberts' Rec.*, MS., 49.

[26] 'The English officers used every gentlemanly caution to reconcile our countrymen to their presence, but no really good feeling existed. Indeed, there could never be congeniality between persons so entirely dissimilar as an American frontier man and a British naval officer. But the officers never, to my knowledge, had to complain of rude treatment.' *Howison's Coast and Country*, 4; Gibbs, in *Pacific R. Rept.*, i. 421.

he became the guest of Abernethy. Accompanied by the governor, he made a tour of the Willamette Valley, after which Abernethy returned with him to Vancouver, where for two days he was entertained on board the *Shark*. A warm intimacy sprung up between the commander and the governor, and every opportunity was afforded the former for becoming acquainted with the social interests of the country. While the commander was thus engaged, the other officers were visiting points on the Columbia with the same object, Howison being under orders to leave the river by the 1st of September. Meanwhile ten of his men deserted, tempted by the high price of labor and the prospect of owning land,[27] always a great allurement to sailors. Two of the deserters were returned to the vessel, but the others succeeded in escaping arrest. Howison perceived that to retain his crew he must shorten his stay, and on the 23d of August took his departure from Vancouver. Passing slowly down the river, in going out on the 10th of October the *Shark* was carried on the south spit, and became a total wreck.

This disaster, the second to a United States vessel at the mouth of the Columbia, was most complete. Officers and men were cast ashore without food or clothing, helpless and miserable. Leaving his crew poorly sheltered at Astoria, Howison returned to Vancouver, meeting by the way the cutter of the *Modeste* loaded with provisions, clothing, and such articles as were likely to be needed, which had been sent from the fort where the news of the wreck was received on the 14th. Purchasing the necessary supplies on the most favorable terms at Vancouver,[28] Howison returned to

[27] 'The few American merchant vessels which had visited the Columbia, suffered the greatest inconvenience from the loss of their men in this way, and it is now customary for them to procure a reënforcement of kanakas, in passing the Sandwich Islands, to meet this exigency.' *Howison's Coast and Country*, 4.

[28] Cash, at Oregon City, and with the American merchants, was worth 12 per cent more than bills; yet the company furnished all Howison's requisitions, whether for cash or clothing, taking bills on Baring Brothers at par. *Coast and Country*, 5.

Astoria, where three houses were erected for the winter quarters of the crew, there being then no expectation of leaving the country for some time.[29] The United States flag was planted on shore, the place taking on quite an air of military life.[30] About the end of October the fur company's vessel *Cadboro* was chartered for the removal of the *Shark's* crew to San Francisco,[31] and the 16th of November they went on board, but the winter storms prevented the vessel from crossing the bar before the 18th of January.

On the breaking-up of the *Shark's* quarters at Astoria, Howison presented to the government of Oregon the colors of the wrecked schooner, and also as many of the vessel's guns as could be recovered. This was the first flag owned by the territory;[32] and the only gun they had hitherto was a twelve-pounder which had been presented to the corporation of Oregon City by Benjamin Stark, Jr., who arrived in Oregon as supercargo of the American bark *Toulon* in June previous.[33]

The loss of the *Shark* was especially regretted by the

[29] The houses were two log structures, 30 by 24 feet, 1½ stories, well floored and boarded, with kitchen and bake-oven, and a large, square, 2-story frame building, intended for officers' quarters, but which was never finished. The latter, long known as the Shark House, was left in charge of Colonel John McClure. It was afterward put to a variety of uses, and served at one time as a custom-house; but was finally taken as a residence by W. H. Gray; and later turned to account as a cheap tenement-house. Scammon, in *Overland Monthly*, Dec. 1869, 496; *Crawford's Nar.*, MS., 136.

[30] Howison says the flag was hoisted on the 'very spot which was first settled by the white men on the banks of the Columbia;' seeming unaware of the settlement made by the Winship brothers at Oak Point.

[31] The price asked for the vessel's charter was £500, which Howison says in his opinion was an extravagant one. *Coast and Country*, 6. The company in this way, perhaps, reimbursed themselves for a part of their advances to American citizens; or considering the risk of crossing the bar at that season, the amount charged may not have been exorbitant.

[32] *Or. Spectator*, Dec. 24, 1846.

[33] Three of the *Shark's* carronades came ashore at Tillamook with a part of the hull, but only one of them could be dragged above high-water mark by the party sent by Howison to recover them. He notified Abernethy of the position, hoping that during the smooth seas of summer they might be taken on board a boat. But there is no account of their recovery. Howison remarks the singular fact that all the articles recovered were of metal, and heavy; and was evidently ignorant of the current setting into this Strait of Fuca, which would have carried northward all the lighter portions of the wreck.

colonists, as damaging to the character of the Columbia's entrance. They chafed under the fact that the United States had lost two men-of-war on the sands at the mouth of the river, and that the reports of government officers were of a nature to alarm shipmasters and keep commerce away.[34] The occasion was seized upon to discuss this subject in all its bearings in the columns of the *Spectator*, and, what was of more importance, the legislature of 1846 was impelled to pass a pilotage law, authorizing the governor to appoint commissioners to examine and license pilots for the bar and river, who should give bonds, keep suitable boats, and collect fees, according to law. Under this act, in April 1847, S. C. Reeves was appointed the first pilot for the Columbia River bar, which office he retained until the gold discovery in California.[35] Thus little by little, as necessity demanded, were added those means of safe passage to and from the colony, by land and sea, which the means at hand afforded.

While Lieutenant Howison was yet at Vancouver, intelligence arrived that congress had at length passed the notice bill—that is to say, the year's notice which should lawfully terminate the treaty—recommended by the president, and which the colonists had so long desired.[36] This agreeable news was brought by Selim E. Woodworth,[37] bearer of the despatches to the

[34] Howison in his report said that the dangers of the bar were not only really great, but were magnified for political purposes by the Hudson's Bay Company, it not being to their interest to remove the fancied difficulties of the entrance. If Howison had said for commercial purposes, he would have been right; he was right in saying they had no charts, and wanted none.

[35] *Or. Spectator*, April 15, 1847. Reeves was a good pilot and daring sailor. He went to California in the autumn of 1848 in a ship's long-boat, carrying two spars to be thrown over in a triangle as outriggers in case of a storm. Two men from Astoria accompanied him. He returned as pilot of a ship in the winter of 1848–9, and again sailed for California, where he sailed a small sloop, the *Flora*, on the bay, which was capsized in a squall in the month of May, drowning Reeves and a son of James Loomis of Oregon. *Crawford's Nar.*, MS., 191.

[36] *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 3, 1846; *Id.*, Oct. 1, 1846.

[37] Son of the author of "The Old Oaken Bucket." While in California, in February 1847, he went to the assistance of the California immigrants who took the Hastings cut-off, and were snow-bound in the Sierra.

United States squadron in the Pacific, including the commander of the *Shark*. No special communication was made to the government of Oregon, but a bundle of newspapers contained sufficient good tidings in the notice bill, and a bill requiring the president to establish military posts between the Missouri and the Columbia, at suitable distances, and authorizing the raising of a regiment of mounted riflemen for service along the line of travel and in Oregon; with the promise also of a mail route to the Pacific, and talk of a railroad to the Columbia River. A pamphlet by George Wilkes was received, containing a memorial to congress, praying for the construction of such a road, appended to which was a memorial to the speaker and representatives of the legislature of Oregon, asking for an expression from them to the congress of the United States on the subject of a national railroad to the Pacific Ocean, in the hope that their prayer, joined to his own, might procure the passage of a bill then before congress for this purpose.[88]

These subjects, so full of interest to the colonists, promising the fulfilment of their loftiest dreams, dulled their appreciation of the accompanying intelligence that the United States was actually at war with Mexico, and that, therefore, since England still maintained a belligerent tone, there was prospect of serious work for the government. Nor did the fact create any obvious dissatisfaction that Benton, Oregon's champion for more than two decades, as well as Webster, Calhoun, and other distinguished statesmen, now advocated the final settlement of the question on the 49th parallel instead of the popular 'fifty-four forty' boundary. A salute was fired, and the American flag hoisted, while a general expression of cheerfulness and

[88] This scheme was for a free national road to be supported by tolls sufficient to pay its expenses, and not a corporate monopoly. Wilkes was in advance of his times; but the principle he advocated is undoubtedly the correct one for developing the great interior of the continent. See *Cong. Globe*, 1845–6, 414, 445, 1171, 1206; *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 17, 1846.

animation prevaded the entire community,[39] inspired by the thought of a glorious future as a part of a federal union extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In this hopeful humor, and occupied by the changes occurring on the influx of a large immigration, two months passed rapidly by, and then came the grand announcement of the settlement of the Oregon boundary. The gratifying intelligence was found in Honolulu papers brought from the Islands by the bark *Toulon*.[40] The British consul at the Islands sent other papers to McLoughlin, in one of which, containing the announcement that the Oregon Question was settled, was an extract from a letter by A. Forbes, consul at Tepic, to Sir George Seymour, commanding the English squadron in the Pacific.

The Oregon government received no official notification; this chance information was all; but eroded with care which threatened to wear away its foundation, the colony now threw off anxiety, assured that congress would establish the Territory of Oregon with a proper government at once; that without war and with no further trouble, this great boon was theirs; and such a country, broad, beautiful, majestic! Again the cliffs round Oregon City fling back the jubilant boom of cannon, and from a tall flag-staff on the banks of the Willamette, over the newly captured wilderness, proudly wave the stars and stripes, promise of happy homes and lofty endeavor. Men grasp each other by the hand, and the organ of a free people spreads in broad capitals across its front the stirring words 'Hail Columbia, happy land!'[41]

Such was the state of feeling when it was only known in general terms that the boundary was fixed at the 49th parallel, that Vancouver Island was excluded from the possession of the United States, and

[39] *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 3, 17, 1846.

[40] *Polynesian*, Aug. 29, 1846; *New York Gazette and Times*, June 19, 1846; *S. I. News*, August 1846.

[41] *Oregonian Spectator; Victor's River of the West*, 380–1; Evans, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1877, 27; *Evans' Hist. Or.*, MS., 288–93.

that the navigation of the Strait of Fuca and neighboring waters was left open, while the Columbia remained free to the Hudson's Bay Company till the expiration of its charter. But when the treaty itself reached Oregon the disapproval of the Americans was general; not because of failure to secure the whole of Oregon, but because in the territory claimed by and relinquished to the United States, the Hudson's Bay Company were confirmed in the possession of land or other property occupied by them in the territory,[42] and promised payment for the same in case they relinquished it to the United States.

Man is a preposterous pig; probably the greediest animal that crawls upon this planet. Here were fertile lands and temperate airs; meadows, forests, and mountains; bright rivers and a broad ocean seaboard, enough of earth for half a dozen empires; and all for nothing—all stolen from the savages, and never yet a struggle, never yet a dollar in return, only fevers, syphilis, and the like by way of compensation; and yet these colonial representatives of the great American nation grudge their brethren, but little later than themselves from Great Britain, a few squares of land round the posts which they had built and occupied so long, and that when they could not positively say with truth that these same British brethren had not as good a right as they to the whole of it. And they fell to cursing; they cursed the British, and particularly President Polk for failing to carry out his policy avowed before election. Believing

[42] Articles III. and IV. of the treaty ran as follows: 'In the future appropriation of the territory south of the 49th parallel of north latitude, as provided in the first article of this treaty, the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company and all British subjects who may be already in the occupation of land or other property lawfully acquired within said territory, shall be respected. The farm, lands, and other property of every description, belonging to Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, on the north side of the Columbia River, shall be confirmed to the said company. In case, however, the situation of those farms and lands should be considered by the United States to be of public and political importance, and the United States government should signify a desire to obtain possession of the whole or any part thereof, the property so required shall be transferred to the said government at a proper valuation, to be agreed upon between the parties.'

in that promise, they had inscribed on their wagon-covers "54° 40′, all or none," and poverty-stricken and piggish, had wended their way to the Pacific in the faith that they were helping to accomplish this high destiny for the United States, this broad destiny for themselves; when lo! here was a treaty which not only gave up nearly five degrees of latitude, but actually granted to the British company in possession south of the boundary all the lands occupied by them, the same being several of the choicest portions of the now undisputed American territory. "England," said the *Spectator*, "could have expected nothing more. We can say nothing for and much against the document. It can never be popular with the great body of Americans in Oregon. We shall wait anxiously to see how this singular circumstance can be accounted for at home, and how this surprising and unconditional surrender of right will be justified."[48]

The people of Oregon were unable to do justice to Mr Polk on the Oregon Question, though the brilliancy of his administration could not be denied. Nor can we fail now to see that he displayed great tact in the management and final settlement of the long-disputed Oregon affairs. He began his administration by informing the world in his message of the long controversy as to title, the concessions offered and rejected by Great Britain, his determination to insist at last upon the United States claim to the whole of Oregon, and with advice to congress to give the twelve months' notice required of the termination of the convention of 1818.

Thus Great Britain was made to understand that instead of gaining greater concessions by delay she was in danger of losing all. Her fleet repaired to the Pacific, but so did Mr Polk's, and there was no material difference in number of the guns that were carried on either side; while on the soil of Oregon itself the citizens of the republic greatly outnumbered those of

[48] *Or. Spectator*, April 1, 15, 1847.

Great Britain. England sent her spies to report upon these facts, and they found nothing to encourage them to expect a victory. The United States appeared quite as willing to maintain their rights as Sir Robert Peel. So far Polk had redeemed his pledge to the people. But in May 1846 Buchanan, secretary of state, after the passage of the notice bill, received a proposition from the British plenipotentiary embodying the main points of a treaty which would be agreeable to the English government; namely, the 49th parallel and the Strait of Fuca for the northern boundary of the United States; security to British subjects north of the Columbia River and south of the 49th parallel, of a perpetual title to their lands and stations of which they were in actual occupation, in all respects the same as to citizens of the United States; and lastly, the present free navigation of the Columbia River, on the same footing as United States citizens.

But in reference to the lands occupied by the subjects of Great Britain, it was represented that their settlements north of the Columbia were not numerous; but consisted of "a few private farms, and two or three forts and stations;" and Buchanan was reminded that by their charter the Hudson's Bay Company were prohibited from acquiring title to lands, and that only the lands of these few private settlers, or the Puget Sound Company, would be required to be secured to them. As to the actual extent of the Puget Sound Company's lands the negotiators on both sides seemed equally ignorant, as well as the senate, when called upon for advice. It was also suggested to Buchanan that as there was impending a change in the British ministry, which was likely to take place before the end of June, it might be well for the president to make such modifications of the proposition offered as might be deemed necessary in case of its acceptance, in the hope that the whig minister, when he came into power, would not meddle with that which

if left entirely to them might be more objectionable than the present offer.

These considerations were certainly not without weight, and President Polk hastened to lay the matter before the senate, and to seek its advice. In his message on this occasion he declared: "My opinions and my action on the Oregon Question were fully made known to congress in my annual message of the 2d of December last, and the opinions therein expressed remain unchanged. Should the senate, by the constitutional majority required for the ratification of treaties, advise the acceptance of this proposition, or advise it with such modifications as they may, upon full deliberation, deem proper, I shall conform my action to their advice. Should the senate, however, decline by such constitutional majority to give such advice, or to express an opinion on the subject, I shall consider it my duty to reject the offer."[44]

In asking the advice of the senate on a matter of so much importance as a war with Great Britain, the president only discharged his duty; in taking its advice he was relieved, not only from the responsibility of war, but also from the terms of the treaty to which no important alterations were proposed by the president's advisers.

There were many, indeed, outside of Oregon, who shared the somewhat unintelligent and extremely partisan feelings of the late immigrants, who thought the president had betrayed the party which elected him. It was, besides, the general impression that the Hudson's Bay Company arranged the terms of the treaty, which was another affront to those who had ever regarded that company with hatred and distrust. There was at once truth and error in the surmise. The governor[45] of the Hudson's Bay Company,

[44] *Cong. Globe*, 1845-6, App. 1168.

[45] *Roberts' Recollections*, MS., 80; *Niles' Reg.*, lxx. 341; *Applegate's Views of Hist.*, MS., 43. No member of the company was ever in the British cabinet. Sir Henry Pelly, governor in 1846, was an influential man. He afterward

while not a member of the government council of England, was consulted as to the third and fourth articles of the treaty, which were for a long time in contemplation by the company in Oregon, and in anticipation of which the posts south of the Columbia were not withdrawn, as the directors at one time ordered, to the north side of the river. From the Oregon-American standpoint, the United States had been overreached in the matter of these two articles; and instead of the treaty making an end of the fur company's monopoly, it seemed to fix it upon the territory more firmly than ever.

There was, however, a weak spot in the treaty which was overlooked by the British plenipotentiary, and by the company itself; and that was in the second article, which left the Columbia River free to British traders, but placed them "on the same footing as citizens of the United States." Citizens of the United States paid duties on imported goods; and so hereafter must the fur company on the Columbia and on the Sound. This point, on the other hand, was not overlooked by Benton while the treaty was under discussion in the senate, but was pointed out to the objecting members by that avaricious but astute statesman.[46] In Oregon this point was not at first perceived by either side, and it was only when a United States collector of customs appeared at the mouth of the Columbia that the company itself awoke to its true position.

As to the boundary, the company in Oregon held that England had made a concession, but that it had been wise to do so; and that in the settlement the United States had been treated by England, whose people could afford it, much as a kind parent treats a

was a director of the Bank of England, and also a director of the East India Company, and had the ear of government.

[46] *Cong. Globe*, 1845–6, App., 868. Roberts says: 'Most certainly, in my opinion, the having to pay duties on importations did not occur to them; and no provision for supplying the interior posts (in advance) was made on that account. The company's own stores at Vancouver were, for a time, constructive bonded warehouses.' *Recollections*, MS., 80.

wayward child. And in this they were right; for had England been as unreasonable, overbearing, and insulting as the people of the United States, there assuredly would have been war. Yet, after all, in regard to the opposing views of the British and American inhabitants of Oregon, I would not say that either was wrong. Both were educated to a belief in the views they professed, and to see in every circumstance confirmation of their belief. That which in the eyes of a disinterested spectator might appear as an exhibition of the crudest selfishness was in their estimation only insisting in a manly spirit on their rights. That the Americans were most demonstrative in this display of feeling was natural. England in her dealings with the American colonies, and her behavior toward the young United States, had been far from reputable. The greed and selfishness of that nation has ever grown with its increasing strength. This the people of Oregon knew; and they would gladly have prevented Great Britain from occupying a rood of territory on the American continent, and esteemed it a privilege as well as a duty to defend from her grasp any portion of it that by the most liberal construction might be claimed as territory of the United States. Maintaining this position, they felt that they were not only doing their duty to themselves, but serving posterity and enlarging free institutions.[47]

But while, as I have elsewhere shown, many statesman were as opposed as ever to the division of the Northwest Coast with Great Britain, the time had come when a settlement must be made. It had come, too, at a juncture when the hands of the government were filled by the acquisition of new territory south of the southern limits of Oregon, extending to

[47] Even the most temperate Americans in Oregon felt sore over the relinquishment of so much territory. Mr Applegate, who labored so wisely and well to keep the peace, remarked later: 'If we had then as now a railroad across the continent, and had taken possession with an army of 100,000 men months before a British fleet could reach the coast, British arrogance would have taken a much lower key, and Mr Polk's administration would not have dared to yield an inch of Oregon.' *Views of History*, MS., 48.

the gulf of Mexico; and when Great Britain, perceiving the rapidly growing strength of the republic, was beginning to consider whether it was not best to defer somewhat to its demands for more favorable commercial treaties. To involve the nation in a war at a moment so favorable to its prosperity would have been poor statesmanship. The treaty secured the better portion of the disputed territory to the United States, and made their northern boundary one continuous line westward from the Lake of the Woods to the gulf of Georgia, where alone it deflected south and continued through the Strait of Fuca to the ocean.

As to Oregon itself, the boundary left it in the best possible shape, with the Columbia River, Puget Sound, and all the harbors of the mainland belonging to it. But notwithstanding its apparent merits, the treaty was not a popular one in Oregon. Instead of healing all wounds, and establishing peace by removing causes of contention, it confirmed the hostility of the anti-British monopoly and missionary party, and set them to devising methods of doing for themselves what the treaty had not done for them—that is, to providing for the ejectment from the lands occupied by them of the members of the Hudson's Bay Company.[48]

The year of 1846, the most exciting and eventful of any since the settlement of the country, witnessed a great change at Fort Vancouver. John McLoughlin was no longer at the head of affairs, having retired to private life in Oregon City. James Douglas had removed to Vancouver Island, where a post had been established at Victoria, which became the company's headquarters, and Peter Skeen Ogden[49] was in command on the Columbia. Mr Roberts, a clerk in the company's service, who had been fifteen years at Van-

[48] I have before quoted a remark by Roberts, that it was the appearance of the American flag in the Columbia which first occasioned the colonists to show openly their dislike of the company. It was not, however, the flag, it was the treaty which immediately followed it, which brought out the apparent change.

[49] The factors at Vancouver after Ogden were Ballenden and McTavish.

couver, and was factotum of the establishment, had been sent to the Cowlitz farm to superintend the affairs of the Puget Sound Company.

The ancient glory was departing from Vancouver. The *Modeste* remained through the winter, her officers amusing themselves as best they could. To add to their entertainment, they had the society of Paul Kane, a painter whom Sir George Simpson patronized; who studied Indian character, customs, and costumes, and wrote a book entitled *Wanderings of an Artist*, which contains much diversion and some instruction, though for the most part superficial. His visit was preceded by that of the Prussian naturalist, Teck, who sailed from Oregon to the Hawaiian Islands,[50] in the autumn of 1845. In the latter part of April 1847 the *Modeste* took her departure, and the company she came to protect were left, at a time when they were most assailed, to care for themselves, their rights under the former convention being at an end.

How the adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay succeeded in defending themselves from the disasters consequent on the inexorable outspreading of the great republic, the pages which follow will reveal.

[50] *Hines' Or. Hist.*, 248.

CHAPTER XXII.

POLITICS AND PROGRESS.

1846-1847.

WAITING FOR A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT—THE QUESTION OF A DELEGATE TO WASHINGTON—ATTEMPTS TO PROVIDE FOR THE EJECTMENT OF BRITISH SUBJECTS FROM THEIR LAND—LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS—MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS—PUBLIC REPROOF TO TRESPASSERS—REËLECTION OF ABERNETHY—DOUGLAS' BILL FOR ESTABLISHING A TERRITORY, AND ITS FAILURE—ACTION OF THE PEOPLE—PRIVATE DELEGATE TO CONGRESS—BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES—THE IMMIGRATION OF 1847.

WITH the news that the notice bill had been passed, and before it was known that a treaty had been concluded, the subject of sending a delegate at once to Washington to make known to congress the wants of Oregon began to be agitated; for it was not doubted that immediate action would be taken to adopt the colony as a territory, and there were those who were solicitous as to the changes which must follow, and for official positions for themselves or friends. They said that thousands of people had been induced to emigrate to Oregon by a promise of land, which had been selected and located under the land law of the provisional government; and they wanted these claims confirmed as they were, before any United States surveyor should arrive with power to alter their boundaries in conformity to section lines and subdivisions.

They needed a delegate to represent the matter in congress, and to give the coöperation asked for to the scheme of a national railroad to the Pacific; an agent who should go armed with a memorial signed

by hundreds of men who had travelled the road to Oregon, and could speak intelligently of its facilities for railroad building. This delegate should also promote the mail service to Oregon. It was mentioned with regret that the bill before congress for organizing a territory would allow a delegate to be sent only when there were 5,000 voters or 25,000 inhabitants in the country, and this could not be expected for three or four years. The present population could not afford to wait; they were not numerous, but they were far advanced beyond political infancy, and were in favor of demanding, if need be, the rights of men.[1]

On the 26th of September a public meeting was held at Oregon City to take into consideration matters relating to the interests of the country. At this meeting McCarver offered a resolution in favor of holding primaries in each of the counties, which should send delegates to a general convention to meet at Oregon City, which convention should elect a delegate to congress. The resolution also provided for as many delegates to the convention from each county as the law of apportionment would give them members in the legislature.

In the apportionment of the legislature, Champoeg had five members, or two more than any other county, and would probably secure the election. Therefore the resolution was not cordially received by the citizens of Clackamas County, who chiefly composed the meeting; and it became evident at once that party spirit would be developed in colonial politics as it had never been before. The resolution of McCarver was amended by P. G. Stewart, who wished the delegates instructed to draught a memorial to congress; and Mr T'Vault embodied the several suggestions in one resolution, to the effect that it was the duty of the colonists to petition congress to relieve their wants, and that in order to obtain unanimity, a convention should be held at Oregon City on the 2d of November for the

[1] *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 17, 1846.

purpose of draughting memorials, which should be circulated for the people to sign, and to devise means of forwarding the same, whether by delegate or otherwise; the inhabitants of the several counties being requested to hold meetings therein for that purpose. They then adjourned to the 10th of October.

At the appointed time it was apparent why a delegate to congress was so much desired by certain persons, and what certain other persons would require him to do in their interest. After resolving that Clackamas County should have five delegates in the convention, D. Stewart broached the subject that congress should be asked to make reservations, first of the falls of the Willamette, with the land one mile in extent on every side of this water power; together with Fort Vancouver, Fort Nisqually, Cape Disappointment,[2] and the Cascade Falls of the Columbia; thereby preventing British subjects who held land at these places under the colonial land law, which congress would be asked to approve, from deriving any benefit from their claims. The resolution was so modified, however, as to partially obscure their intention, and congress was requested to reserve all waterfalls, capes, and town sites, the proceeds to be applied to the improvement of the bays, rivers, and roads in the territory; thus making a benefit apparently accrue from it to the country. In this form the resolution was adopted by the meeting; and after discussing the proposal of a delegate, the meeting again adjourned to the 15th.

The subject of this resolution coming up at the meeting of the 15th, it was so amended as to make the proceeds of each town site produce a fund for the benefit of public schools and local improvements, when P. G. Stewart proposed to insert "so far as they can do the same without interfering with private rights," which excited warm discussion. The amend-

[2] The land at Cape Disappointment was owned by Ogden, who purchased it of previous claimant in February 1846. *Or. Spectator*, Feb. 19, 1846.

ment being finally adopted and the resolution put to vote, it was lost by fourteen to twenty-two. Six delegates to the convention were then chosen, and the meeting adjourned amidst excitement and efforts by the minority to obtain a hearing.[3]

When the convention met according to appointment at Oregon City, three counties only were represented, Champoeg by W. J. Bailey, J. Sanders, Joseph Barnaby, and F. Bernia, all from French Prairie; Tualatin by Hugh Burns and Robert Moore, each owners of town sites; Clackamas by Samuel McSwain, Philip Foster, H. Wright, H. M. Knighton, S. S. White, and J. McCormick, each wanting a slice of Oregon City. The first resolution offered was by Bailey, and declared that the meeting viewed with indignation and contempt the unwarrantable, unjust, and obnoxious efforts of certain individuals, at a previous meeting in Oregon City, to deprive citizens of their rights, through a memorial to congress to reserve town sites, water-falls, and capes that had been settled for years, and were at that time rapidly advancing in value by improvement.

This was followed by another from Mr Burns, who resolved that the convention had full confidence in the constituted authority, the legislature, as the proper body to memorialize congress on matters touching the wants of the territory, and recommended the legislature to petition the government of the United States to allow the land law to remain under its present form, according to the organic compact of Oregon.

At this stage of the proceedings a motion to adjourn *sine die* was made by one of the Oregon City delegates, which was rejected, and Robert Moore offered a resolution declaring that it was the sense of the convention that it was highly improper to meddle with the rights

[3] As nearly as can be gathered from the resolutions and amendments offered at these several meetings in Oregon City, D. Stewart, James Taylor, S. S. White, and M. M. McCarver were responsible for the resolution concerning government reservations, though how much they were influenced can only be conjectured. P. G. Stewart earnestly resisted the movement.

or locations of the inhabitants of the territory, such interference being detrimental to the growth, prosperity, and interests of the country. Bailey followed with another, recommending the legislature to embody in its memorial that claim-jumpers, or persons interfering with the rights of others touching land claims, should be debarred from receiving any land or donation in the territory.

Once more one of the Oregon City delegation made a motion to adjourn, which was rejected; and Moore again resolved that the convention considered it unnecessary to obey the mandates of the agitators of the late movement to memorialize congress, or to send a delegate or messenger to that body; after which Burns moved that the proceedings of the convention be signed by the president and secretary, and published in the *Spectator*, the motion being carried.[4] The adoption of each of these resolutions, so opposite to the intention of the movers of the convention, was effected by the delegates of the other counties voting solidly against the Oregon City delegates, whose number, six, was reduced to five by making one of themselves, P. Foster, chairman of the convention. Thus ingloriously ended the first attempt to devise means to evict British claimants under the organic law Two days later came the news of the settlement of the boundary question, in anticipation of which these measures had been taken, but the full tenor of which was unknown for several months afterward.

In the mean while the legislature met,[5] and con-

[4] *Or. Spectator*, Nov. 26, 1846.

[5] The members of the house of representatives for 1846 were, for Clackamas, A. L. Lovejoy, W. G. T'Vault, Hiram Straight; Tualatin, Joseph L. Meek, D. H. Lownsdale, Lawrence Hall; Yamhill, A. J. Hembree; Clatsop, George Summers; Vancouver, Henry N. Peers; Lewis, W. F. Tolmie; Champoeg, Angus McDonald, Jesse Looney, A. Chamberlain, Robert Newell; Polk, Boone, Williams. There were several of the name of Boone or Boon in the territory, and I can find nothing to guide me in determining which of either family this was, for his name is spelled without the final *e* in the house journal, and with it in the *Spectator*, and in neither place are the initials given. The same concerning Williams, to whose identity there is no clew. Tolmie was from Fort Nisqually, and Peers from Vancouver. Angus McDonald was another British subject. A. L. Lovejoy was elected speaker.

gress was memorialized, the governor having left it to the members of the legislature whether, in view of the probability that the laws of the United States would soon be extended over the territory, they should attempt legislation any further than to confirm appointments, fill vacancies, and make necessary appropriations.[6] They preferred to continue the regular business of the session, during which they passed several important laws. Among others, one reorganizing the judicial system, by which the several counties were formed into one circuit that should be presided over by a judge commissioned by the governor, and who should hold his office two years, with a salary of eight hundred dollars, to be paid quarterly out of the territorial treasury. These circuit courts were given original jurisdiction of civil suits of whatever nature, and of criminal cases occurring in their respective counties, and were to exercise the same control over all matters of law and equity that the county courts had done; the criminal court was abolished; county judges were to be elected by the people, the appointing power being taken away from the governor, except in case of vacancies; a probate court was provided for the several counties, to be presided over by the president of the county courts; and several minor changes effected.

The committee on judiciary consisted of T'Vault, Tolmie, and Looney. Tolmie was opposed to altering the judiciary organization, in view of the expected change in territorial affairs, but was overruled by the legislature, which was not to be deprived of the glory of making laws to govern, even for a brief period, the conduct of colonial affairs, nor was their work less creditable than that of their predecessors.[7] A. A. Skinner, an immigrant of 1845, was elected circuit judge by the legislature; and the office of territorial secretary, vacated by the death of John E. Long, was

[6] *Grover's Or. Archives*, 159.
[7] *Or. Spectator*, Dec. 24, 1846.

filled by Frederick Prigg; H. M. Knighton was elected marshal; John H. Couch, treasurer;[8] George W. Bell, auditor; and Theophilus McGruder, territorial recorder. The organic law concerning partnerships in land of "two or more persons" was amended by repealing the words "or more;" a measure which had been much discussed previously, as a means of breaking the monopoly of the fur company and the missions, as well as of other speculators. By an act regulating weights and measures the imperial bushel of the Hudson's Bay Company, so much complained of, was abolished.

All these acts, though good and proper, did not interest the people as did the memorial, about which so much had been said. The committee first chosen by the legislature to frame this important document was composed of Hall, Peers, Summers, McDonald, and Boone. Their joint production was placed in the hands of a revisory committee consisting of T'Vault, Summers, and Peers; and finally was remodelled by Peers, who was a man of good parts, and a writer of considerable ability, whose verses sometimes graced the columns of the *Spectator*, so that at the last the American petition to the congress of the United States was penned by a British subject.[9] That the colonists' interests were not less happily represented the memorial shows for itself.

After respectfully soliciting the attention of congress to their wants, the proud position which Oregon would soon occupy before the world was briefly mentioned, and reference made to the flattering report of the congressional committee on post-offices and roads for 1846, in which the climate, soil, and other advantages of the country west of the Rocky Mountains were said to be correctly set forth; from which it would seem that Oregon was "destined soon to become a central point of commerce and happiness."

[8] Couch soon resigned and W. K. Kilborn was appointed.
[9] *Or. Spectator*, Dec. 24, 1846.

Proceeding to the expression of their wants, the statement was made that bread-stuffs could on short notice be supplied to the amount of five thousand barrels of flour, and should a demand arise, salt beef and pork could be furnished to the amount of two thousand barrels—low estimates, it was declared, especially with regard to flour, which, were a market opened, could be greatly increased in quantity. Lumber could be furnished in abundance; and tar and pitch manufactured if required. Flax and hemp had been successfully cultivated in small quantities, and could be made articles of export.

This paragraph was a bid for contracts to furnish the vessels of the United States, and all American vessels in the Pacific; the purchasing of supplies at Vancouver by the commander of the *Shark* having been a subject of complaint on the part of the colonists, who thought it the duty of the government to patronize and encourage Oregon industry, in spite of the fact that American merchants required twelve per cent more for their goods than British merchants.

Congress was next deferentially reminded that the settlers of Oregon had been induced to make the difficult journey to Oregon and cultivate its fertile fields by the promise of the government that their homes should be secured to them; and they therefore thought they had a right to expect a grant of land; and not only they, but those who should come after them for the next few years. Their claims already taken were made under the organic law of the territory, and provided that any person might hold six hundred and forty acres of land. These claims they asked to have confirmed to them, in the same shape in which they were located.

They asked also that the insurmountable barriers which in new countries always presented themselves to the general diffusion of education, upon which were founded the principles of the republican government of the United States (whose extension over them-

selves they prayerfully awaited), might be in part removed by the liberality and wisdom of the government in making grants of land for that purpose.

The navigation of the Columbia and the risk to merchant vessels in crossing the bar were next alluded to, and congress was petitioned for a steam tow-boat which would remove these difficulties and dangers, at all seasons of the year; and of information on the subject of the intricacies of the river-channels, the prevailing winds, and strength of the current and tides, it was politely presumed that congress was informed, though that was far enough from the truth.

And finally an expression of wonder and admiration was indulged in, that a project so grand as that of the national railroad to the Pacific should have been proposed to congress. That such a road should be built they declared was obvious, particularly to those who had travelled from the United States to Oregon. And although it might be years before the great highway would be completed, yet they would look with anxiety for its commencement.

These subjects, the memorial declared, were the most important to the well-being of Oregon, and they prayed that congress would meet their wishes in a manner which should redound to the peace and prosperity of all interested, and the furtherance of an attachment to the government of the United States which should cease only with their existence.[10]

In this rather tame but perfectly proper manner was congress memorialized by its chosen representatives. They wanted a market, a donation of land, a tug-boat, schools, and a highway to the Pacific; and solicited the help of the government to procure these things. No provision was made for sending a delegate to congress; but the address was prepared in triplicate, one copy to be sent to California and one to the Islands by the bark *Toulon*, to await the first opportunity of being forwarded to Washington, while

[10] *Or. Spectator*, Dec. 24, 1846.

the third was reserved to be carried overland in the spring by W. Finley, who was returning to the States.

Months passed away after the first news of the treaty without bringing any message from the government of the United States to eagerly expectant Oregon. In February the *Spectator* gave expression to the disappointment of the people, who it said had "expected and expected until they were heart-sick." There was indeed a feverish state of anxiety, for which there was no very justifiable cause, which arose chiefly from the desire of every man to receive some direct benefit from the change so long desired. There was now no fear of war with England; California was secured,[11] and was already seeking supplies from Oregon;[12] the crop of 1846 had been abundant, and there was promise of still greater abundance in the coming harvest. The health of the colony was excellent, and improvements were being made on every side with encouraging rapidity. But many persons were dissatisfied at the tardiness of the government in furnishing them with titles to their land claims; many were covetous of the possessions of others, and some had trouble to defend their rights against aggression, for there were those holding themselves in readiness to seize the lands of the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound companies as soon as the terms of the treaty should be made known.

When the terms became known, what a falling of high hopes was there! The government confirmed the company in their possessory rights; there was no need to memorialize congress to reserve town sites and

[11] About 50 persons emigrated from Oregon to California in the spring of 1847, and among them James Marshall, the discoverer of gold in 1848, Captain Charles Bennett, who also worked with him at Sutter's mill, and Stephen Staats. Bennett and Staats returned to Oregon. *Or. Spectator*, June 10, 1847.

[12] C. E. Pickett wrote from California to Burnett, McCarver, Ford, and Waldo, that 20,000 barrels of flour and several thousand bushels of seed-wheat, besides lumber, potatoes, and butter, were wanted in that country, all of which would bring high prices; lumber $50 per M.; butter 50c. to 62c. per lb.; potatoes $2.50 per bushel, and flour $15 to $17 per barrel. *Id.*

water-falls now; their disappointment was complete; the indignation of the schemers knew no bounds. And then began an ill-suppressed rebellion which vaunted itself in threats of an independent empire to be made out of California and Oregon,[13] which never could be more than idle threats—for opposed to them was always the wise and loyal majority.

And while all this seething discontent arose from not being able to get rid of the possessory rights of the British companies, the Canadian settlers of the Cowlitz Valley, to the disturbance of good discipline, were imitating the ways of loyal Americans and praying to be made citizens of the United States, for by this means only they could secure their claims.[14] On the 23d of March, while the *Modeste* was still in the river, the Canadians of Lewis County raised the American flag, made by Canadian women, at a public meeting, and resolutions were passed declaring their joy at being permitted to fling to the breeze the star-spangled banner of their adopted country, which they promised to protect from harm as long as they should live, and to gladly perform any service which the United States might require of good naturalized citizens.[15]

Finding themselves prevented by the treaty from invading the lands of the two British corporations, the disaffected made themselves amends by trespassing upon the private claim of McLoughlin, who brought suit in the circuit court of Clackamas County against the corporation of Oregon City, and published a notice forbidding trespassers upon his land. Much excitement grew out of the proceedings, and a public meeting was held at this place te denounce the prac-

[13] *Home Missionary*, XX. 20.

[14] Roberts complains of the demoralizing effect on the Canadians of the donation law, both in fact and in expectancy. It made the servants of the company restless and independent, and destroyed their former systematic obedience. This, he says, with the duties on imported goods, and the discovery of gold, ruined the company's business in Oregon long before the expiration of their charter. *Recollections*, MS., 81.

[15] *Or. Spectator*, April 1, 1847.

tice of claim-jumping, as this form of trespass was popularly designated, at which over a hundred and fifty persons signed a strong protest. The resolutions declared that the meeting regarded any action calculated to prejudice the claim of any cititzen who had complied with the laws, as a violation of the good faith of the community and deserving the reprobation of all honorable men; that the organic compact, though it might be avoided by some technicality, was made to secure the rights of every citizen "not incompatible or incongruous with the rights of reservation of the United States government;" that every man engaged in the movement assailing the rights of citizens was to be regarded as a disorganizer, whose conduct weakened the golden bond of society, and gave occasion to mob violence; that all persons who, upon small points, advised trespassing, should be held equally guilty with the offenders; that in view of the approaching jurisdiction of the United States they pledged themselves to maintain the supremacy of the existing laws until that time; and that they would vote for no man for any public office who should be directly or indirectly connected with the form of trespass called claim-jumping.

Other meetings followed, at which speeches were made against trespass, and more names appended to the pledge, both in Oregon City and elsewhere. Among others, Lewis County sent over fifty names. To the ordinary judgment appearances indicated that the spirit as well as the letter of the law was to be observed, and that no one's rights would be infringed. But the cunning brain framing the resolutions had saved his honor by the introduction of the innocent-looking proviso which promised not to interfere with the right of the government to reserve.

Notwithstanding the expected territorial organization, canvassing for the different candidates for offices under the provisional government went on with more

than ordinary spirit. Abernethy and Lovejoy were the popular candidates for governor.[16]

The June election came round, and still no news from the United States except a few excerpts from newspapers copied first into the *Polynesian*, and from that into the *Spectator*. Congress had evidently forgotten them, or was treating them with silent contempt. They would go on with their own affairs as if congress did not exist. The contest for the gubernatorial office was close. In the Willamette Valley Lovejoy had a small majority, but when the returns from Lewis County came in, Abernethy had sixteen votes over his opponent, and was really elected by the Canadian voters.[17]

Governor Abernethy was a native of Aberdeen, Scotland, though reared under American institutions. He has been called a good governor by men of all parties; and so far as being discreet, temperate in speech, and careful not to offend the popular opinion, whether religious or political, he is deserving of this judgment. Perhaps it was impossible to avoid censure in exciting times without being secretive and designing; Abernethy was both. The most odious word that could be applied to a Protestant in those days was that of Jesuit; yet Protestant and Methodist Abernethy possessed all the traits usually ascribed by a Protestant to a Jesuit. He was courteous, smooth,

[16] Dr Presley Welch announced himself as a candidate, but received no votes.

[17] The representatives elected were: from Clackamas, J. M. Wair, S. S. White; Champoeg, Robert Newell, A. Chamberlain, W. H. Rees, W. H. Rector, Anderson Cox; Tualatin, Ralph Wilcox, J. L. Meek, David Hill; Yamhill, L. A. Rice, Lewis Rogers, A. J. Hembree; Polk, J. W. Nesmith, M. A. Ford, St Clair; Vancouver, Henry N. Peers; Lewis County, S. Plomondon; Clatsop, John Robinson. Justices of the peace elected in the several counties south of the Columbia were: Joseph Hull, Columbus Wheeler, F. X. Matthieu, Morgan Keyes, Rice Dunbar, Barton Lee, D. T. Lennox, C. D. Smith, John Rowland, William Dawson, D. D. Bailey, John Rounds, James Howard, James Taylor, David Ingalls, A. H. Thompson; north of the Columbia: Richard Lane, R. R. Thompson, John White, Jacob Wooley, S. R. Crockett, J. R. Jackson. County assessors: E. B. Comfort, S. C. Morris, Thomas Leggett, John W. Champ, William Ryan, M. Brock. County treasurers: John H. Couch, David Waldo, Amos Harvey, N. Ford, R. W. Morrison, A. L. Lewis, James Birnie. *Or. Spectator*, July 22, 1847.

and silent, but implacable. He could treat with seeming openness a man who differed from him in opinion, or who competed with him for the public money or favor, while scheming against him, and entertaining for him a holy hatred. Withal he hated Catholics; and it was through these combined qualities that he was reëlected, while the majority of American voters preferred Lovejoy.

Abernethy was nominally the head of the American party as it had been when there was a Hudson's Bay party. No such association as the latter now existed, because the British inhabitants were politically fused with the Americans, and most of them were only waiting for an opportunity to become citizens of the United States. But the real American party was now, what it had been in the first days of the provisional government, opposed both to the foreign corporations and the Methodist Mission. That he could be elected, entertaining sentiments adverse to the free American as well as the foreign corporations, was owing to the qualities named. From this time for several years, the only parties in Oregon were the American and missionary, the governor belonging to the latter.

The summer rolled round, and September came—more than a year after the settlement of the boundary—before any information was received of the doings of the national legislature in the matter of Oregon's establishment as a territory, and then it was only to inflict further disappointment. The president had indeed recommended the establishment of a territorial government in Oregon, and a bill had been reported by Douglas of Illinois in December, which had passed the house the 16th of January; but there southern jealousy of free soil nipped it.

Other rumors reached Oregon City of the intentions of congress and the president. Private advices gave it as certain that an Oregon regiment of mounted riflemen was being raised; a splendid regiment, it

was said, commanded by Persifer F. Smith of New Orleans.[18] The only definite intelligence was that an act had been passed establishing certain post-routes, including one from Oregon City by way of Fort Vancouver and Fort Nisqually to the mouth of Admiralty Inlet, and another from Oregon City up the Willamette Valley to the Klamath River, said routes to go into operation on the 1st of July, 1847, or sooner if practicable, or if any one could be found to contract for transporting the mails over these routes for the revenues to be derived from them. As the greater portion of both routes lay through an uninhabited country, and as the correspondence of the savages was not great, the matter rested. The postmaster-general was empowered to contract for transporting a mail from Charleston, South Carolina, touching at St Augustine, Key West, and Havana, across the Isthmus of Panamá to Astoria; the mail to be carried each way once in two months, or oftener should the public interest require it, provided the expenditure should not exceed $100,000 per annum. In case of the route being put in operation he could establish a post-office at Astoria, and such other places on the Pacific coast as might be required by public necessity. The same act fixed the postage on letters from Oregon or California to the States at forty cents.

In accordance with this act, post-offices were established at Astoria and Oregon City. Cornelius Gilliam was appointed superintendent of postal matters in Oregon, David Hill postmaster at Oregon City, and John M. Shively postmaster at Astoria.[19] An Indian agent had also been appointed, namely, Charles E. Pickett, a man ill suited to any office, if the *Spectator* may be believed. "Who can credit the appointment,"

[18] *Or. Spectator*, July 22, 1847.

[19] 'Mr Shively,' says Burnett, 'is an engineer, a plain, unassuming man, but possessed of much greater genuine ability than most people supposed. Justice has never been done him. He was in Washington in the winter of 1845-6, and was the originator of the project of a steamship line from New York to this coast, by way of Panamá.' *Recol.*, 141.

it asked, "or believe that the United States government could have made its appearance in such a shape?" At a time, too, when the Indians were becoming alarmingly insolent, requiring the utmost wisdom to deal with or restrain them.[20] In what way had the people of Oregon displeased the president that he should afflict them thus?

The people of Oregon found it indeed difficult to perceive any benefit that they had received from congress, or the presidential appointments. They were still without a proper government; they had no troops, no shipping, no light-houses, no pilot-boats, no appropriations—nothing,[21] if they excepted two post-routes to places where there were no settlers, and two post-offices—the distributing office being at the mouth of the Columbia, a hundred and twenty miles from Oregon City, with no other conveyance for the mails between the two places than Indian canoes. To add to their indignation, a leading eastern paper congratulated its readers that nothing had been done for Oregon, because it was a saving of expense at a time when the government was overburdened by the Mexican war,[22] and regretted that congress had not established a port of entry at the mouth of the Columbia, and appointed a collector to increase the revenue from the imports of the British fur company, adding insult to injury by complimenting the inhabitants of the territory on their good sense, good order, and good laws.

[20] A writer in the *Spectator*, Sept. 2, 1847, says that Pickett was not in Oregon, but was absent at the Islands; and alleges that he had advised emigrants on the road to California to 'kill all the Indians you may find from Oregon to California.' What Pickett did say was: 'Treat the Indians kindly along the road, but trust them not. After you get to the Siskiyou Mountains, use your pleasure in spilling blood, but were I travelling with you, from this on to the first sight of the Sacramento Valley my only communication with these treacherous, cowardly, untamable rascals would be through my rifle. The character of their country precludes the idea of making peace with them, or ever maintaining treaties if made; so that philanthropy must be set aside in cases of necessity, while self-preservation here dictates these savages being killed off as soon as possible.' *Spectator*, April 29, 1847.

[21] The citizens of Clatsop County, becoming impatient, in November started a subscription for a temporary light-house to be erected on Cape Disappointment; but it was never established.

[22] *New York Tribune*, Aug. 26, 1846

Somewhat ashamed of it all, Secretary Buchanan wrote Shively, on his departure for Oregon, expressing the sympathy of the president, and his regret at the failure of the Oregon bill.[23] He assured the people of Oregon that the president would reiterate his recommendations to congress in regard to Oregon, and assured him there could be no doubt of a near relief.

He referred to the act establishing post routes and offices, and the act of the 19th of May, 1846, providing for a regiment of mounted riflemen, to protect travellers[24] on the road to Oregon. Strong assurance was given that the United States would never abandon or prove unmindful of the welfare of Oregon, but that everything possible should be done for the welfare of that country.[25] Thomas H. Benton also wrote a letter of condolence.[26]

[23] 'It failed in the senate, not, as I am firmly convinced, from any want of disposition on the part of the majority to provide a government for that interesting portion of the republic, but because other urgent and important business connected with the Mexican war did not allow the necessary time, before the close of their short discussion, to discuss and perfect its details.' *Or. Spectator, Extra*, Sept. 8, 1847.

[24] It was asking a good deal of the Oregon people to appreciate that act, since the regiment was no sooner raised than it was sent to Mexico. *Steele's Rifle Regt.*, MS., 1.

[25] *Cong. Globe*, App. 1847–8, 40.

[26] He said: 'The house of representatives, as early as the middle of January, passed a bill to give you a territorial government, and in that bill had sanctioned and legalized your provisional organic act, one of the clauses of which forever prohibited the existence of slavery in Oregon. An amendment from the senate's committee, to which this bill was referred, proposed to abrogate that prohibition; and in the delays and vexations to which that amendment gave rise, the whole bill was laid upon the table and lost for the session. This will be a great disappointment to you, and a real calamity; already 5 years without law or legal institution for the protection of life, liberty, and property, and now doomed to wait a year longer. This is a strange and anomalous condition, almost incredible to contemplate, and most critical to endure, a colony of freemen 4,000 miles from the metropolitan government, and without law or government to preserve them. But do not be alarmed or desperate. You will not be outlawed for not admitting slavery. Your fundamental act against that institution, copied from the ordinance of 1787, the work of the great men of the south in the great day of the south, prohibiting slavery in a territory far less northern than yours, will not be abrogated, nor is that the intention of the prime mover of the amendment. Upon the record of the judiciary committee of the senate is the author of that amendment; but not so the fact. It is only midwife to it. Its author, Mr Calhoun, is the same mind that "generated the firebrand" resolutions, of which I send you a copy, and of which the amendment is the legitimate derivation. Oregon is not the object. The most rabid propagandist of slavery cannot expect to plant it on the shores of the Pacific, in the latitude of Wisconsin and the Lake of the

According to eastern journals, the president had in readiness a full register of officials in case the Oregon bill passed the senate.[27] But there were those in Oregon who thought the colony too far advanced in self-government to be treated like a new territory, and that they were entitled to select their own officers. A convention at Lafayette was proposed for the purpose of memorializing the president as to appointing Oregon men to offices in the territory; but local jealousies defeated the scheme. However, the convention appointed a committee, consisting of Burnett, George L. Curry, then editor of the *Spectator*, and L. A. Rice, to draught a memorial to congress upon the wants of Oregon, to be submitted to the people for their signatures. The memorialists complained of neglect. They declared that they did not leave their homes to traverse, with wives and children, uninhabited wastes to reach their present abode from ignoble motives; they had been animated by a desire not only to benefit themselves and their children, but to aid their common country in sustaining her rights on the Pacific, and to bring to a satisfactory close the long and harassing controversy with a foreign rival;

Woods. A home agitation for election and disunion purposes is all that is intended by thrusting this firebrand question into your bill, and at the next session, when it is thrust in again, we will scourge it out, and pass your bill as it ought to be. I promise you this in the name of the south as well as of the north; and the event will not deceive me. In the mean time the president will give you all the protection which existing laws and detachments of the army and navy can enable him to extend to you; and until congress has time to act, your friends must rely upon you to govern yourselves as you have heretofore done, under the provisions of your own voluntary compact, and with the justice, harmony, and moderation which is due to your own character and to the honor of the American name.' The letter concluded with the assurance that the writer was the same friend to Oregon that he had been for 30 years, that he was when he opposed the joint occupation treaty in 1818, and that he was when he wrote his articles on the grand destiny of that country, which he hoped to live long enough to witness. *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 8, 1847; *Cong. Globe*, 1845–6, 921–2; *Or. Argus*, March 28, 1857; *St Louis Republican*, April 1847; *Oregon Archives*, MS., 61; *Niles' Reg.*, lxxii. 148. His letter is preserved in the archives of the state of Oregon. Tuthill, in his *Hist. Cal.*, 254, remarks that it was said of Douglas that he had a special mission to give California a government. The same might be said of Benton concerning Oregon from 1842–8.

[27] Judge Semple of Illinois was mentioned by some as the future governor. Rowan of Kentucky was said to be the president's choice; and Richard M. Johnson was recommended by the *Tribune* of Aug. 26, 1846.

as also to extend the area of freedom and christianity, by which they hoped to confer a lasting benefit upon mankind.

Neither did they intend to expatriate themselves by emigrating to Oregon. But when they had reached this distant country they found themselves in embarrassing circumstances—in the midst of a jealous and predatory Indian population, among the subjects of Great Britain in the height of the excitement over the boundary question; without law or protection, except as they governed and defended themselves, which they had done amid many trials; it being much more difficult to administer temporary laws than a fixed system of government.

While their means were slender, their taxes were high, owing to the necessity of improving the country, opening roads, building bridges, and erecting school-houses and churches. They could not raise money to pay the members of their legislature for more than two weeks' service at a time, and were compelled to adopt the laws of Iowa, modified by a few local acts. They had no printing-press, and no books on law to refer to; nor any means of making the laws known to the people until the *Spectator* was established, in whose columns only the local laws were published.

The memorialists declared that they had been grieved at being debarred from enjoying the protection which the subjects of Great Britain received in their very midst; but comforted themselves that the omission of their government to afford it was out of regard to the sacredness of treaty obligations; but that when the boundary question was settled they could see no reason for the studied neglect of congress. They had acted under the conviction that the duties of citizens and government were mutual. "Our forefathers," said they, "complained that they were oppressed by the mother country, and they had a just right to complain. We do not complain of oppression, but of neglect. Even the tyrant has his

moments of relaxation and kindness, but neglect never wears a smile."

The particular injuries of which mention was made as arising from the condition of affairs were aside from the discomfort of uncertainty, of suspension of enterprise, and the inability of the colonial government to treat with the surrounding natives, who were every day becoming more aggressive, owing to the non-fulfilment of promises of payment for their lands. They could not tell when war would be upon them, and the coming of their friends to Oregon cut off. Their position with regard to criminals was equally embarrassing. They had no prison [28] and no money, nor means of punishing offences without returning to the branding-iron, cropping-knife, and whipping-post.

The conclusion of the whole matter was the usual reference to the donation of land which the settlers expected from congress, and which they insisted they had justly earned in the aid they had given the government in settling the vexed question of title. "We think we merit the respectful consideration of our government. It is with our country, whether she will hear us or not." With this parting note of warning the address concluded. It was the threat so often covertly, and sometimes openly, made, that loyal as were the settlers of Oregon, they were independent enough to disregard a government which had no care for them.

By common consent the subject of a delegate seems to have been avoided, for it was well known that no choice could be made wholly satisfactory to all parties; and since as yet they had no right to one, for any clique to insist on sending a man of their choice to represent the colony would only lead to protests and confusion. The memorial, after being circulated for

[28] The jail erected at Oregon City with funds from the estate of Ewing Young in 1844 was burned by an incendiary in August 1846. *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 3, 1846.

signatures, was placed in the mail of the bark *Whiton*, Captain Galston, to sail on the 19th of October for San Francisco and Panamá, in the expectation that it would be received and read in congress in time to influence the legislation for Oregon at the session of 1847–8.[29]

But the power in Oregon behind the throne had settled the matter of a delegate without consulting the people; and when the *Whiton* sailed, it carried J. Quinn Thornton, the private agent of Abernethy, to represent in a general way the wants of the territory, but in a more particular manner the views of the Methodist missionaries with regard to those sections in the Oregon treaty which related to the possessory rights of British subjects.[30]

Thornton endeavors to explain away the odium attaching to his position as a delegate not chosen by the people, by implying that the general desire for office was likely to frustrate the wishes and wants of the community; therefore, he took it upon him to become the savior of the people by appropriating the best paying position for himself; but professes to have feared that letters would be written to Washington in revenge, which would damage his power with the government. This becomes the logical reason of his secret departure, his going on board the *Whiton* at night after the bark had already weighed her anchor, and the general mystery surrounding the transaction.

He succeeded in getting to sea without any interruption, and arrived in San Francisco on the 10th

[29] Thornton erroneously says the memorial was addressed to Thomas H. Benton. He also says that 'it was proposed to elect a delegate, but that it was decided to be impracticable.' *Or. and Cal.*, ii. 37–8.

[30] That the discovery of Abernethy's action in this matter resulted in unfavorable comment may be gathered from Curry's remarks in the *Spectator*, which, though an Abernethy organ, was not taken into the secret of the private delegate. Some will have honors, said the editor, whether or no, and we understand that one of our distinguished functionaries has gone to the States, that another started in the height of desperation in a Chinook canoe to go around along the coast in order to head off the first one, and that one of the members of the late Yamhill convention intends crossing the mountains on snow-shoes to be in at the death, etc. *Or. Spectator*, Nov. 11, 1847; *Deady's Hist. Or.*, MS., 3–4.

of November, where the bark remained till the 12th of December. While at this port, where the progressive American was making a great stir and business was extremely brisk, Thornton disposed of a quantity of flour which constituted a part of the cargo of the *Whiton*, loaned to him by Noyes Smith, one of those who came in 1844,[31] as a means of raising money for his expenses. He had received from Rev. George Gary a draft on the treasury of the Methodist society in the east, and from Abernethy whatever more it required to furnish him with means for his journey.

At San José in Lower California was found the sloop of war *Portsmouth*, Captain J. B. Montgomery, to which Thornton was transferred on invitation of the commander, and was carried to Boston, where he arrived May 5, 1848.[32]

When the legislature met in December, a set of resolutions were introduced in the house by Nesmith, remonstrating against the appointment of Thornton to any office in the territory, which were at first adopted, afterward reconsidered, and finally lost by the speaker's vote.[33] It is but just to Thornton,

[31] The career of Noyes Smith is given as follows: 'Over a quarter of a century since, the world was astonished at hearing of the defalcation and disappearance of an Albany bank officer. Having made the circuit of the world, he some years afterwards appeared in Oregon under this name, became a merchant's clerk, then himself a merchant, and was rich and prospering when he was recognized by an officer of the U. S. army. Exposure drove him to dissipation and ruin. His friends at the east seem to have finally compromised his case, and his family sent for him to return home, which he did to find his children grown up, and everything much changed during his long absence.' S. A. Clarke, in *Overland Monthly*, x. 410–15. Noye's real name was said to be Egbert Olcott. *Buck's Enterprises*, MS., 13.

[32] *Thornton's Or. and Cal.*, ii. 247–8. I think it not unlikely that the *Whiton* was looking for a vessel of the U. S. navy for this very purpose; since Benton in his letter to the people of Oregon had assured them that detachments of the army and navy should give them all the assistance in their power, while waiting the action of the government; on which hint the governor seems promptly to have acted.

[33] *Or. Spectator*, Dec. 25, 1847; *Grover's Or. Archives*, 232, 242. So well had the secret of Thornton's agency been kept that the preamble to the resolutions declares only that it is 'generally believed' that Thornton had been secretly despatched to Washington City with recommendations, petitions, and memorials for the purpose of obtaining for himself and friends the most important offices in the territory.

whose position was sufficiently odious, to remind the reader that the author of the resolutions was a son-in-law of David Goff, whom Thornton had mercilessly abused in the *Spectator* for his share in inducing the immigration to take the southern route. For the same reason, however, the selection of Thornton for the position of delegate was an unfortunate one. For allowing the resolutions to be printed in the *Spectator* the directors of the printing association dismissed Curry from the editorship.[34]

Trusting to time's obliteration of the evidences of intrigue, Thornton says in his manuscript *History of Oregon*, that he was "sent by the provisional government of Oregon" to Washington; in which case the governor, and not the legislature, was the government. He also says in an address before the pioneer association of 1874, that he obeyed the desire of Whitman, who in the spring of 1847 urged him to yield to the solicitations he had received to go to Washington on behalf of the people and the provisional government. There were some persons besides the governor who were willing Thornton should go to Washington; and there were strong reasons why Whitman should be one of them, in the yearly increasing danger of his situation among the Cayuses, which nothing could avert but the sword or the purse of the United States.

Of this fact the authors of the memorial were well advised when they said that they did not know how soon they might be involved in an Indian war. For reasons connected with the speedy settlement of Oregon by a population which would entitle them to elect a delegate, and to enjoy other privileges dependent on numbers, they had touched but lightly upon those facts which if known in the States might retard immi-

[34] In his remarks on his dismissal, Curry referred bitterly to the attempt to muzzle the press, on the part of George Abernethy, Rev. W. Roberts, J. R. Robb, and Robert Newell, 'who constitute a bare majority of the board of directors.' *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 6 and 20, 1848; *Honolulu Polynesian*, iv. 206; *Friend*, vi. 47 68: *Pickett's Paris Exposition*, 10.

gration, the still existing hardships of the journey, and the threatening attitude of the Indians.

Owing to the settlement of the boundary question, and the prospect that a donation law would soon be passed, between four and five thousand persons came to Oregon in 1847, most of them people of comfortable means.[35] They commenced arriving at the Dalles as early as the 22d of August, and continued to arrive until November, when two hundred wagons were still on the eastern side of the mountains.

Every expedition by wagon had been attended by suffering and loss; nor was this one an exception. Its number was the principal cause of its misfortunes; the foremost companies exhausting the grass, compelling the rear to delay in order to recruit their cattle, which brought them in late, with great loss and in a starving condition. For the same cause, sickness attacked the trains, an epidemic called the black measles prevailing, from which many died on the latter part of the journey or after arrival. The caravan of wagons was also a cause of hostility on the part of the savages, from the Blue Mountains to the Dalles, who attacked several small companies, robbing the wagons, and in some instances tearing the clothing from the persons of the women, leaving them naked in the wilderness, and committing other outrages.

There being now two routes opened, there should have been a division of the travel; but this was prevented by the efforts of some who had met with losses

[35] It was said that not one wagon was bound for California this year; an evident mistake, as is shown by the account of the 'Wiggins party,' which attempted to pass through the mountains on the head waters of the Sacramento, and failing, turned back to the southern Oregon road. This party arrived in California in the spring of 1848, by the brig *Henry*. *S. F. Californian*, April 19, 1848. A correspondent of the *Polynesian*, iv. 123, 137, writing from California, says that 1,000 wagons were destined for that country, but that Oregon agents met them on the road and turned them to the Willamette Valley, by representations of the disordered state of California, and the insecurity of property and life. *Expositor*, Independence, Mo., May 17, 1847; *Niles' Reg.*, lxxiii. 6; *Johnson's Cal. and Or.*, 202–3; *Findlay's Statement*, MS., 2; *Victor's River of the West*, 394.

on the new route, by others interested in having the travellers brought to the Dalles and Oregon City, and by the owners of the Mount Hood road. Letters were sent to Green River to meet them, in which they were counselled to starve, whip, and even kill any person advising them to take the southern road. A circular was distributed containing an exaggerated account of the calamities suffered the previous year, and recommending the Barlow road. As the circular made no mention of the hardships and losses of travellers by the Mount Hood pass of the Cascade Mountains, and as it was signed by the govenor, all but forty-five of the wagons took the route by way of the Snake and Columbia rivers, with the results before mentioned.[36]

From a manuscript narrative of the overland journey called the *Southern Route*, by Thomas L. Davidson,[37] it appears that the natives on the Humboldt and about the lake county of southern Oregon were troublesome, shooting cattle, and wounding a herder named Henry Williamson. They soon after attacked a train as it was passing under a rocky point on the border of Modoc or Tule Lake, which was saved by a dash of two savage dogs putting the natives to flight.[38]

One of the men who accompanied Levi Scott to and from Fort Hall, named Garrison, was killed near Granite Ridge, and Scott himself was wounded, but with one arm pinned to his side by an arrow, shot one Indian, and put another to flight. Had this been the

[36] Levi Scott, in *Or. Spectator*, Nov. 11, 1847; *Ross' Nar.*, MS., 4–8; *Grim's Emigrant Anecdotes*, MS., 1–6; *Or. Spectator*, Nov. 25, 1847.

[37] T. L. Davidson, son of James Davidson, sen., was born in Illinois in 1833. When he was 12 years old his brothers Albert and James went to Oregon. In 1846 Albert returned to the States, and by his enthusiastic discriptions of the Oregon country induced his father and many persons in Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri to emigrate. *Southern Route*, MS., 1, 2. Davidson mentions the death in the Klamath country of Mrs Benj. F. Burch, of consumption. She was going to join her husband.

[38] In *In. Aff. Rept.*, 1873, mention is made of a massacre at this place in 1847, which is an error. No massacre was effected at this pass until after the year 1850.

worst consequence of the large number[39] this year pouring into and through the Indian country, disregarding

[39] Of the 5,000 persons added to the population of the country at this juncture few names have been preserved. These are subjoined, and with them some biographical notes showing the character of the settlers.

R. S. Allen, Samuel Athouse, Ephraim Adams, Charles Adams, A. J. Adams, James Anderson, John W. Allen, Samuel Allen, T. B. Allen, Henry L. Aikin, William Allphin, Arim, D. Averson, Thomas Allphin, John Aikin, Robert Alexander, Richard Andrews, John T. Apperson, James Aikin, Thos. N. Aubrey, Elias Buell, C. B. Bellinger, John Bolton, William Beekman, John P. Brooks, Benjamin J. Burch, Wilson Blain, Elias Brown, Damascus Brown, J. Henry Brown, J. H. Bellinger, Bradshaw, William Barey, Stephen Bonser, William S. Barker, J. C. Braly, John Brisby, Daniel Bushinel, Oliver Bushinel, John W. Bewley, Isaac W. Bewley, Crockett Bewley, James F. Bewley, Leander Burkhart, C. D. Burkart, Albert Briggs, Hilt. Bonser, John Bouser, Nathaniel Bowman, Benjamin Bratton, William Berry, James Bachan, J. Butler, A. C. Brown, T. M. Buckner, A. M. Baxter, Jackson Beattie, D. D. Burroughs, Charles Blair, T. R. Blair, Henry Blacker, J. H. Blankenship, James A. Brown, E. Bidwell, John Bird, L. A. Bird, William Brisbane, Burpee, Glen O. Burnett, Samuel T. Burch, Horace Burnett, William H. Bennett, J. A. Baker, William Blackstone, Rollin L. Belknap, Belknap, John Blain, R. A. Barker, Hiram Buffum, William S. W. Brooks, John Baum, Thomas Carter, Lafayette Carter, Jefferson Carter, C. M. Carter, Edward Cartwright, John C. Cartwright, Henry W. Coe, Stephen Cummings, C. M. Cook, W. W. Chapman, Joseph Chamberlain, W. D. Canfield, Robert Canfield, Thomas Cox, Joseph Cox, William Cox, Thomas H. Cox, Hugh Cosgrove, Churchill, Turner Crump, C. B. Crosby, Stephen Coffin, Peter W. Crawford, John Davis Crawford, George Cline, Joseph Cline, Lewis Cline, Jason S. Clark, G. A. Cone, O. H. Cone, J. H. Crain, Chandler Cooper, Luther Collins, Nebuzarden Coffey, Jacob Comegys, Robert Cowan, J. T. Crooks, Finice Caruthers, James Coleman, George W. Carey, Core, Caywood, A. R. Dimick, William H. Dillon, J. T. Dillon, Eli Davis, Albert G. Davis, Leander L. Davis, C. Davis, Henry W. Davis, John C. Danforth, C. H. Devendorf, John Dise, John N. Donnie, Manly Danforth, James Dickson, D. D. Dostins, S. T. Duffield, Dunbar, Thomas L. Davidson, Green C. Davidson, James Davidson, Albert Davidson, Doane, Dyer, John Downing, J. S. Dunlap, R. Douglas, Joseph W. Downee, H. H. Everts, Abel Endy, W. W. Eng, J. L. Eoff, George Eoff, Rev. St M. Fackler, Samuel Fackler, Franklin, James Fulton, James Fields, Fox, Samuel Fields, William Fellows, Albert H. Fish, Rezin D. Foster, John Foster, Isaac W. Foster, Wallace Foster, George Z. Frazer, John Feat, Edward F. Folger, John Farley, James R. Friedley, John Fisher, Ford, William Glover, Cal. Geer, L. C. Geer, John W. Grim, Ralph C. Geer, George T. Geer, Joseph Carey Geer, William Graham, G. W. Graves, Bernard Genoise, Isaac Gilliland, John G. Gibson, Samuel Gethard, J. N. Green, G. N. Gilbert, Daniel O. Garland, Andrew Gribble, J. J. Garrish, Jacob Gracer, James A. Graham, Leonard Goff, B. B. Griffin, Peter Gill, S. H. Goodhue, S. J. Gardner, Dr D. Gardner, Albert Gaines, E. Gendis, Samuel Gordney, Benjamin Gordon, Harvey Gordon, John C. Holgate, H. D. Huntington, Hoffman, John Hiner, Robert Houston, J. D. Holman, Frank D. Holman, D. Harper, S. A. Holcomb, John P. Hibbler, Joseph Hull, Richmond Hayes, Charles Hubbard, Hugh Harrison, Horace Hart, Goalman Hubbard, William Hawkins, William Hock, G. H. Hughes, Joseph E. Hurford, James Harpole, King L. Hibbard, G. W. Hunt, John S. Hunt, Theophilus Howell, J. M. Hendricks, T. G. Hendricks, Harford, Jesse M. Hedges, A. L. Humphrey, Samuel Headrick, T. H. Hunsaker, J. T. Hunsaker, Henry Hill, Zacharias Hawkins, John Hudson, Haun, D. R. Hodges, Nelson Hoyt, H. S. Jory, Hiram A. Johnson, B. Jennings, A. L. Johnson, R. A. Jack, S. A. Jackson, Judson, Jacob Johnson, Rufus Johnson, H. Johnson, George I. Johnson,

the jealous opposition of the natives to the settlement of white people upon the unbought lands of the Ore-

Rev. Hezekiah Johnson, James Johnson, Joseph Jeffers, Jolly, John W. Jackson, William A. Jackson, B. Jennings, Noah Jobe, Isaac M. Johns, Thomas Justin, John Jewett, Robert C. Kinney, Samuel Kinney, Jehial Kendall, Kimball, Clinton Kelley, Penumbra Kelly, A. Kinsey, Eason Kinsey, Thomas S. Kinsey, John Kinsey, A. Kennedy, S. B. Knox, Elias Kearney, James Killingworth, J. Keller, Joseph Kelly, John Kelly, Kent, J. Kestor, A. N. Locke, Samuel Laughlin, D. O. Lownsdale, Lockwood Little, A. C. Little, H. Levalley, Larogue, Philemon Lee, Phelaster Lee, J. W. Lingenfelter, John Lousingnet, Oliver Lowden, James H. Lewis, J. H. Laughlin, Davis Lator, A. Luelling, Leonard, Henderson Luelling, William Meek, Dr James McBride, Rev. Thomas McBride, Israel Mitchell, Lucius Marsh, William P. Martin, George H. March, S. D. Maxon, H. J. G. Maxon, John Morely, Frederick McCormick, William McKinney, Alexander McQuinn, Sylvanus Moon, John McCoy, Joseph Merrill, Thomas Monteith, Walter Monteith, Samuel T. McKean, J. Magone, Joel McKee, J. W. Morgan, J. H. McMillan, George Moore, Gilbert Mondon, William Milbern, Marshall Martin, Horace Martin, Isaac Morgan, John Miller, N. G. McDonnell, Madison McCulley, James M. Morris, William Moulton, W. T. Matlock, Samuel Miller, Richard Miller, W. G. Maley, William McGunigale, Henry Marland, William McAlphin, R. Mendenhall, Daniel Mosier, Elias Mosier, Mills, John Marks, Johnson Mulkey, George Merrill, McPherson; O. C. Motley, T. F. McElroy, C. Mulligan, J. C. Nelson, Josiah Osborne, James Officer, John W. Owen, O. Pravillot, Lewis Pettyjohn, R. Patton, Aaron Payne, Dr Perry Prettyman, Ira Patterson, Joel Palmer, William Patterson, Miriam Poe, William Parker, Joseph B. Proctor, Thomas Purvis, John B. Price, Richard Pollard, Frederick Paul, Henry Pollet, Thomas P. Powers, Peter Polley, J. R. Payne, Aaron Purdy, William P. Pugh, Dr John P. Ponjade, J. H. Pruett, L. H. Ponjade, Matthew Patton, Rev. William Robinson, John E. Ross, Edward Robson, J. C. Robinson, Jeremiah R. Ralston, Reason Read, David Read, John Rodgers, Talmon H. Rolfe, B. B. Rogers, Saul Richards, Frederick Ramsey, James O. Raynor, A. E. Robinson, A. A. Robinson, Richard Richards, George Richies, Rolan, A. M. Rainwater, Randolph, John W. Shively, Amos Short, Joseph Smith, R. V. Short, Aaron Stanton, Alfred Stanton, Peter Scholl, Benj. E. Stewart, Jonas Spect, J. W. Schrum, Thomas Schrum, Henry Schrum, Cyrus Smith, David Stone, Alamander Stone, Nathaniel Stone, Switzler, Andrew J. Simmons, Spear, Wesley Shannon, Morgan L. Savage, Luther Savage, John Savage, Charles Sanborn, Sanborn, Christopher Shuck, Beverly Simpson, C. W. Savage, Lewis Savage, L. W. Saunders, Shepperd Sales, Dr Henry Saffarans, Dr Snyder, Israel Shaw, Robert Shaw, Thomas Shaw, Rev. John Spenser, Hiram Simpkins, Sturgess, Samuel R. Thurston, Christopher Taylor, William Turpin, James Terwilliger, Timmons, Tulliston, R. C. Tainey, W. S. Torrance, A. J. Thomas, O. Tupper, R. S. Tupper, Tallantine, John F. Taylor, Truesdale, Luke Taylor, W. H. Tappan, Isaac Thompson, Ira S. Townsend, David D. Tompkins, L. L. Thomas, J. W. Townsend, Van Vource, William Vanderwalker, John Vaughn, G. W. Walling, Henry Warren, Charles E. Warren, William Whitney, James Whitney, Robert Whitney, John Whitney, Jason Wheeler, A. J. Welch, T. C. Waller, Samuel Whitely, Jacob Wooley, Columbus Wheeler, Richard E. Wiley, Robert Willis, Benjamin Woods, Caleb Woods, George L. Woods, James C. Woods, David Weston, John Wilson, Darius Wheeler, Joseph Williams, Leander Wallace, Isaac Walgamouts, Jacob Witchey, George Westley, Andrew Wise, George Weston, Solomon Wheeler, W. W. Walters, A. Williams, W. Williams, A. S. Welton, E. West, Luther White, Elijah Weeks, Rev. White, Dr Thomas White, Watson, Lot Whitcomb, John Warnock, Winchester, R. Yarbrough, Elam Young, Daniel Young, John Young, James Young. There arrived by sea this year Thomas Brown, Edward Folger D H. Good J M

gon Territory, the mischief which followed might have been sooner repaired, if not altogether averted.

Goeway, Mrs W. K. Kilborne and children, G. W. Lawton, B. R Marcellus, D. Markwood, Rev. P. J. McCormick, G. B. Post, Rev. William Roberts, wife and two children, S. C. Reeves, C. C. Shaw, J. M. Stanley, H. Swasey and wife, Rev. J. H. Wilbur, wife and daughter, George Whitlock, J. F. Winckley.

Dr Perry Prettyman was born March 20, 1796, in Newcastle Co., Del. He married Elizabeth H. Vessels, Dec. 25, 1825, and began the study of medicine in 1828, at the botanic medical school in Baltimore, Maryland. In 1839 he moved to Mo., and 7 years later to Oregon. He settled in 1849 on a farm near East Portland, where he remained till his death, March 27, 1872. *Portland Advocate*, April 4, 1872. Mrs Prettyman died Dec. 26, 1874, in the 71st year of her age. She was born in Lewiston, Del., in 1803. She was the mother of 10 children, only 4 of whom survived her. *Id.*, Jan. 7, 1875.

John Marks, born in Virginia Jan. 10, 1795, removed when a boy to Ky., and in 1818 married Fanny Forrester, in 1838 moved to Johnson Co., Mo., and in 1847 to Oregon, and settling in Clackamas Co., where he resided until his death, Jan. 5, 1874. He was a soldier of the war of 1812, and received in his declining years a pension from the government.

Thomas N. Aubrey was born in Va., in 1791, and moved westward with the ever-advancing line of the frontier until he settled on the shore of the Pacific. He was the oldest mason in Oregon, except Orrin Kellogg. *Eugene City Guard*, May 31, 1879.

Rev. William Robinson left Missouri in 1847. Mrs Susannah Robinson, his wife, was born in Pa. in 1793; married in Ohio, and in 1833 removed to Indiana, thence to Platte Co., Mo., and finally to Polk Co., Oregon. She outlived her husband, dying at the home of her daughter, Mrs Cannon, near Cottage Grove in Lane Co., Sept. 30, 1870. *Portland Adv.*, Oct. 15, 1870.

Mrs Alice Claget Mosier, born in New York, May 31, 1794, removed with her parents to Indiana, where she married Daniel Mosier in 1830, with whom she came to Clackamas Co., Oregon. She spent the last years of her life with her son Elias, her husband having died before her. Her death occurred July 2, 1870. *Id.*, Sept. 10, 1870.

Mrs Polly Grimes Patton was born Sept. 23, 1810, in Frederick Co., Md. She was the daughter of Joshua and Ellen Grimes, and removed with them to Adams Co., Ohio, where she was married to Matthew Patton in April 1830, who soon after removed with her to La Fayette, Indiana, and in 1839 to Davis Co., Mo., whence they went to Oregon and settled in Portland. She died January 7, 1868. *Id.*, Jan. 11, 1868.

James Johnson was born April 4, 1809, in Tenn. He moved to Ohio in 1841, and thence to Oregon in 1847, settling in the Tualatin plains, and died August 20, 1870. *Id.*, Sept. 3, 1870.

Mrs Anna Clark was born in Dearborn Co., Ind., February 26, 1823. At the age of 16 she married Jason S. Clark, with whom she came to Oregon. She was the mother of 7 children. In 1865 they removed to White River Valley, in Washington, where Mrs Clark died Aug. 13, 1867. *Id.*, Sept. 7, 1867.

Mrs Susan Bowles White was born in Frederick Co., Md., Sept. 18, 1793. She was the daughter of Rev. Jacob Bowles of the Methodist church. She married Dr Thomas White, and eventually settled at French Prairie, where she died Aug. 13, 1867.

Chandler Cooper, born 1823, was a native of Vt. He moved with his parents to Ind. when a boy, and at the age of 24 to Oregon. Settling in Yamhill, he married Alvira Frye, by whom he had 3 children. He died March 24, 1865, at his home in Yamhill. *Id.*, April 29, 1865.

Peter Scholl was born in Clark Co., Ky., in 1809, when young went to Ill., and thence to Oregon. He settled at Scholl's Ferry in Washington Co. He died November 23, 1872. *Id.*, Nov. 28, 1872.

Elias Buell, born July 20, 1797, in the state of New York. At the age of

The immigration of 1847 from its numbers and general competency materially assisted in the develop-

19 he removed with his parents to Ind., where he married Sarah Hammond, Oct. 15, 1817. In 1835 he went west as far as Louisa Co., Iowa, where he resided until 1847, when he came to Oregon and settled in Polk Co., in the spring of 1848, where he lived till his death, November 14, 1871. *Id.*, Nov. 30, 1871.

Mrs Emmeline Buell Blair, wife of T. R. Blair, and daughter of Elias Buell, was born in Tippecanoe Co., Ind., Feb. 29, 1829. She married Mr Blair in Oregon in 1850; and died July 6, 1877, leaving several children. *Id.*, Aug. 9, 1877.

Mrs Margaret McBride Woods, born May 27, 1809, in Tenn., was a daughter of Elder Thomas and Nancy McBride. The family removed to Missouri in 1816, where Margaret was married to Caleb Woods in 1828, and emigrated with him to Oregon, in company with her brother Dr James McBride and his family. The sons of this marriage were two, George Lemuel Woods, who was governor of Oregon for one term, and James C. Woods, merchant. She died at her home in Polk Co., Jan. 27, 1871. Caleb Woods has since resided at Columbia City on the Columbia river. *Id.*, Feb. 25, 1871.

Benjamin E. Stewart, youngest of 11 children, was born near Newark, Ohio, April 18, 1815. He was apprenticed to a saddler, and engaged in this business at Findley, Hancock Co., where he married Ann Crumbacker, September 28, 1837. Before coming to Oregon he lived for several years in Putnam Co., Ohio. He settled finally in Yamhill Co., on a farm, where he died of injuries received by a fall, on the 18th of Aug., 1877, leaving a wife and 3 sons and 3 daughters. *Id.*, Sept. 6, 1877.

Susanna T. Hurford, wife of Joseph E. Hurford, born in Va., died at Portland in the 58th year of her age, Aug. 19, 1877. *Id.*, Aug. 23, 1877.

Joseph Jeffers was born in Washington, D. C., October 17, 1807, removed to Wheeling, Va., in 1825, and was married to Sarah Crawford of that place, November 19, 1829. He moved to Burlington, Iowa, in 1837, where he became a licensed exhorter of the Methodist church. On going to Oregon he resided 3 years at Oregon City, after which he made Clatsop Co. his home. His family consisted of 11 children, only 3 of whom survived him. He died in Portland, Jan. 2, 1876. *Id.*, Jan. 27, 1876.

Mrs Mary Watson, one of the arrivals in 1847, died at King's Valley, Benton Co., February 11, 1873, aged 64 years. *Id.*, Feb. 27, 1873.

Henry W. Davis, known as the Hillsboro Hermit, was born in London, Eng., whence he emigrated to Canada, where he participated in the patriot war of 1837–8, having commanded a gun in one of the battles, and is said to have been a colonel. After the insurrection he fled to the United States to escape arrest. He was employed in a flouring mill at Cincinnati for some time, and when he went to Oregon took with him a set of mill-stones. He erected a flouring mill on Dairy Creek, near Hillsboro, Washington Co., which was in operation for several years. Davis lived alone, dressed in rags, and avoided his fellow-men. He was once tried by a commission of lunacy, who decided him sane, but eccentric. He died alone in his cabin in the summer of 1878, leaving considerable real estate and several thousand dollars in money, which went to a nephew by the name of Tremble. *Portland Bee*, Aug. 30, 1878.

J. H. Bellinger was born in the state of New York in 1791, served in the war of 1812, and built the first canal-boat for the Erie canal. He settled in Marion County, and his family have been much noted in state politics. He died of paralysis Nov. 13, 1878. *Portland Bee*, Nov. 14, 1878; *Corvallis Gazette*, Nov. 22, 1878.

Jesse Monroe Hodges was born in Melburne Co., S. C., Dec. 18, 1788. In 1811 he married Catherine Stanley of N. C. He served in the war of 1812, and fought under General Jackson at Horse Shoe Bend. In 1817 he moved

ment of the country; and by greatly increasing the

to Tenn., thence to Ind., and thence in 1839 to Mo., making his last remove to Oregon in 1847, and settling in Benton County. He died at the residence of his son, D. R. Hodges, March 28, 1877. His mental condition was sound up to his latest moments, though over 88 years of age. *Albany Democrat*, April 6, 1877.

J. H. Crain, born in Warren Co., Ohio, in 1831. He removed with his parents, in 1837 to Fountain Co., Ind., and thence to Oregon. He remained in and about Portland till 1852, when he went to the mines of southern Oregon, finally settling in the Rogue River Valley. He served as a volunteer in the Indian war of 1855–6, after which he married and followed the occupation of farming. In 1876 he still resided in Jackson County. *Ashland Tidings*, Oct. 14, 1876.

John Baum, born in Richland County, Ohio, August 12, 1823, removed with his parents to Porter Co., Ind., in 1835, and came to Oregon when 24 years of age. He located at Salem, but the gold discovery of 1848 drew him to Cal. Here he mined for a few months, but finding his trade of carpentering more attractive, and also profitable, he followed it for a season. In 1850 he drifted back to Oregon from the Shasta mines, and in July 1851 married Phœbe S. Tieters, who died in July 1873, leaving 8 living children, 3 of whom were sons, namely, James T., John N., and Edgar C. *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 631.

Jonas Spect, another who went to the California mines, was born in Pa., and had lived in Ohio and Mo. He settled in Cal., to which state his biography properly belongs. See *Sutter Co. Hist.*, 24, and *Yuba Co. Hist.*, 36.

James Davidson, father of T. L., James, jun., and Albert Davidson, died at Salem, September 1876, in the 85th year of his age. *Olympia* (*W. T.*) *Transcript*, Sept. 3, 1876.

Morgan Lewis Savage was born in 1816; came to Oregon in 1847; died in Oregon February 9, 1880. He was twice married, and left a widow and 6 children. Lute Savage, as he was familiarly called, was a favorite among the pioneers of the Pacific coast. He served in the Cayuse war in the battalion raised in the spring of 1848, and was elected to the senate after Oregon became a state. 'As a citizen, soldier, legislator, husband, father, friend, he did his whole duty.' Nesmith, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1879, 54–5.

Rev. St M. Fackler, a native of Staunton, Virginia, removed to Missouri, and thence to Oregon in 1847. He conducted the first Episcopal services in Portland, and continued faithfully in his profession in that city till 1864, when he removed to Idaho to establish the church in that territory. He never took part in politics or money speculations, but kept an eye single to the promotion of religion. His first wife dying, he married a daughter of John B. Wands of New Scotland, N. Y. In 1867, being on the steamer *San Francisco* bound east to meet his wife and child, he met his death about the 7th of January from unintermitting attentions to others on board suffering by an epidemic. *S. F. Alta*, Jan. 16, 1867; *La Grande Blue Mountain Times*, Aug. 1, 1868.

Thomas Cox was by birth a Virginian. When but a small child he removed with his parents to Ross Co., Ohio. In 1811 he married Martha Cox, who though of the same name was not a relative. He removed with his family of three children and their mother to Bartholomew Co., where he built the first grist and carding mills in that place. He afterward removed to the Wabash River country, and there also erected flour and carding mills at the mouth of the Shawnee River. He also manufactured guns and gunpowder, and carried on a general blacksmithing business. In 1834 he made another remove, this time to Illinois, where he settled in Will County, and laid out the town of Winchester, the name of which was afterward changed to Wilmington, and where he again erected mills for flouring and carding, and opened a general merchandise business. During the period of land specula-

populataion rendered possible the introduction of coun-

tion and 'wild-cat' banks, Cox resisted the gambling spirit, and managed to save his property, while others were ruined. In 1846 he made preparations for emigrating to Oregon, in company with his married son Joseph, and two sons-in-law, Elias Brown and Peter Polley. Elias Brown, father of J. Henry Brown, died on the way; and Mr Cox, in company with Damascus Brown, as before related, brought the family through to Salem, where he set up a store, with goods he had brought across the plains and mountains to Oregon. He purchased the land claim of Walter Helm and placed upon it Mr Polley. When gold was discovered in California his son William went to the mines, and being successful, purchased a large stock of goods in San Francisco, and returned with them to Salem, where his father retired from the merchantile business, leaving it in the hands of William and Mr Turner Crump. Thomas Cox then engaged in farming, raising choice fruits from seeds which he imported in 1847. 'Cox's goldencling' has been called the finest yellow peach on the coast. The fruit business proved remunerative, Cox's first apples selling readily at $6 a bushel and peaches at $10 and $12. Mr Cox died at Salem October 3, 1862, having always possessed the esteem of those who knew him. *Or. Literary Vidette*, April 1879.

Joseph Cox, son of Thomas Cox, was born in Ohio in 1811, and removed with his parents to Indiana, where, in 1832, he married, and two years afterward went to Ill., settling at Wilmington, whence he removed to St Joseph, Missouri, and remained there till 1847, when he joined the emigration to Oregon. He was a member of the convention that framed the present state constitution. Without being a public speaker, he wielded considerable influence. Of an upright nature and practical judgment, his opinions were generally accepted as sound. 'A good man in any community, Oregon was the gainer by his becoming a citizen.' He died in 1876. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1876, 67. Thomas H. Cox, born in Willington, Illinois, was a son of Joseph Cox. He died at Salem, of paralysis of the heart, Sept. 25, 1878. *Salem Statesman*, Sept. 25, 1878.

R. C. Tainey was one of the founders of Muscatine, Iowa, and served, after coming to Oregon, in the state legislature. He was engaged in the flouring business, being principal owner in the largest mill in Oregon. Died March 2, 1875, at Salem. *Sac. Record-Union*, March 31, 1875.

Albert Briggs, a native of Vermont, with a number of others, joined a company of 115 wagons at St Joseph, Mo., commanded by Lot Whitcomb. He arrived at Portland October 14th, and went to Oregon City, where he remained till 1852, when he removed to Port Townsend. Further mention of Mr Briggs will be found in the history of Washington.

Aaron Payne was a pioneer of Putnam County, Illinois. He was elected first coroner, then county commissioner, and afterward delegate to the state convention which was held at Rushville, Schuyler County. He was a ranger under Gen. Harrison, was also in the Black Hawk war of 1832, and was severely wounded at the battle of Bad Axe. At the age of 73, when the country was under the excitement of war, he longed to take up arms for the flag. He came to Oregon in 1847, and settled in Yamhill County. *Oregon Argus*, March 28, 1863.

John C. Holgate was identified with the early histories of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. He was killed in a mining difficulty at Owyhee in March 1868. *Sacramento Reporter*, April 10, 1868.

John F. Farley came to California in 1846–7 with the New York volunteers. While in California he belonged to the veteran association, soldiers of the Mexican war. He was one of the original members of the Washington guard of Portland, in which place he died, Feb. 16, 1869. *Portland Oregonian*, Feb. 18, 1869.

Dr James McBride, a Tennesseean by birth, but brought up in Missouri, was a leading man in his community both in Missouri and Oregon. A friend of Senator Linn, he discussed with him the features of his famous bill of

try schools, though they were still supported by pri-

1841-2, and early took an interest in Oregon matters. He emigrated with his family to the new west in 1847, and settled in Yamhill County, where for many years he lived, a useful and honored citizen. He was the friend of education and temperance. Early in the history of the territorial government he was elected to the council; and in the political excitement of the civil war of 1861-5, was an ardent supporter of the administration. In 1863, while his eldest son, John R. McBride, was in congress, Dr McBride received the appointment of U. S. commissioner to the Sandwich Islands, which position he held for several years. He died at St Helen, Oregon, in Dec. 1875, aged 73, leaving a numerous family of useful and respected sons and daughters. *Portland Oregonian*, Dec. 25, 1875. His wife Mahala, a woman of marked talent, survived him 2 years, dying February 23, 1877, at St Helen. *Olympia Transcript*, March 3, 1877.

Jeremiah Ralston in 1847 removed from Tennessee, where he was born in 1798. He laid out the town of Lebanon, Marion County, on his land claim. He died Aug. 1877, leaving a large property, a wife, and 7 children, namely, Joseph Ralston, Tacoma; William Ralston, Albany, Or.; Charles and John Ralston, Lebanon; Mrs Moist, Albany; Mrs D. C. Rowland, Salem, Or.; and Mrs John Hamilton, Corvallis, Or. *Seattle Tribune*, Aug. 17, 1877.

Luther Collins came to Oregon in 1847, residing there until 1850, when he went to Puget Sound, and was the first to take up a claim in what is now King County. He was drowned in the Upper Columbia in 1852. His widow, a native of New York, died in July 1876, leaving 2 children, Stephen Collins and Mrs Lucinda Fares. *Seattle Intelligencer*, July 8, 1876.

Andrew J. Simmons arrived in Oregon in 1847, and settled in Cowlitz prairie. He died Feb. 12, 1872, in Lewis County, of which he was sheriff, at the age of 45. *Seattle Intelligencer*, Feb. 26, 1872; *Olympia Standard*, March 2, 1872.

Mr and Mrs Everest located in 1847 near Newburg in Yamhill County, where they permanently settled. They were both born in Eng. in 1792, on the 8th of March, being of equal age. They reared a large family, most of whom married and had also large families, nearly all living on the same section of land. *Olympia Courier*, Aug. 9, 1873.

Mrs Agnes Tallentine, mother of Mr Thomas Tallentine, died at Olympia, April 13, 1876. She was born at Harrisburg, Pa., in 1820, crossed the plains in 1847, and settled in the Puget Sound country in 1851. She left 2 children, a son and a daughter. *Olympia Transcript*, April 15, 1876.

Samuel Fackler, a native of Md., in 1847 came from Ill. to Oregon, and died at Bethany, Marion County, Feb. 22, 1867, aged 81 years. *Salem American Unionist*, March 11, 1867.

John Davis Crawford, born in Onondaga Co., N. Y., Aug. 16, 1824, was by trade a printer; thence he came to Milan, Ohio, where he studied law; but repeated solicitations from his brother Medorum Crawford, finally induced him to come to Oregon in 1847. In the Cayuse war he was appointed in the commissary department under General Palmer. When Geo. L. Curry established the *Free Press*, Crawford was for a time employed upon that paper as printer; but when the California gold excitement came, he joined the exodus to the mines, returning soon to Oregon with some of the precious metals, with which he purchased in 1851 a half-ownership in the *Hoosier*, the first steamboat that ran on the Willamette River, between Oregon City, Portland, and Vancouver; and afterward on the upper Willamette and Yamhill rivers. In 1852 he went into mercantile business with Robert Newell in Champoeg, where he continued to reside till the flood of 1861 swept the town away. Mr Crawford was a member of the state legislature in 1872. He was a mason, a member of the state grange, and of the Oregon pioneer association. He died in Clackamas County in the summer of 1877. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1877, 66-7.

vate means. To this addition more than to any

Walter Monteith, with his brother Thomas Monteith, came to Oregon in 1847. They were natives of Fulton County, New York, but when little more than 20 removed to Wilmington, Illinois, emigrating from that place to Oregon. The brothers purchased and settled upon that section of land where the town of Albany now stands, and laid it out in town lots in 1848. The result was an abundant return upon their investments. Like many others, they visited the California gold mines, and returned with some money which assisted them in starting in business. The first house in Albany, then the finest residence in Oregon, was built by the brothers at the corner of Washington and Second streets. In 1850 they organized a company of which they were the principal members, and erected the Magnolia Mills, near the mouth of the Calapooya Creek, and have always been most active in all enterprises which have contributed to the prosperity of Albany. Walter Monteith died June 11, 1876. He had married in 1858 Margaret Smith. Three sons were the fruit of this union. *State Rights Democrat*, June 16 and 23, 1876.

Henry Warren was one of the young men who came from Missouri to Oregon to help build a state. He had not been long married, and brought a wife and babe to the new land. The young people settled in Yamhill County, where they remained for several years, until Mr Warren was appointed receiver of the land-office at Oregon City. His eldest son, Charles E. Warren, was carefully educated and studied law, in which profession he graduated with credit. When about 26 he married a daughter of Dr Henry Saffarans, of Oregon City; but in his 28th year died, much lamented, disappointing the hopes of his family and the community. *Salem Mercury*, April 3, 1874.

Mrs Jane L. Waller, born in Fayette County, Kentucky, in 1792, was married to Thomas C. Waller in 1815, and went with him to Illinois, where he died, leaving her with a family of several young children, whom she reared and educated, and with whom she removed to Oregon, settling in Polk County in 1847. She lived a useful life, respected by all, and died full of years and honor Nov. 23, 1869, being 77 years old on the day of her death. *Dallas Times*, Dec. 4, 1869; *Salem Statesman*, Dec. 10, 1869.

James Davidson was born in Barren County, Ky., Aug. 30, 1792. Like most western men of his time, he was self-educated; but his talents being above the average, he became a leader among his fellows. When a youth he took part in the war of 1812, and was in the battle of the Thames, where Tecumseh was killed. He married in 1817, and lived at Nashville, Tennessee, from 1823 to 1829, at St Louis in 1830, and in Greene County, Illinois, from 1831 to 1836. He then removed to the Black Hawk purchase, Iowa, and lived in Burlington until 1847, when he came to Oregon, and settled in Salem. Mr Davidson has represented his county in the legislature, and in all respects enjoyed the confidence and esteem of his neighbors. Nine children blessed the union. His sons, Albert and Thomas, were among the most enterprising agriculturists in Oregon. Albert, the elder, first came to Oregon in 1845, and returning, induced the family, and many others, to return with him. They took the southern route. *Salem Record*, Aug. 29, 1874; *Salem Statesman*, Oct. 13, 1876.

Nebuzardan Coffey, born in North Carolina in 1790, moved to Kentucky, where in 1810 he married Miss Easley, 14 days older than himself. He removed to Illinois in 1831, and came to Oregon in 1847. He died at his home in Marion County on the 20th of January, 1867, leaving his wife, who with him had borne the vicissitudes of 57 years on the frontier. *Salem Unionist*, Feb. 11, 1867.

Samuel Headrick, born in Pettis Co., Mo., Nov. 13, 1836, came to Oregon with his father when a boy. Like most boys who crossed the plains, he early learned self-reliance. In Marion County where he resided Headrick was esteemed the soul of honor and the defender of the right. He was 4 years sheriff of his county, and 2 years treasurer just previous to his death, which occurred March 26, 1869. *Salem Unionist*, March 27, 1869.

previous one the colony was indebted for improvements

Dr John P. Ponjade died at his residence at Gervais, in July 1875. He was born in France in 1790, and was a surgeon in the army of Napoleon 1812. He came to Oregon in 1847. His son, T. C. Ponjade, resided in Salem. *Salem Record*, July 9, 1875.

Robert Crouch Kinney was born July 4, 1813, in St Clair Co., Ill. At 20 years of age he married Eliza Bigelow, and shortly afterward removed to Muscatine, Iowa, of which city he was one of the principal founders. Engaging in milling besiness, he remained 15 years at Muscatine, when the tide of Oregon emigration bore him to the shores of the Pacific. Settling in Yamhill County, he farmed for 10 years, save a short interval when he was absent at the gold mines of California. He served in the territorial legislature, and was a member of the state constitutional convention. After 1857 he returned to his old business of milling, and with his sons owned large flouring mills at Salem, where he died March 2, 1875. Mr Kinney had 8 children. Mrs Mary Jane Kinney Smith, wife of J. H. Smith of Harrisburg in Lane County, was born December 16, 1839, at Muscatine. Albert William Kinney, who married Virginia Newby, daughter of W. T. Newby, was born at Muscatine, Oct. 3, 1843, and resided at Salem. Augustus Crouch Kinney, who married Jane Welch, was born July 26, 1845, at Muscatine; studied medicine and lived at Salem. Marshall Johnson Kinney, born at Muscatine, January 31, 1847, resided in San Francisco. Alfred Coleman Kinney, born in the Chehalem Valley, Yamhill County, January 30, 1850, graduated at Bellevue Medical College, New York; residence, Portland. Josephine Elarena Kinney Walker, wife of James S. Walker of San Francisco, was born January 14, 1852, in the Chehalem Valley. William Sylvester and Eliza Lee Kinney were born at Chehalem in 1854 and 1858. Robert C. Kinney was a son of Samuel Kinney, who in 1800 settled on Horse Prairie, west of the Kaskaskia River, Illinois, and Samuel Kinney was son of Joseph Kinney, who in 1799 resided near Louisville, Ky., and had a family of 7 sons and 4 daughters. One of his sons, William, drove the first wagon over the road from the Ohio River to the new home of the family in Illinois, of which state he was afterward lieutenant-governor. Robert had a brother named Samuel who settled in West Chehalem, and who died October 20, 1875. His other brothers and sisters remained in the States. *Salem Farmer*, March 12, 1875; *Or. Statesman*, March 6, 1875; *Salem Mercury*, March 5, 1875.

Robert Cowan, a native of Scotland, emigrated to Missouri, where he married, and joined the Oregon companies of 1847. In the following year he settled in the Umpqua Valley, Yoncalla Precinct, and with the exception of Levi Scott and sons, was the first white settler in Douglas County. 'His cabin stood near the old trail which the pioneer gold-seekers of 1848 and 1849 travelled, and is remembered by many as the last mark of civilization north of the Sacramento Valley.' He was killed by a splinter from a tree which he was felling March 9, 1865. *Or. Statesman*, March 20, 1865.

Samuel Allen settled on the Abiqua, in Marion County

Joseph Hunsaker settled 10 miles south of Salem.

J. H. Pruett resided at McMinnville in Yamhill County.

Jacob Comegys, of Hagerstown, Md., born 1798, came to Oregon in 1847; removed to San José, Cal., in 1856, where he died in 1870.

Charles Sanborn was drowned in the Willamette River near Eugene City, Oct. 1875.

John F. Taylor never had a home, but lived among the old settlers, dying at the age of 78, and buried at public charge, an exception generally in his habits to his old companions.

J. C. Crooks, of Marion County.

Samuel Whitley resided on the southern border of Marion County—a native of Virginia—and died September 1868, aged 80 years.

William S. Barker, a cabinet-maker, settled at Salem, where he died July 2, 1869, having been a respected citizen of Oregon for 22 years.

in stock and farm products, and particularly in fruit-

William Whitney, a native of Sately, Huntingdonshire, England, born in 1808, at the age of 19 married Elizabeth Taylor of Bourn, Lincolnshire, and moved to the United States in 1832. Their first residence was in Pennsylvania; from there they removed to Indiana, and in 1847 joined the emigration to Oregon, having at this time a family of 6 children. Whitney settled in Marion County, and in 1848 went to the California mines and met with good success. He died at Butteville June 1, 1878, 3 years after his wife, who died April 4, 1875.

Rev. P. J. McCormick, who came to Oregon in the ship *L'Étoile du Matin*, before mentioned, was a man of very plain parts, and of an Irish family of not the very best blood. On arriving at Oregon City he was stationed there for some time, where he was compelled to perform every menial service, even to washing his linen, though a man of accomplishments. Falling ill from this cheerless way of living, he was ordered to the uplands of Chili, where he resided 20 years; thence returning to Oregon, he resided there until his death in 1874, well known for his talents and virtues. *Portland Bulletin*, Dec. 14, 1874.

William McKinney was born in Howard County, Missouri, Aug. 20, 1820. In April 1847 he married Matilda Darby, and started with the emigration for Oregon, settling in Marion County. He died Oct. 20, 1875, leaving a family of 11 children, to whose welfare he was truly devoted. In losing him the community lost a good citizen. *Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 6, 1875.

James Fulton, born at Paoli, Orange County, Ind., in 1816, emigrated to Missouri in 1840 and to Oregon in 1847. His father laid out the town of Paoli, and with Blackstone, Hallowell, Lindley, and Hopper, built the Half-Moon Fort at that place in Gen. Harrison's campaign. Settled in Yamhill County, where he remained for 10 years, when he removed to the Dalles, his present residence. Mr Fulton's *Dalles and Eastern Oregon*, MS., contains some instructive matter concerning the changes which have taken place since the settlement of the country, in the character of the soil and also in the climate. It furnishes, besides, some facts of importance concerning the title to the Dalles town site, which has been long in litigation.

Ephraim Adams, born in New Jersey in 1799, removed in 1835 to Ohio, in 1839 to Missouri, and thence to Oregon with his family. Located in Yamhill County, he spent the remainder of a long life in Oregon, dying January 15, 1876, at McMinnville, respected and regretted by his acquaintances of 29 years. *Or. Statesman*, Jan. 22, 1876.

H. L. Aikin, born in England in 1818, emigrated with his parents to the United States in his childhood. At the age of 29 he left Illinois, where his father was settled, to go to Oregon. He chose a residence in Clatsop County, where he lived a man of note in his community, dying at Astoria in April 1875, leaving 3 immediate descendants, a son and 2 daughters, his wife having died before him. *Portland Oregonian*, April 24, 1875; *Or. City Enterprise*, April 23, 1875.

Isaac W. Bewley began the westward movement by leaving Indiana for Missouri in 1837, and thence on to Oregon. He is a brother of John W. Bewley, of Lafayette, Ind., and of Rev. Anthony Bewley, who was hanged by a southern mob in Texas, at the breaking-out of the rebellion, for his fearless advocacy of human rights. Mr I. W. Bewley settled on a farm in Tillamook County, Oregon, about as near sunset as any spot in the United States. *Lafayette (Ind.) Bee*, in *Portland Oregonian*, Oct. 31, 1874.

Tollman H. Rolfe, a printer, joined the Oregon immigration of 1847, but proceeded in the spring of 1848 to California, where he was engaged on the *Star*. *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 215. He was elected alcalde of Yuba County, and afterward, in 1853, went to Nevada City, where he was employed on the *Journal*, and afterward started the Nevada *Democrat*, which he edited in company with his brother, I. J. Rolfe. When Austin was founded Rolfe went to that place, and for a time edited the *Reveille*, but returned to Nevada

raising. The men of 1847 were not like those of 1843

City, and edited the *Gazette*. He several times filled the office of city trustee, and about 1870 was elected justice of the peace, which office he held until failing health drove him to San Bernardino, where he died in 1872.

William Allphin, a native of Kentucky, was born Nov. 17, 1777. On becoming of age he removed to Indiana, settled at Indianapolis, and engaged in the manufacture of brick, furnishing the material for the walls of the statehouse in that city. In 1837 he removed to Illinois, and 10 years later to Oregon, where he located in Linn County, 8 miles east of Albany. He was twice a member of the territorial legislature, and held several other offices to which he was elected by the people. He died October 1876, within 13 months of the age of 100 years, leaving a memory revered. *Corvallis Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1876; *Albany Weekly Register*, Dec. 11, 1876; *Salem Statesman*, Oct. 13, 1876.

A. N. Locke, born in Virginia in 1810, moved to Mo. in 1820, and to Oregon in 1847. He was among the late arrivals of that year, 'having suffered incredible hardships.' He settled in Benton County a few miles north of Corvallis. There he lived for many years, and raised a large and interesting family. He was several times sheriff and county judge, filling these positions in an honorable manner, and enjoying the confidence and esteem of the county he served. He died on the 14th of October, 1872. *Corvallis Gazette*, Oct. 18, 1872.

Robert Houston, born in Madison County, Kentucky, February 1793, removed to Shelby County, Ohio, in 1805, and resided there until 1847. In 1827 he married Miss Mary Brown, having by her 6 children. While residing in Ohio, he served as associate justice for 7 years, and filled other stations of trust with credit. On reaching Oregon in September 1847, he selected a farm in Linn County, where he resided till his death in September 1876, surrounded by his children and grandchildren, and esteemed by all. He lived long in the enjoyment of the simple pleasures of country life, as he had desired. *Albany State Rights Democrat*, Sept. 15, 1876.

Leander C. Burkhart was born in Hawkins County, East Tennessee, Nov. 14, 1823. Emigrating to Oregon in 1847, he settled in Linn County, in company with his father, and a numerous relationship, amassing a large fortune without losing his high reputation for integrity, being possessed of a sterling worth acknowledged by all men. He died at his residence half a mile east of Albany, November 3, 1875.

Samuel Laughlin was born in South Carolina in 1791, removed to Missouri in 1823, where he resided until 1847, being twice married, and having 7 children by each wife, an equal number of boys and girls.

Mrs Asenath M. Luelling Bozarth, daughter of Henderson Luelling, came with her parents to Oregon from Indiana in 1847. She was the mother of 11 children, 4 sons and 7 daughters, 10 of whom survived her. She died at the home of her husband, John S. Bozarth, on Lewis River, Cowlitz County, where she had resided 22 years, on the 30th of November, 1874, aged 40 years. *Vancouver Register*, Dec. 25, 1874.

Charles Hubbard settled at what is now Hubbard Station, in Marion County, in the spring of 1848. Mrs Margaret Hubbard died at her home in that place December 7, 1879, aged 68 years. She was a native of Ky., but married Mr Hubbard in Mo. After marriage she resided in Pike County, Ill. Had she lived a few days longer, her golden wedding would have been celebrated. She was the mother of 4 sons and 3 daughters. *Portland Oregonian*, Dec. 13, 1879.

Hugh Harrison was born in Harrison Co., Ky., which county was named after his grandfather. He was for several years in the Rocky Mountains with Kit Carson, but settled in South Salem in 1847, where he died at the age of 76 years, May 27, 1877. *Portland Standard*, June 1, 1877.

Joseph Merrill, born in Ross Co., Ohio, Nov. 15, 1818, removed with his parents to Ill. at the age of 10 years, returned to Ohio when he attained his majority, and married the next year a Miss Freeman of Chillicothe, the cere-

and 1844 animated by a romantic idea of founding a

mony being performed by Justice of the Peace Thurman, afterward U. S. senator from Ohio. Merrill subsequently returned to Ill., where he resided until 1847. In the spring of 1848 he settled in Columbia County, Oregon. He died at his home May 6, 1879, regretted by the community in which he lived. *Portland Standard*, May 13, 1879.

Mrs John Fisher lost her husband at the crossing of the Platte River, June 6, 1847; and on Snake River she buried her little girl 2 years of age. She arrived late in the autumn at Tualatin plains, where during the winter she met W. A. Mills, who had arrived in 1843. He proposed marriage, and they were united in 1848, continuing to reside near Hillsboro. Mrs Mills had 5 children, 2 sons and 3 daughters. She was born in Wayne County, Ind., April 20, 1822, and died December 11, 1869. *Salem Farmer*, March 26, 1870.

William Glover settled in Marion County. Mrs Jane Jett Graves Glover was born in Pittsylvania Co., Va., in 1827, removed with her parents to Missouri in 1830, and was married to William Glover in 1843, with whom she came to Oregon in 1847. She died December 31, 1876. *Id.*, Jan. 12, 1877.

Leander L. Davis was born in Belmont Co., Ohio, and crossed the plains in 1847, settling in Marion Co. He served in the state legislature in 1866. He died June 29, 1874, at Silverton, aged 48 years. *Id.*, July 4, 1874.

Mrs Olive Warren Chamberlain was born in Covington, New York, Feb. 12, 1822. While she was a child, her father, an itinerant Methodist preacher, removed with her to Michigan, where in 1843 she married Joseph Chamberlain, and came to Oregon. She was the mother of 10 children, 8 of whom survive her. She died October 27, 1874, at Salem. *Salem, Or., Statesman*, Nov. 7, 1874.

Mrs R. A. Ford, who settled with her husband in Marion County in 1847, after becoming a widow studied medicine, and practised in Salem, educating a son for the profession. She died in March 1880, in the city of Portland. *Portland Standard*, April 2, 1880.

T. S. Kinsey died at Cornelius, in Washington County, November 15, 1877.

John Jewett died January 25, 1880.

William H. Dillon was a native of Kent Co., Del., from which he removed when a child to the Scioto Valley in Ohio. When a young man he removed again to Indiana, and thence to Oregon. Dillon lived one year on Sauvé Island, when he went to the California gold mines, returning in a few months with a competency, and settling near Vancouver.

Samuel T. McKean was from Delaware County, New York, where he married a Miss Hicks in 1817, and removed to Richmond, Ohio, from which place many years later he again removed to Illinois, where he founded the town of Chillicothe, naming it after the old Indian village of that name in Ohio. When he came to Oregon he had a family of 6 children. In the autumn of 1848 the family settled at Astoria, remaining there till 1863, when they removed to San José, Cal. During his residence in Oregon McKean held several places of trust and honor, as member of the legislative assembly, clerk of the district court of Clatsop County, and afterward as county judge, and president of the board of trustees of the town of Astoria. He died at San José in 1873, and his wife followed him in 1877, leaving many descendants. *San José Pioneer*, April 28, 1877.

John W. Grim was born in Ohio in 1820. He settled on French Prairie near Butteville. I have a valuable manuscript by him entitled *Emigrant Anecdotes*, which treats in an easy conversational style of the events of the journey overland, his settlement in Oregon, the Cayuse war, the Canadian French, etc.

George La Rocque, a native of Canada, was born near Montreal in 1820. At the age of 16 he entered the United States, and like most Canadians, soon sought employment of the fur companies. Being energetic and intelligent, he became useful to the American Fur Company, with whom he re-

Pacific state. They realized that this had already

mained 8 years, finally leaving the service and settling in Oregon, near his former friend, F. X. Matthieu, on French Prairie. When the gold discoveries attracted nearly the whole adult male population of Oregon to Cal., he joined in the exodus, returning soon with $12,000. This capital invested in business at Butteville and Oregon City made him a fortune. He died at Oakland, Cal., Feb. 23, 1877. *Oregon City Enterprise*, March 8, 1877.

Ashbel Merrill died at Fort Hall, his wife, Mrs Susannah Sigler Merrill, and children pursuing their way to Oregon. Mrs Merrill was born in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, March 20, 1800. She was married to Ashbel Merrill April 23, 1823, in Ross Co., Ohio, and moved to Illinois, and thence in 1847 to Oregon. Their children were William, George, Mary A., Emerit, Lyman, Electa, Alvin, and Lyda. Six of these resided in Oregon, chiefly in Columbia Co., and had numerous families. Mrs Merrill has celebrated her 82d birthday. *St. Helen Columbian*, March 31, 1881.

Joseph Carey Geer went from Windom, Conn., to Ohio, in 1816. The family removed to Ill., and from there to Oregon. The founder of the Oregon family of Geer was born in 1795. He settled in Yamhill county in 1847, and in the number of his descendants has outdone the Canadians, there being of his line 164 on the Pacific coast, all honorable men and virtuous women, besides being physically people of weight. *Portland West Shore*, Feb. 1880.

Ralph C. Geer was the pioneer nurseryman of Marion County. He also taught the first public school in the section where he settled, having 30 pupils in 1848, all but 4 of whom were living 30 years afterward—a proof that the climate had nothing to do with the fatal character of the diseases which carried off the natives in early times. Geer planted apple and pear seeds to start his nursery in the red soil of the Waldo hills, which he found to be excellent for his purpose. His father also put an equal amount of apple and pear seeds in the black soil of the Clackamas bottoms, but was disappointed in the returns, which were not equal to the Waldo hills, where R. C. Geer has had a fruit farm and nursery for more than 30 years.

Henderson Luelling and William Meek, immigrants of 1847, took to Oregon a 'travelling nursery,' which was begun in 1845, by planting trees and shrubs in boxes 12 inches deep, and just long and wide enough to fill the bed of a wagon. In this way, protected by a frame to prevent cattle from browsing them, 700 young trees were safely carried across 2,000 miles of land, and set out at a place called Milwaukee, on the Willamette River, below Oregon City, having been taken out of the boxes at the Dalles, and carefully wrapped in cloths to protect them from frost or injury by handling during the transit from the Dalles to their destination by boat. The experiment was successful, and Meek and Luelling were the first great nurseryman of Oregon, and afterward of Cal.

John Wilson drove to the Willamette Valley a number of choice Durham cattle, from Henry Clay's herd, at Blue Grass Grove, Ill., and also some fine horses, greatly to the improvement of the stock in the valley. J. C. Geer also drove a fine cow from this herd.

Stephen Bonser, who settled on Sauvé Island, drove a herd of choice cattle, which improved the stock on the Columbia River bottoms.

Luther Savage took to the Willamette Valley a blood race-horse called George, whose descendants are numerons and valuable.

A Mr Fields drove a flock of fine sheep from Missouri, which he took to the Waldo hills. Before getting settled he and his wife both died under a large fir-tree, with the measles. The sheep were sold at auction in small lots; and being superior, the Fields sheep are still a favorite breed in Oregon. Headrick, Turpin, and Mulkey took a flock of fine sheep. Turpin's were Saxony. This lot stocked Howell Prairie. R. Patton took a large flock to Yamhill County.

Mr Haun of Haun's Mills, Mo., carried a pair of mill buhr-stones across the plains to Oregon.

been done, and came to gather whatever advantage was to flow from it to their generation.

A. R. Dimick carried the seeds of the 'early,' or 'shaker blue,' potato from Mich., planting them on his farm in the north part of Marion Co. From these seeds sprung the famous Dimick potato, the best raised in Oregon.

Mr Watson of King's Valley, Benton Co., drove some short-horn stock to Oregon. The above notes are taken from *Geer's Blooded Cattle*, MS., a valuble contribution on the origin of stock in the Willamette Valley. See also his address before the pioneer association for 1879, on the immigration of 1847; see also *Salem Or. Statesman*, June 20, 1879.

John E. Ross was born in Madison Co., Ohio, Feb. 15, 1818. Emigrated with his parents to Ind. when 10 years of age, and to Ill. when 16 years old. At the age of 29 he started for Or., and was capt. of his train of forty wagons. In the Cayuse war which broke out soon after he arrived in Or. he served as lieut and capt. He resided for some time at Oregon City, engaged in various pursuits. When gold was discovered in Cal. he went to the Feather River mines, and in 1850, after having returned to Oregon, explored in the southern valleys and in northern Cal. for gold, discovering several rich placers, known as Yankee Jim's, Wambo Bar, Jacksonville, etc. For a numbers of years he was almost constantly engaged either in mining or selling supplies to miners; and in 1852 again commanded a company who went out to fight the Indians on the southern route. In the winter of 1852–3 he was married to Elizabeth Hopewood, of Jacksonville, theirs being the first wedding solemnized in that place. They have 9 children, 5 girls and 4 boys. When the Rogue River war broke out, in 1853, Ross was elected col., and again in 1855 was elected col. of the 9th reg., and commissioned by Gov. Davis. He was a member of the ter. council in the same year; and in 1866 was elected to the state leg. When the Modoc war broke out, in 1872, he was commissioned by Gov. Grover as brig.-gen. in command of the state troops. In 1878 he was a member of the state senate from the county of Jackson, where he has resided for many years. The *Salem Statesman*, in remarking upon the personal appearance of Ross, describes him as having a well-shaped head, pleasant face, and a reserved but agreeable manner *Ashland Tidings*, Dec. 13, 1878. One whole night I spent with Ross at Jacksonville, writing down his experiences; and when at early dawn my driver summoned me, I resumed my journey under a sickening sensation from the tales of bloody butcheries in which the gallant colonel had so gloriously participated

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WHITMAN MASSACRE.

1847

SAVAGES AS A HANDIWORK OF THE CREATOR—THEY MIGHT HAVE BEEN BETTER MADE—BUT THEY ARE NOT SO MUCH WORSE THAN WHITE MEN, WHO ARE BAD ENOUGH—RIVAL CLAIMANTS FOR THE REWARDS TO FOLLOW THEIR CONVERSION—PORTENTOUS CLOUDS HANGING OVER MARCUS WHITMAN—STRANGE HE CANNOT SEE THE DARKENING SKY—THE NATIVES MADDENED BY THE WHITE MAN'S DISEASES, AND BY THE COMING-IN OF SO MANY TO TAKE FROM THEM THEIR LANDS—ATTITUDE OF CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS—RIVAL ROADS TO HEAVEN—THE SAVAGES PREFER THEIR OWN WAY—AND THEREUPON THEY PERPETRATE A MOST HORRIBLE DEED.

THE origin of Indian wars is always much the same. Mother Nature is a capricious parent and feeds and clothes her children indifferently well. In 1805 Lewis and Clarke saw the Columbia Valley tribes at their best. They had apparently attained to as much comfort and were as healthy and powerful as under the circumstances they could be. Could they have remained in that condition for generations, there is no reason to doubt that they would have continued to enjoy such peace and prosperity as belongs to savage life. Nor would it be contrary to the course of things to expect them to advance morally and intellectually, even while living under such hard conditions. The savages of the upper Columbia were very good men, for savages. It is true, they were thieves, and if their natural benevolence prompted them to relieve the necessities of the white strangers, they rewarded themselves the first opportunity.[1] Thieving was a

[1] There is no generosity in an Indian that I have ever seen in all my experience.' *Strong's Hist. Or.*, MS., 66. One might say the same with equal pertinence of white men.

legitimate means of securing themselves against want, and lying only a defence against discovery and loss.

When the pleasing ceremonies of the Catholic religion were introduced, giving them under certain restrictions the right of appeal to a superior intelligence and power, who would have compassion on their sufferings if they conformed to requirements which their reason showed them to be just, they seized willingly and even joyfully upon the prospect. After practising these forms for several years with remarkable constancy, and finding themselves better off than before, inasmuch as they were more at peace with each other, and enjoyed further the pleasures of human society and intercourse with something beyond the reach of the senses, the race from which they understood this beneficial religion to be derived began to make its appearance among them.

The first feeling that is awakened by the contact of the two races is covetousness. There are men who have everything desirable, and pretend to what they persist in calling the devil's gift, the knowledge of good and evil. The Indian wished to steal, to take these things at once, as soon as he saw them or learned their use; but was restrained by fear of the consequences.[2] Then came to him in this dilemma the offer of knowledge, which he immediately seized upon as a legitimate means to the end he coveted, the possession of property. The offer of knowledge was accompanied by the tender of a new religion; but to that no objection was made. What they knew of the white man's religion was good; why should more of it harm them? If it made the others wise, powerful, and rich, why not adopt it? Thus there was no difficulty

[2] Rev. Thomas Condon, at the Dalles, going away from home with his family, left a domesticated native in charge of his house. Returning, he found his servant sitting outside the house, shivering in the cold; and on asking him why he did not remain by the comfortable fire, was told that the temptation of seeing so many useful and desirable things, together with the opportunity of appropriating them, had been so tormenting to him, that he had voluntarily banished himself from their presence rather than take them and subject himself to the consequences.

about introducing missionaries. Without doubt, there was a strong desire on the part of the natives to be taught. The mistake their teachers made was in believing it to be a proof of their spiritual susceptibility, when it was, in fact, an evidence of a natural emulation, to put themselves on a footing with the superior race. In this matter both teachers and pupils were deceived; the savage in expecting to acquire in a single life-time the civilization which was the slow growth of unknown ages; the missionary in believing that he could graft on this wild stock a germ whose fruit would not be tinctured with the bitter sap of the uncultivated tree.

Having once entered into relations of teacher and learner, it was not easy to dissolve them, unless by violence. The longer they remained in this position the more difficult it became. And yet in 1847, and for many years before, it had been evident that if a failure of mission usefulness was not certain, success in that direction was doubtful. The reason of the failure sprang in a great measure from the characteristic covetousness of the aboriginal, and his inability to understand why it was that he could not at once become the equal of his teacher. Here his self-love was mortified. He began to suspect that his teachers were governed by selfish and sinister motives in intruding into his country. The more white men he saw the more this conviction grew. They did not all practise what the missionaries taught; and why then should he? Was it not all a scheme to get possession of his country? They were losing faith in everything when the Catholic fathers began to interfere[3] with the Protestant missions, reminding them of the good times when they were all Catholics, and no one had disturbed the old harmony of their lives.

It was difficult to control indolent, impatient, jealous, and overbearing savages, even when they were most

[3] I refer here to the visits of the priests several years earlier. There was at this time no Catholic mission in the Walla Walla Valley.

strongly animated with a desire to be made acquainted with the white man's civilization. But the moment a controversy appeared among the white instructors, and it was observed that they denied the validity of each other's beliefs, and especially that they denounced each other as false teachers, the task became tenfold greater. The suspicion of the savages once aroused that some kind of deception had been practised upon them, it was not possible to allay it, particularly since so many circumstances confirmed it. A division, as I have previously shown, had almost immediately taken place, the Cayuses and Walla Wallas generally choosing the Catholic religion, and the Nez Percés the Protestant.

The mercenary nature of the aboriginal to which I have just referred led him to be governed somewhat by the example or advice of the traders to whom he brought his furs, and of whom he procured such goods as he most needed or desired. Where the teacher and the trader were of the same faith, it was easy to control, in appearance, the views and conduct of the natives. But where the trader was one thing and the teacher another in religious matters, the native according to his nature followed the trader. This had been illustrated at Fort Walla Walla, where while Protestant McKinlay was in charge Whitman had been able, though not without difficulty, to restrain the violence of the Cayuses, which broke out with increased force when Catholic McBean replaced him.

Ever since the return of Whitman, in 1843 from his unsuccessful mission to the American board, he had lived over a smouldering volcano. Year after year an army of white people came from east of the Rocky Mountains, on whom the aborigines looked with distrustful anger. It was true, they did not tarry in the Nez Percé or Cayuse country, but hastened to the Willamette. Yet how long should they continue to come in such numbers before the Willamette would not hold them?

From the immigrants the Indians stole horses and cattle, and pillaged and vexed them in various ways, while knowing well enough that these offences were deemed worthy of punishment, and were against the laws they had themselves subscribed to. The immigrants, being advised, bore these depredations as well as they were able, seldom coming to blows or retaliation, trading with them for vegetables or grain, and sometimes selling them cattle which they coveted. There was, indeed, nothing of which they could justly complain, their hostility proceeding rather from envy and suspicion than from wickedness innate in the red man more than in the white.

They were angry with Whitman because he did not leave the country, because he raised grain on their land and sold it to the immigrants, because he had mills and comfortable houses, and every year added to his facilities for reaping greater profits from his residence among them. This had been their temper all along; but in 1847 it had seemed to take a more aggressive form, either because they had been told that the United States then claimed sovereignty, or because in their own minds their disaffection was fully ripe, and the sword, so long suspended, was ready to fall.

As soon as the immigrants entered the Cayuse country at the foot of the Blue Mountains they were informed by Spalding of the unfriendly disposition of the Cayuses, and advised not to travel in small companies.[4] That this was timely counsel subsequent events proved.

Whitman was at this time on a visit to the lower country to bring up machinery for his grist-mill, in order to make flour for the immigrants.[5] So convinced was he that an outbreak must occur before long, that, as I have said, he purchased of the Methodists their

[4] P. J. Ponjade, in *Brouillet's Authentic Account*, 90. Ponjade said that Spalding inquired anxiously whether the U. S. dragoons were not coming.

[5] *Palmer's Wagon Train*, MS., 28-9; *Grim's Emigrant Anecdotes*, MS., 5.

station at the Dalles, from which they were willing to retire notwithstanding its prospective as well as present value, for the same reason—the fear of Indian troubles. This purchase was made in the spring of 1847, or at all events before the last of August. Waller was at that time contemplating a removal to the Willamette Valley,[6] and Whitman, when bringing up from Vancouver his milling machinery, early in September, left his nephew, Perrin B. Whitman, at the Dalles, in company with a man from the Willamette Valley named Hinman.

It would seem from these arrangements that Whitman did not consider the Dalles Indians dangerous. The Dalles besides was within two days' travel by canoe of Fort Vancouver, which was a point in its favor as compared with Waiilatpu. It must forever trouble the student of history to reconcile with his characteristic good sense in ordinary matters Whitman's persistency in remaining at his station when repeatedly threatened by the Cayuses and remonstrated with by McLoughlin for his temerity; and Gray's verdict, that he possessed a great obstinacy, seems justified.[7] There were, it is true, good reasons for wishing to remain. It was another case of the domination of the temporal over the spiritual. The Walla Walla Valley had been his home for eleven years. He had expended much labor and money upon improvements. He had taken rather high-handed measures with the American board in refusing to abandon the station in 1842–3, and did not now like to acknowledge himself in the wrong. He had hopes from the discussions in congress that he might be able to hold on until the United States should send an Indian agent to his relief, and until the promised ter-

[6] *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 2, 1847.

[7] *Hist. Or.*, 108. Palmer says: He was going up with his machinery to put up a flour-mill, just as he intended, and if they continued their hostile policy he was going to break up that mission, abandon it, and go down to the Dalles, and make that his headquarters.' *Wagon Train*, MS., 29. This was what Palmer learned from the doctor himself whom he met on the Umatilla.

ritorial organization and land law should secure to the missions each their mile square of land, which would be lost by abandonment.

But there still remains a question of whether it was a justifiable determination, under the circumstances, to remain and imperil, not only his own life, but the lives of all those associated with him, and possibly involve the colony of the Willamette in savage warfare. That he did this with his eyes open to the danger is clearly apparent. For even while he was transporting his mill to Waiilatpu the Cayuses were committing acts portending an outbreak.[8] Blood had been spilled at the Dalles, as soon as the first party of ten men arrived at that place, or on the 23d of August.

This affair was with the Dalles Indians, who had stolen some property from the camp of the white men. On making complaint to Waller, they were advised to retaliate by taking some Indian horses and

[8] John E. Ross, an emigrant of 1847, describes the attitudes of the Cayuses and the Walla Wallas. He met Whitman on the Umatilla, who advised him to use great caution, which advice he followed by encamping early, taking the evening meal, and then, when it became dark, moving to a secluded spot away from the road for the night to avoid being molested and getting into an affray. After leaving the Umatilla he met a small party of natives, who appeared morose, and on the third day came to a place where it was evident an attack had been made. Beds, books, and various articles were scattered about and destroyed. Alarmed by this proof of hostility, his party, consisting only of men, travelled by night, and on coming to the mouth of Rock Creek, a branch of John Day River, were met by some Columbia River Indians, who notified them that there was trouble before them. About two miles from the crossing, in a cañon, they found four families who had been robbed of their cattle and stripped of their clothing. Six women and some children were left naked. They had, however, rescued a bolt of white muslin, out of which they had hastily made coverings, though they offered little protection against the cold air of evening. The outrage occurred while the men were absent from the wagon looking for the stolen cattle, and the perpetrators were Walla Wallas. Ross' company remained with the destitute families till another train came up, giving their blankets to the women and making them a bed, first building a fire on the sands to warm a place for them to lie upon. *Ross' Nar.*, MS., 4–6. The names of the families were Franklin, Rodgers, Warren, and Hoyt. *Crawford's Nar.*, MS., 55. A petition was before congress as late as 1879 to reimburse Mrs Rodgers, then old and blind, for losses amounting to $2,500, incurred by the robbery of her goods on this occasion. The petition set forth that John Rodgers, his wife Margaret, Nelson Hoyt, and his wife Mary, emigrated from Illinois to Oregon in 1847, and that while at the John Day River they were attacked by savages, and robbed of goods, money, cattle, and one wagon, to the amount above stated. *St Helen Columbian. Crawford's Narrative*, MS., says that Mrs Rodgers stood in the opening of a wagon and defended it with an axe.

holding them until the property was restored. The Indians attacked in consequence; there was a skirmish, a white man and a chief were killed, and several on both sides wounded; while four white men fled to the mountains in a panic, and were lost for several days, endeavoring to discover the trail to the Willamette Valley.[9]

So alarmed was Waller that he sent for Abernethy, superintendent of Indian affairs, to quiet matters, and then hastened to overtake a company which had passed a few miles west of the Dalles, and request them to return and protect his family and the wounded men.[10]

A party did return, and Abernethy also came, who succeeded in procuring an audience with the principal chiefs, whom he induced, by paying them for the dead native, called Equator, to restore the property of the immigrants, and promise better behavior. But whether by these, or by the Walla Wallas and Cayuses, small parties of strangers continued to be plundered, and the property cached in the hills far away from the travelled road.[11]

Whitman made a visit to the Dalles during the two months the companies were passing between the Blue and Cascade mountains. On his return from this journey, which Peter W. Crawford, to whom I

[9] The young man killed was named Sheppard; he was from St Louis County, Missouri. A Mr Parker was seriously wounded, and a Mr Aram less seriously. *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 2, 1847.

[10] T'Vault, in *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 2, 1847. T'Vault, Barlow, and Foster were on their way to the Dalles when they met this company of 16 wagons August 28th, under the command of Bowman, some of whose men returned to the relief of Waller.

[11] James Henry Brown, an immigrant of 1847, and author of several manuscripts in my collection, in his *Autobiography*, MS., 20–5, a work from which I am able to gather much excellent information, gives an account similar to that by Ross, of the treatment of his train by the Cayuses. Geer, in his *Waldo Hills*, MS., 2, mentions that his wife nearly lost her life by an Indian at the crossing of Des Chutes River. Grim, in his *Emigrant Anecdotes*, MS., 5, says that the Indians were extremely insolent to the immigrants, and behaved in a belligerent manner on the Umatilla; and that Whitman, who met a large body of the immigrants there, asked them to tarry for a day, and delivered an address to them, prophesying an Indian war, and giving them advice. It is certain that he was aware of the danger. It is also certain, considering the numbers and mixed character of those who here sought a new home, that they were forbearing toward the Indians in an extraordinary degree.

am indebted for a voluminous narrative of pioneer events,[12] says was in October, he again met the caravans at the Umatilla.[13]

From the train to which Crawford belonged he selected several persons whom he engaged to aid him in various ways at Waiilatpu. He secured a man named Saunders as a teacher, who with his wife and children agreed to go to the mission; a tailor named Isaac Gilliland, and a farmer named Kimball, from Indiana, among whose family was a daughter of seventeen.[14] There were already at the mission many who intended to winter there, part of a company from Oscaloosa, Iowa, and others,[15] in all fifty-four, some

[12] P. W. Crawford was born on the right bank of the Tweed, in Roxburyshire, Scotland, not far from the home of Walter Scott. He was taught the elementary branches in this neighborhood, but studied mathematics at the University of Edinburgh, where he learned surveying. For a short time after leaving the university he was in the service of a large commercial firm in London, and again at Southampton. From there he went to Quebec, and thence to Toronto and other parts of Canada, after which he travelled through the northern tier of states on the south side of the lakes, living for some time in Michigan and Illinois. He came to Oregon in 1847 in company with a family named Cline, and took a land claim on the Cowlitz River in November 1847, where he lived long and happily. Crawford's *Narrative of the Overland Journey*, containing also a history of early and subsequent events, is, without regard to style, the most complete record extant of the times it represents, and manifests throughout the author's remarkable powers of observation.

[13] Crawford says the doctor had been on 'a mission of benevolence, conveying and escorting a company of immigrants over a new and much improved route to the Dalles, and who gave us another cut-off so as to shorten our route and give us good grass and water all the way.' *Nar.*, MS., 51. This affectionate reference, with which the historian even for truth's sake has no occasion to meddle, since the doctor could at the same time attend to his own business of establishing the new station at the Dalles, and pilot the immigration over the road to that place, comports with the general impression of his willingness to be of service. Crawford speaks of him as being at this time a stout and robust looking man, of a seemingly strong and intelligent mind. *Nar.*, MS., 52.

[14] Gilliland was from Long Island, and was an elderly man without family. L. Woodbury Saunders was a native of New Hampshire, but had resided in central New York, and also in Indiana, from which latter state he emigrated. His wife was from Vermont, her maiden name being Mary Montgomery, and her mother's maiden name Stickney, from an old English family. Mrs Saunders later married Alanson Husted.

[15] The persons at Waiilatpu after the new selections had been made were Joseph and Hannah Smith and 5 children, the elder of them being a girl of 16; Mr and Mrs Saunders and 5 children, the elder a girl of 14; Mr and Mrs Kimball and 5 children, the elder a girl of 16; Joseph and Sally Ann Canfield and 5 children, the elder a girl of 16; Mr and Mrs Hall and 5 children, the elder a girl of 10; Josiah and Margaret Osborne and 3 children, the elder a girl of 9; Elam and Irene Young and 3 sons, the eldest aged 21; Mrs Rebecca Hays and one young child; Miss Lorinda Bewley and her brother,

of them having been detained by sickness, and some by the lateness of the season. All who remained were employed, as far as possible, by Whitman, who, notwithstanding the threatening circumstances, was making improvements on his mill. The doctor was a man of affairs; he loved work, and he liked to see others work. Thus absorbed, it was little wonder he failed to perceive the black shadow approaching.

As is usual with armies, large migrations, or any great bodies of people moving together without the ordinary comforts of life, disease broke out among the immigrants of 1847. A severe illness known as mountain fever, and apparently occasioned by the extremes of temperature encountered in the mountains during the latter part of the summer—hot days and cold nights—prostrated many of the adults, and measles attacked the younger portion of the people. This disease, usually considered simple and manageable, became malignant under the new conditions in which it was developed. It seems to have been at its height when the trains, all having some sick, was passing through the Cayuse country. What was malignant among the strangers, when it was imparted to the natives became fatal, whether from ignorance of proper modes of treatment, or from the character of the disease itself. The measles of 1847, like the intermittent fever of 1829–30 and 1834–7, became a scourge to the natives. The white men who introduced it could not be held to blame,[16] but the natives made them responsible, not

Crockett Bewley; Mr Marsh and daughter, E. Marsh, aged 11; Mr Hoffman, and Mr Sales—in all, 54 persons of the immigration. Besides these were a young man named Rogers, Eliza, daughter of Mr Spalding of Lapwai, and 6 children of the Sager family, adopted in 1844, 2 boys and 4 girls, besides 2 half-breed girls, daughters of J. L. Meek and James Bridger, and 2 sons of Donald Manson, whom the doctor was educating. Total at Dr Whitman's, 68 persons. At Lapwai there were only Mr and Mrs Spalding and 3 young children, Miss Johnson, Mr Hart, brother of Mrs Spalding, Mr Jackson, and William Craig. *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 20, 1848.

[16] I have been told of a case where the disease was intended to be given: A party of immigrants while in the Cayuse country were much annoyed by some of the young braves, who, with Indian intrusiveness and insolence, hung about

understanding that inscrutable law of nature which makes it fatal to the dark races to encounter the white race;[17] or if they perceived its effects, not knowing that the white men were as ignorant as themselves of the cause.

When the mission Indians found that a disease which they could not control had been introduced among them, they became greatly alarmed and excited, as did also the natives on Puget Sound, to which district the measles had spread.[18] Being a white man's disease, the Indians thought a white doctor should be able to cure it. In fact, they were witnesses to the fact that the white patients generally recovered, while their own did not. That they were much to blame for the fatal results in many cases, was true.[19] Being

the wagons, daring the drivers or the young lads of the train to fight, seemingly ambitious to rival the white people in boxing and wrestling. One wagon thus intruded on contained a woman, whose half-grown children were all down with the measles, and the driver of the team also, an active young fellow, was in the height of the fever, though still compelled to drive. Seeing him so annoyed the woman ordered him to stop the team and wrestle with the Indian as desired, and to blow his hot breath in the Indian's face to give him the measles. Whether that particular Indian died in consequence is not known; probably the woman was unaware of the danger, and only wished to have him punished for the trouble he gave, but if the Indian died his friends would be apt to believe that some evil influence was purposely worked upon him, as in this case there indeed had been. In *Mission Life Sketches*, 41, written, I judge, by Mr Perkins, of the early Dalles mission, there is a complaint of the effect of settlement on mission operations, which is no doubt well founded, even though the new-comers should consist of missionaries only. The result of mingling the races in Oregon is conclusive evidence of its mischievous effects.

[17] 'The experience of a century had shown that the indiscriminate admission of civilized men as traders in the territory of the Indians is destructive to the morals of the former, and not only the morals but the existence of the latter.' *Edinburgh Review*, July 1845, 238. See also *Tribune Almanac*, 1846, p. 19; *Darwin's Voyage round the World*, 435–6; *McCulloch's Western Isles*, ii. 32; *Gibbs*, in *Powell's Geog. Sur.*, i. 239.

[18] 'In 1847 the measles prevailed at Nisqually. A fugitive Indian from the Swinomish country brought intelligence to Nisqually that the Swinomish, believing that the whites had brought the measles to exterminate them, were coming to massacre the whites. At the time there were no stockades or bastions at Nisqually, but orders came from Fort Vancouver to erect the usual defences. The scattered white settlers on the Sound became timid, and the Indians consequently more forward and troublesome. Hostile demonstrations were made while the stockades and bastions were being erected, but nothing serious resulted.' *Tolmie's Hist. Puget Sound*, MS., 30–1.

[19] 'In the winter of 1847–8 the measles overran the country. It was of a very malignant type, and the natives suffered from it severely. Dr Whitman, as a medical man, naturally endeavored to mitigate the ravages of the disorder; but notwithstanding his efforts many deaths took place among his

ignorant of the injury they would receive from such a course, many sought to cool their fever by plunging into cold water, or, after coming out of their sweat-houses, bathing in the river, a procedure which caused almost immediate death.

When it is remembered that ever since 1842, and even earlier, the natives had been importuning the missionaries for pay for their lands, and that others, if not they, had repeatedly promised on the faith of the United States government that they should be paid when the boundary question was settled; and when it is remembered that this question had been settled for almost a year and a half, since which time two immigrations had arrived, without anything being done to satisfy the natives—the wonder is not that they were suspicious and turbulent, and ready to believe evil things of the white men, but that they were so long held in tolerable control by a few isolated missionaries.[20]

The reader already knows the difficulty experienced by Whitman and Spalding from the first, in prosecuting their mission labor, owing to the unreasonable requirements of their pupils, their indolence, selfishness, and ingratitude for services. This was almost as much as could be borne before any sectarian differences arose to aggravate the disorder. After this the usefulness of the missions as schools of religion and morality was at an end. A few perceiving the benefit of agriculture and stock-raising tolerated the teachers, and so far imitated them as to raise supplies

patients, arising as much from the neglect of advice, and imprudent exposure during the height of the fever, as from the virulence of the disorder.' *Anderson's Northwest Coast*, MS., 265.

[20] 'When the Americans came into what the Indians claimed as their own country, their number was considerable; they didn't come to carry on trade with the Indians, but to take and settle the country, exclusively for themselves. They went about where they pleased, and settled where they chose without asking leave of the Indians, or paying them anything. The Indians saw it quickly. Every succeeding fall the white population about doubled, and the American population extended their settlements, and encroached upon the Indian pastures and camass grounds, excluding Indian horses, etc. The Indians saw annihilation before them.' *Burnett's Recol.*, MS., i. 104–5.

for their own families, besides selling to the immigrants. In the matter of cattle, also, they had eagerly acquired all they could purchase or steal from the passing caravans, and had attempted to form a cattle company to buy a herd in California, with what result the reader knows. Perhaps this attempt of the Walla Wallas is the highest imitation of civilization attained to by them or by any Oregon Indians, as it not only was a business organization, but partook something of the character of an invasion, or an act of colonization, since in 1847 we find the Walla Wallas in California assisting Frémont to capture the country.[21] The chief of this expedition, Peupeumoxmox, was reputed to have so far benefited by his observations abroad as to give good counsel to his people and the Cayuses on his return,[22] but the truth of his reported friendship for the white people is not well established by the evidence. Palmer met him in the spring of 1846, when he related the death of his son in California, and declared his intention of going there to avenge his loss. This desire accounts for his willingness to aid Frémont. Palmer also says that he was surly toward the immigration of 1845, and had even made hostile demonstrations.[23]

There were, at the time under consideration, a number of dissolute characters, half-breeds from the mountains to the east, hanging upon the skirts of the travellers, men whose wild blood was full of the ichor of hatred of religion and civilization, and poisoned with jealousy of the white race, the worst traits only of which they had inherited. These men among the natives were like fire in tow, their evil practices and counsel scorching every shred of good the missionaries by patient effort had been able to

[21] Says Johnson: 'A whole community of Walla Walla Indians left Oregon across the mountains and established themselves on the Sacramento River, near Sutter's Fort.' *Cal. and Or.*, 123; *Tuthill's Hist. Cal.*, 201.

[22] This is what Parrish says, who talks of him as if he were a very distinguished personage; because, perhaps, he once sent his son to the Methodist mission school for a few months. *Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 86-7.

[23] *Journal*, 124-5.

weave into their habits of life.[24] Every act of the missionaries was criticised. When Whitman, who was endeavoring to break up the custom of going to war, exhibited his disapprobation by refusing to shake hands with an offender, the accidental death of that young warrior was imputed to him,[25] and though they pretended to be convinced to the contrary, their hearts were secretly bitter toward Whitman, whose 'evil eye' they were willing to believe had worked them harm.

It was unfortunate that at this juncture so many strangers had been allowed to gather at the mission, confirming the suspicion of the Cayuses that the Americans intended to settle in their country without first treating for their lands: unfortunate because it gave weight to a rumor circulated among them by one Joe Lewis, a half-breed, who was employed about the mission, that Doctor and Mrs Whitman were conspiring to exterminate them by poison, in order to come into possession of their lands for themselves and their countrymen[26]—a rumor which was strengthened by the

[24] Palmer relates that three Delawares came and settled among the Nez Percés. One of them, named Tom Hill, succeeded in persuading about a hundred lodges to acknowledge him as their chief by telling them that they then could have as many wives as they chose; that it was not wrong to steal, only wrong to be detected in it, and that what the missionaries taught was false. *Journal*, 129.

[25] This man was a half Nez Percé, half Cayuse, son of a Nez Percé often called Le Grande. Whitman refused to take him by the hand on account of some quarrel and misconduct at the Dalles; perhaps he was in the party who killed Sheppard. However that was, the young man died that night, being choked by a piece of dried buffalo-meat. Thereupon an accusation was brought against the doctor. Mrs Whitman endeavored to regain the confidence of the natives by giving a 'feast for the dead,' Le Grande and Peupeumoxmox being present and professing continued regard. Whether their sentiments were genuine admits of doubt, but there was a 'villain of an Indian called Tamsucky who fomented discontent, and threatened Whitman that he would be killed.' *Tolmie's Hist. Puget Sound*, MS., 27. Palmer says that Whitman regarded Tamsucky as a good Indian; and Palmer left his horses with him during the winter of 1845–6. He was called Aliquot by the white people. When Palmer asked him to name his reward for keeping the horses, he asked for some scarlet velvet, and other articles of adornment, which Palmer brought and gave to Whitman when he met him on the Umatilla. *Palmer's Wagon Train*, MS., 32–4.

[26] This story of Joe Lewis is given by several witnesses. One of these, William Craig of Lapwai, no one would dispute. He says: 'A messenger came there [to Mr Spalding's station] from the Cayuses, and the Indians, when

great number of deaths among the Cayuses, amounting to nearly one half the population.[27]

That the natives murmured Whitman was aware; but he hoped that two deaths which had occurred in his house, of one of his adopted children and one of Osborne's, would have shown them that the disease carried off white people as well as Indians. Spalding asserts in the *Oregon American*, a small semi-monthly paper[28] published in 1848, that not only Joe Lewis, but the Catholic priests who had arrived at Fort Walla Walla from Canada on the 5th of September, with the design of establishing missions among the

assembled, required him to state all he knew about the matter, and to state the truth. I was present; and he said, in substance, that all the chiefs were concerned except Young Chief and Five Crows, who knew nothing of it; that the cause...was that Dr Whitman and Dr Spalding were poisoning the Indians...Joe Lewis said that Dr Whitman and Mr Spalding had been writing for two years to their friends in the east, where Joe Lewis lived, to send them poison to kill off the Cayuses and the Nez Percés; and they had sent them some that was not good, and they wrote for more that would kill them off quick, and that the medicine had come this summer. Joe Lewis said he was lying on the settee in Dr Whitman's room, and he heard a conversation between Dr Whitman, Mrs Whitman, and Mr Spalding, in which Mr Spalding asked the doctor why he did not kill the Indians off faster. "O," said the doctor, "they are dying fast enough; the young ones will die off this winter, and the old ones next spring."...The Indian messenger stated that Joe Lewis made this statement in a council of the Cayuses... Joe Lewis, the messenger said, told the Cayuses in the council that unless they [the Indians] killed Dr Whitman and Mr Spalding quick, they would all die. The messenger went on to say himself, that 197 Indians had died since the immigration commenced passing that summer. He said that there were 6 buried on Monday morning, and among the rest his own wife; he said he knew they were poisoned.' *Brouillet's Authentic Account*, 35–6.

[27] 'It was most distressing to go into a lodge of some 10 fires, and count 20 or 25, some in the midst of measles, others in the last stages of dysentery, in the midst of every kind of filth of itself sufficient to cause sickness, with no suitable means to alleviate their inconceivable sufferings, with perhaps one well person to look after the wants of 2 sick ones. Everywhere the sick and dying were pointed to Jesus, and the well were urged to prepare for death.' H. H. Spalding, in *Oregon American*, July 19, 1848.

[28] 'Devoted to American principles and interests; to evangelical religion and morals; to general intelligence, foreign and domestic; to temperance and moral instrumentalities generally; to science, literature, and the arts; to commerce and internal improvements; to agriculture and home manufactures; to the description and development of our natural resources; to the physical, intellectual, and moral education of rising generations; and to such well-defined discussions generally as are calculated to elevate and dignify the character of a free people.' Its devotion was indeed great—so great that there was little room left for anything else. 'The constituted nature and relation of things, our constitution,' was a motto which, if adhered to, would seem to do away with all that goes before. 'Edited by J. S. Griffin. Printed by C. F. Putnam.' See *Honolulu Polynesian*, v. 54; *Friend*, viii. 4; *Burnett's Recollections of a Pioneer*, 251.

tribes of eastern Oregon, assured the Cayuses that the Americans were causing them to die. This statement, which was the beginning of a controversy not yet ended between the Protestants and Catholics, he made on the word of a Cayuse chief named Tintinmitsi, who, however, professed not to believe the accusation.[29] The mere intimation of such atrocity exposes the hearts of those who made them. The labors of Archbishop Blanchet in Canada, before spoken of, had resulted in the appointment of his brother, A. M. A. Blanchet, bishop of Walla Walla, who thereupon proceeded overland to Oregon, accompanied by nine persons, four fathers of the order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, with two lay brothers; two secular priests, Brouillet and Rosseau; and Guillaume Leclaire, a deacon.[30] After remaining at Walla Walla about a month, the Oblate fathers departed to establish a mission among the Yakimas in the Simcoe Valley; but it was not until the 27th of October that Blanchet and Brouillet, with Leclaire, removed from the fort to the camp of the Cayuse chief Tauitau, on the Umatilla River, about thirty miles distant, the chief having relinquished a house built for himself several years previous by Pambrun, in an attempt to civilize the Cayuses.

The establishment of this mission among the Cayuses, already so turbulent, and from their present temper so dangerous, was a sore trial to the Protestant missionaries, while it was, without doubt, an incentive to Dr Whitman to endeavor to remain. The pain and uneasiness the bishop was inflicting was not by any means unknown to him;[31] but whether in Catholic or Protestant, religious zeal knows no mercy,

[29] *Oregon American*, July 1848.

[30] None of these priests were Jesuits, though Gray and Spalding speak of them uniformly as belonging to that order.

[31] 'The arrival of the bishop of Walla Walla,' says Archbishop Blanchet, 'with his clergy to the fort was a thunderbolt to the Presbyterian ministers, specially to Dr Whitman. He was wounded to the heart by it. He could not refrain from expressing his dissatisfaction, saying he would do all in his power to thwart the bishop.' *Hist. Cath. Church in Or.*, 163–5.

and the inquisition of the sixteenth century only changes its form according to the time and place of its exhibition. Protestant and Catholic alike believed the other the emissary of Satan, whom to afflict was doing God service. There was a difficulty, however, in the way of the bishop's proselyting: he could communicate with the natives only through an interpreter. Then the Cayuses were very little about the fort while the caravans were passing, being engaged in trading with or stealing from the Americans.

The new-comers had all left the country east of the Cascade Mountains, except the little colony at Waiilatpu; the Catholic mission was established in a house furnished to the priests by Tauitau in the lovely valley of the Umatilla, and quiet reigned throughout the great wilderness of rolling prairie from the Dalles on the Columbia to Lapwai on the Clearwater. Ay, the quiet of death was there, broken only by the wails of the poor savage over the bodies of relatives and friends. Doctor Whitman's heart was full of pity for them, as he rode from camp to camp with medicines and advice, little imagining the sinister meaning attached to his conduct by the Cayuses.

In the month of November Spalding came from Lapwai, accompanied by his daughter Eliza, and a Mr Jackson who was stopping at his mission, bringing a train of horses loaded with grain to be ground at the mill. On the 25th, while *en route* to Walla Walla with Jackson and Rogers of the Waiilatpu mission, Spalding visited chief Peupeumoxmox, who resided not far from the fort on the Walla Walla River. After the manner of an Indian gossip, the illustrious savage referred to the subject of Catholic missionaries, taking occasion to remark that he had been solicited to give them a place for a station, but that he had refused; and repeating the assertion of Tintinmitsi that the Americans were charged with destroying the Cayuses, but professing not to credit the

story. Peupeumoxmox added, with true Indian cunning, that the priests pronounced the diseases from which they were suffering an affliction from God on account of their heresy; knowing well the fever into which such a statement would throw Spalding, and probably deriving as much pleasure from it as a good Methodist or Catholic could do.

During the night of Spalding's visit, a niece of Peupeumoxmox died, and he conducted the funeral services at the fort next day, when he met Brouillet and his associates, also there on a visit, with whom he conversed on the manner of teaching by the 'Catholic ladder.'[32] During the forenoon of the 27th he returned to Waiilatpu, where a messenger soon appeared from the camps of Five Crows and Tauitau, desiring the presence of Dr Whitman among their sick, a summons which the doctor with his customary alacrity obeyed. On this journey of thirty miles or more, Spalding accompanied him. It is easy to believe the latter when he says that as they rode they talked, far into the night, of their past trials and triumphs, and their present insecurity; or even that Whitman uttered the words put into his mouth, "If I am to fall by Roman Catholic influence, I believe my death will do as much good to Oregon as my life can."[33] He was a man capable of such a declaration.

[32] *Strong's Hist. Or.*, MS., 43–5. Spalding also practises some duplicity, where he says in the *Oregon American* that no one who had not witnessed it could conceive of the intense agitation caused among the Indians by the introduction of the Catholic ladder, a chart containing rudely drawn pictures of scriptural subjects, and illustrating the doom of heretics. 'My attention,' he says, 'has suddenly been arrested by the outcries and wailings of a whole camp, occasioned by the arrival of some one with an additional explanation of the Catholic ladder, always accompanied by the declaration, "The Americans are causing us to die!"' This sounds like slander. At the time of which Spalding speaks, the Catholic ladder was too well known among the Cayuses to occasion any such outburst of alarm, if ever it had done so. The wailing he heard in November was the death dirge; and if the natives exclaimed, 'The Americans are causing us to die!' such was the truth, though they had brought death without knowledge or intention of doing so.

[33] *Oregon American*, Aug. 1848, 66. This remark may have been called forth by the doctor's knowledge of an incident which occurred at the lodge of Peupeumoxmox while Spalding was there; a Nez Percé entered the lodge with the inquiry, 'Is Dr Whitman killed?' as if he expected an affirmative answer.

The 28th was Sunday. The two missionaries broke their fast in the lodge of Sticcas, the chief who had guided the immigration of 1843 over the Blue Mountains; and the doctor could not help remarking upon the meal of beef, bread, potatoes, and squash, as a gratifying proof that under his teaching the Cayuses had made some progress. Everything about the little village was orderly and still, as became the sabbath. It was the calm preceding the cyclone.

While Spalding remained to hold religious services, Whitman proceeded to the camps of Tauitau and Five Crows on the south side of the Umatilla, where, after calling on his patients, he dined with Bishop Blanchet at his mission in a friendly manner. According to Spalding, the doctor appeared to have been agreeably entertained, and to have considered certain negotiations for the sale of Waiilatpu to the Catholics if a majority of the Cayuses wished him to go away; an engagement having been entered into that the bishop or vicar-general should pay a visit to Waiilatpu in a few days.[34] Leaving Spalding to visit and comfort the sick, Whitman left for home Sunday evening. Spalding himself visited the priests, taking tea with them, and on Tuesday evening returned to the lodge of Sticcas to sleep.

That evening Sticcas communicated to Spalding

[34] From a chance remark of Spalding's, and from a quotation from him in *Brouillet's Authentic Account*, 21, I have no doubt that Whitman was about to accept an offer for Waiilatpu, from which he was convinced he must now go. The quotation is as follows: 'Dr Whitman twice during the last year called the Cayuse together, and told them if a majority wished he would leave the country at once. . .Dr Whitman held himself ready to sell the Waiilatpu station to the Catholic mission whenever a majority of the Cayuses might wish it.' In 1866–7 Spalding revived the memories of twenty years before, and delivered a course of lectures on the subject of the Waiilatpu mission, which were published in the *Albany Or. States Rights Democrat*, extending over a period from November 1866 to February 1867. In one these he says: 'The same week—referring to his arrival at Whitman's station—I visited Walla Walla, and a conference was partly agreed upon with the priests. They asked and I agreed to furnish them all needed supplies from my station.' He, however, denied in these lectures, what he had admitted previously, that Whitman dined with the priests, and says he declined on a plea of hastening home to look after the sick. Such is the effect of sectarianism that the most religious feel justified in lying to sustain a point.

the significant information that a decree of outlawry had been passed by the Cayuses against the white people in their country, declining to explain any further.[35] Filled with apprehension, the missionary cast himself upon his couch of skins, but sleep was impossible. On either side of him sat an Indian woman chanting the harsh and melancholy death-song of her people. When asked for whom they mourned, no answer could be obtained. At early dawn Spalding prepared to depart, his mind oppressed with misgivings. At a little distance from the lodge waited a native woman, who, laying her hand on the neck of his horse, in a few hurried words warned him to avoid Waiilatpu. Considering that his daughter was an inmate of that station, this hint was not calculated to ease his mind or to cause him to loiter, though his path lay directly in the way of danger, the road from the Umatilla to Waiilatpu leading past the camp of Tiloukaikt, a chief with whom Whitman had more than once had a serious rupture.[36]

When Whitman reached home late Sunday night he found things as he had left them. Mrs Osborne, who had lost a child by the measles, and recently been confined, was quite ill. Miss Bewley was down with intermittent fever. One of the Sager lads was partially recovering from measles. Two half-breed girls, left with Mrs Whitman to be educated, a half-breed boy adopted by the doctor, Crockett Bewley, brother of Miss Bewley, and a young man named Sales, were all in bed with the epidemic, though convalescing.

During the forenoon of Monday Dr Whitman

[35] Yet this is the chief of whom several white men have said he was the only true friend of the white race among the Oregon Indians. His friendship did not extend to warning the missionaries distinctly of their peril.

[36] The camp of Sticcas, as I have already intimated, was on the north side of the Umatilla, probably not far from the present town of Pendleton, while Five Crows, Tauitau, Camespelo, and Yumhawalis had their villages on the south side, but not far away. Peupeumoxmox lived on the road leading from Fort Walla Walla to Waiilatpu, and Tiloukaikt, Tamahas, and Tamsucky had their lodges between him and the mission; so that travel whichever way he would, Spalding must pass the camps of these chiefs to reach Dr Whitman's station.

assisted at the funeral of an Indian who had died during his visit to the Umatilla, and was struck with the absence of the tribe, many of whom were mounted, riding about, and giving no attention to the burial; but as there had been a slaughter of beef which was being dressed in the mission yard, an occasion which always drew the Indians about, the circumstance was in part at least accounted for. School was in session, several men and boys were absent at the saw-mill near the foot of the mountains; the women were employed with the duties of housekeeping and nursing the sick, and all was quiet as usual when Whitman, fatigued with two nights' loss of sleep, entered the common sitting-room of his house and sat down before the fire to rest, thinking such thoughts as—Ah! who shall say?[37]

While he thus mused, two chiefs, Tiloukaikt and Tamahas, surnamed 'The Murderer,' from his having killed a number of his own people, presented themselves at the door leading to an adjoining room, asking for medicines, when the doctor arose and went to them, afterward seating himself to prepare the drugs. And now the hour had come! Tamahas stepped behind him, drew his tomahawk from beneath his blanket, and with one or two cruel blows laid low forever the man of God. John Sager, who was in the room prostrated by sickness, drew a pistol, but was quickly cut to pieces. In his struggle for life he wounded two of his assailants, who, at a preconcerted signal, had with others crowded into the house. A tumult then arose throughout the mission. All the men encountered by the savages were slain. Some

[37] Mrs Husted, then wife of the teacher at the mission, has avowed that Whitman had certainly received some information or intimation on Sunday, and that on arriving at home late that night the family was kept sitting up several hours in consultation, talking over the chances of escape in case of an attack. I think this may be true, but state it only as the evidence of one person, after many years, and the distraction of mind caused by what followed. Spalding, in his lectures before quoted, hints at some such thing by saying, 'The doctor and his wife were seen in tears much agitated.' It becomes difficult to account in that case for the neglect of the doctor to put each man about the mission upon his guard.

were killed outright; others were bruised and mangled and left writhing back to consciousness to be assailed again, until after hours of agony they expired. Dr Whitman himself lived for some time after he had been stricken down, though insensible. Mrs Whitman, although wounded, with Rogers and a few others also wounded, took refuge in an upper room of the dwelling, and defended the staircase with a gun, until persuaded by Tamsucky, who gained access by assurances of sorrow and sympathy, to leave the chamber, the savages below threatening to fire the house. On her way to the mansion house,[88] where the terror-stricken women and children were gathered, she fainted on encountering the mangled body of her husband, and was placed upon a wooden settee by Rogers and Mrs Hays, who attempted to carry her in this condition through the space between the houses; but on reaching the outer door they were surrounded by savages, who instantly fired upon them, fatally wounding Rogers, and several balls striking Mrs Whitman, who, though not dead, was hurled into a pool of water and blood on the ground. Not satisfied with this, Ishalhal, who had formerly lived in Gray's family, and who had fired the first shot at her before she escaped to the chamber from which Tamsucky treacherously drew her, seized her long auburn hair, now blood-stained and dishevelled, and lifting up the head, happily unconscious, repeatedly struck the dying woman's face with a whip, notwithstanding which life lingered for several hours.

Night came at last and drew a veil over the horrors

[88] In Spalding's lectures there is a description of the mission premises as they appeared in 1847. 'The doctor's adobe dwelling-house stood on the north side of the Walla Walla River, and one half-mile above the mouth of Mill Creek, facing west, well finished, and furnished with a good library and a large cabinet of choice specimens. Connected with the north end was a large Indian room, and an L extending from the east 70 feet, consisting of kitchen, sleeping-room, school-room, and church. One hundred yards east stood a large adobe building. At a point forming a triangle with the above line stood the mill, granary, and shops.' The whole was situated upon the small area formed by the flat land between the river and the rolling hills to the west. The large adobe building spoken of was known as the mansion house.

of that afternoon. No one knew when the last breath left the body of the mistress of Waiilatpu. Ah! it was pitiful to see this pure and gentle woman, this pure and noble man, while in the service of God hewn down and cast into the ditch by other of God's creatures whom to benefit they had lived. In the general compensation it would seem to our poor faculties that the bestowal of the martyr's crown poorly recompensed the heart of omnipotence for witnessing such atrocities.

It is needless further to describe the butcheries which lasted for several days, or until all the adult males except five, and several boys, were killed, some on their sick-beds, some on their way home from the mill, some in one place and some in another.[39]

[39] Mr and Mrs Osborne with their children happened to be in a bedroom of the dwelling at the moment of the attack; and taking up a plank in the floor, they secreted themselves under the house. During the night they escaped, but Mrs Osborne and the children being unable to walk more than 3 miles during the dark hours, and afraid to travel by day, were in danger of starving before they could reach Fort Walla Walla. On Thursday forenoon Osborne arrived there, carrying the youngest child, and was received with hospitality by McBean, the agent in charge; Mrs Osborne being rescued by the help of persons belonging to the fort, who brought the family in on horses. There was much said subsequently about McBean's behavior; and his evident reluctance to harbor the men who had escaped, although he offered to take care of their families, was attributed to his Catholic faith. But I do not think that any one paused to think of sectarian differences then. McBean was afraid the Cayuses might attack the fort were they provoked to it by the presence of Americans, and the fort was not in a condition to withstand a siege. The first man who reached Walla Walla was Hall, who by walking all night arrived there Tuesday morning. A rumor being brought that the women and children were all killed, Hall's reason seemed to give away; but becoming calmer, he decided to attempt going to the Willamette; and being furnished with the dress of a Hudson's Bay employé, as well as ammunition, and every other necessary, set out to travel down the north side of the river to avoid the Cayuses. He proceeded safely until near the rapids at the Des Chutes River, where taking a canoe to cross the Columbia he was drowned. Letter of McBean in the *Walla Walla Statesman*, March 16, 1866. McBean, who of course knew nothing of Hall's failure to cross the Dalles, proposed to Osborne to leave his family with him, and follow Hall's example; but Osborne refused. He would go down the river with his family in a boat with a trusty Indian crew from the fort, but not otherwise. No natives about the fort would take the risk, and therefore Osborne remained. In *Brouillet's Authentic Account* are the depositions of several persons on this subject; one of Josiah Osborne, who reflects severely on McBean for refusing him the things he demanded for the comfort of his family; but to one acquainted with the simple furnishing of the interior trading posts, these refusals seem natural. McBean could not furnish what he did not have. The truth was, that although McBean was 'below the salt' when compared with other gentlemen in the company, he was not by any means a brute but earned more gratitude than he received from the half-dea

The butcheries were harldy more atrocious than the sufferings inflicted on the survivors. The helpless women and children were compelled not only to witness the slaughter of their husbands and fathers, but were forced to yield a hateful obedience to their captors while the yet unburied remains of those dearest to them lay mangled and putrefying in their sight.[40]

Several of the women were taken for wives. Five Crows, who was declared not to have any hand in the massacre, and of whom Hines says in his *Oregon History*, published three years after the event, that he was a Protestant, and gave "good evidence of conversion," on the eleventh day after the outbreak sent for Miss Bewley to be brought to his lodge on the Umatilla. Nor was Five Crows an unfair sample of an Indian convert. He would have nothing to do with the destruction of the mission, but he would let it be destroyed. Being already wealthy, he cared nothing for the booty, but he could not withstand beauty.

mented persons who escaped from the horrors of Waiilatpu. Another fugitive was William D. Canfield, who was wounded in the hip, but succeeded in making his way to Lapwai, which place he reached on Saturday afternoon, as he himself says, 'without eating or sleeping.' Canfield was a native of Arlington, Vermont, where he was born Oct. 22, 1810. He married Sally Ann Lee, June 10, 1828, and after several removes westward finally arrived in Iowa, where he laid out the town of Oskaloosa. From that place he emigrated to Oregon. See *Son. Co. Hist.*, 470. Joseph Smith and Elam Young also escaped. They were living with their families at the saw-mill. The natives ordered them to Waiilatpu the third day after the massacre began, but having glutted their revenge, and deeming it well to save some to grind the grain, they suffered them to live. The victims of the tragedy were 13: Dr and Mrs Whitman, Rogers, Saunders, Gillilland, Kimball, Hoffman, Marsh, Sales, Bewley, James Young, John Sager, and Francis Sager. *Or. Spectator*, Jan 20, 1848.

[40] Spalding says in his lectures that the women were compelled to cook for large numbers of the savages daily, who called upon his daughter to taste the food and tell them if it were not poisoned. They were also ordered to sew and make garments for Indian families out of the goods belonging to the mission. Spalding also says that both the women and girls were subjected to the most revolting brutalities; 'girls so young that the knife had to be used,' is his language. Young in his deposition states that 'a few days after we got there two young women were taken as wives by the Indians, which I opposed, and was threatened by Smith, who was very anxious that it should take place, and that other little girls should be given up for wives.' *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 483. There is no doubt from the evidence, although much was concealed from motives of delicacy toward the women, that for the time they were held prisoners at Waiilatpu, which was about a month, they were treated with the utmost brutality, the two white men being unable to defend even their own families.

Miss Bewley was sent for, and having no one to protect her, she was torn from the arms of sympathizing women, placed on a horse, and in the midst of a high fever of both mind and body, was carried through a November snow-storm to the arms of this brawny savage. Five Crows behaved in a manner becoming a gentlemanly and Christian savage. He made his captive as comfortable as possible, and observing her opposition to his wishes, gave her a few days in which to think of it, besides allowing her to spend a portion of her time at the house of the Catholic bishop. But this generous mood was not of long duration, and nightly she was dragged from Blanchet's presence to the lodge of her lord, the priests powerless to interfere.[41]

The position of the priests was made ground for serious accusation when the story became known; but it is difficult to see how they could have interfered without first having resolved to give up their mission and risk their lives. If the Americans at Waiilatpu could refuse to protest, and if Canfield could voluntarily seek to save his own life, leaving his wife and children in the hands of the natives, it was hardly to be expected that the power of the priests who had their own lives and purposes to be secured, and who were not allowed under ordinary circumstances to harbor women in their houses, should prove more efficacious.[42]

[41] Miss Bewley says in her deposition that she 'begged and cried to the bishop for protection, either at his house, or to be sent to Walla Walla,' but nothing availed. *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 486–97. It is said that one of the priests, in a piece of injudicious pleasantry, asked her how she liked her new husband, an indiscretion which planted a thorn in his side that rankled longer, if we may judge by the wordy war which resulted from it, than the insult did in Miss Bewley's heart, which she said she 'thought would break.' *Brouillet's Authentic Account*, 57.

[42] A glance at the depositions shows charges even more grave which the survivors made against each other, and against the dead. Crockett Bewley was accused of saying indiscreet things which brought on the massacre. Even Rogers was declared to have confessed before he died that he had poisoned Indians. This was one of the peculiar features of the affair; men and women were made so craven by their fears that they hesitated at nothing, when by lying they could, as they thought, avert danger from themselves. If the half they said about each other were true, they deserved death.

It will be remembered that when Dr Whitman returned from the Umatilla he was expecting a visit soon from the bishop or vicar-general, with whom he hoped to make arrangements which, in a certain event, would enable him to sell the mission property. On the afternoon of the 30th Brouillet proceeded on this errand as far as the lodge of Tiloukaikt, with the intention of visiting the sick and baptizing the dying of that camp. Arriving late in the evening, he became apprised of what had happened on the 29th at Waiilatpu, and spent the night in much perturbation,[43] but without neglecting in the morning to attend to his religious duties. Having done what he could for the dying Cayuses, he hastened to Waiilatpu and offered such consolation as he might venture upon to the widows and orphans, concealing his sympathy as directed by the captives, and procuring the burial of the dead.[44]

On the afternoon of the 1st of December Brouillet departed from Waiilatpu and rode toward Umatilla, in the hope of intercepting Spalding, who was expected on that day for the conference which was to have taken place. Soon after crossing the Walla Walla River he discovered Spalding galloping toward him. Fortunately for his purpose, the interpreter and a son of Tiloukaikt's, who was following with the evident design of spying upon his actions, had stopped to light their pipes, which gave time for communicating the news of the massacre and for a moment's deliberation. Before any course could be decided upon, the chief's son Edward rejoined the priest, who interceded with him for

[43] *Authentic Account*, 50.

[44] Brouillet states that Joseph Stanfield, one of the half-breeds who had been in Whitman's service, was preparing the bodies for burial, but being alone, could not inter them. He therefore went to his assistance, though not without apprehension that he might be assassinated while thus engaged. Robert Newell, who visited Waiilatpu the following spring, and who kept a memorandum of the incidents of the expedition, says that Dr Whitman and wife were laid together in a single grave, with a neat paling about it; and that the other victims were placed in one common excavation, also enclosed by a fence; but that both had been torn open by wolves. The scattered remains were reinterred in one grave.

the life of Spalding as a personal favor to himself. Not knowing what course to take, Young Tiloukaikt after some hesitation turned back to camp, saying he would consult with his father. Here was the hardly hoped for opportunity, which was quickly taken. Abandoning his horses to the interpreter, and taking a scrap of food which Brouillet carried in his wallet, the striken missionary plunged on foot and alone into the wilderness over which a thick fog settling concealed him from his enemies.[45] After six days of physical suffering from want and exposure, and great mental anguish,[46] he arrived at Lapwai, and found that his family was in the care of some friendly chiefs at Craig's place ten miles away.

When the fugitive Canfield reached Lapwai he found the Nez Percés ignorant of what had taken place at Waiilatpu, and advised Mrs Spalding to allow them to remain so. But the knowledge she possessed of the Indian character, and the fact of the intimate relations between the Nez Percés and Cayuses, decided her to break the news at once and throw herself on their mercy. In the absence of her husband, and temporarily of her brother, she confided the matter to two chiefs, Jacob and Eagle, who happened to be present, and who promised protection, but counselled removal from Lapwai. One of them carried a letter to Craig, and the other volunteered to communicate the intelligence received from Canfield to the tribe.

[45] Brouillet says that almost immediately after Spalding left him 3 armed Cayuses overtook him, who said to the interpreter: 'The priest ought to have attended to his own business, and not to have interfered with ours.' *Authentic Account*, 52–5; *Shea's Cath. Miss.*, 478.

[46] There can be no doubt that Spalding's mind was injured by this shock. All his subsequent writings show a want of balance, which inclines me to regard with lenity certain erroneous statements in his publications. . I find in the *Oregon Statesman* of August 11, 1855, this line: 'H. H. Spalding, a lunatic upon the subject of Catholicism, and not over and above sane upon any subject.' During all his after life, while narrating the events of that fearful time, his forehead was covered with great drops of sweat, and his eyes had a frenzied expression Burnett mentions some of the survivors of the Donner party whose intellect was affected. Coleridge, in his *Ancient Mariner*, well depicts this state of mind.

This was on Saturday. On Monday the 8th of December a messenger arrived from the Cayuses, who related what had occurred, stating the cause to be the belief that they were being poisoned. There was, as might have been expected, a division, the majority of the chiefs following the advice of Eagle and Jacob, while others evinced a readiness to join in the murdering and plundering course of the Cayuses.[47]

On the same day Mrs Spalding, who had remained over Sunday at the mission with a guard of two or three faithful Nez Percés, removed to Craig's. She desired to send an express to Chemakane to inform Walker and Eells of the massacre at Waiilatpu, and also one to her daughter at the latter place, but no one could be found who would undertake either errand. The missionaries were, however, safe at the Chemakane station, the principal chief of the Spokanes on first hearing of the Cayuse outbreak promising to defend the inmates against attack, a promise which he faithfully kept[48] by mounting guard over them till their departure to the Willamette the following spring. At Lapwai, the Nez Percés, under Joseph, and some of James' band pillaged the mission buildings, but were otherwise held in check by the chiefs before named.

As in all the emergencies which overtook the Americans in colonial times, the fur company now came to their relief. As soon as possible after learning what had taken place, McBean despatched a Canadian messenger to Vancouver to apprise Douglas and Ogden, and through them Abernethy. At the

[47] Spalding gives the names of the friendly and hostile chiefs. Besides Eagle and Jacob, the latter of whom was about to be received into the church, there were Luke and two of his brothers, and James, a Catholic chief, who were friendly. But Joseph, a chief who had united with the church 8 years previous, and up to this time with few backslidings had lived like a Christian, and whose people constituted a good portion of the sabbath congregation and school, 7 of them being church-members, deserted to the enemy. *Oregon American*, Aug. 16, 1848.

[48] Atkinson, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1877, 70.

Dalles he found in charge Alanson Hinman,[49] with his wife and child.

Besides Hinman there were Perrin Whitman, Dr Henry Saffarans, and William McKinney and wife, of the late arrivals. To none of these persons did the messenger breathe a word about the massacre, not even to Hinman, who accompanied him to Vancouver to procure medicines for the sick about the Dalles, until they were below the Cascades, so careful was he not to spread any excitement amongst the natives before means could be taken to rescue the prisoners.[50]

[49] Hinman was formerly of the state of New York. After coming to Oregon in 1844, he married a Martha Gerrish, whose father, an immigrant of 1845, resided in the Tualatin plains. Hinman was teacher in the Oregon Institute for a short time, but seems to have been engaged by Whitman to take charge of the station purchased from the Methodists at the Dalles.

[50] Much capital was made out of this circumstance by the anti-Hudson's Bay writers, including Gray, who attempts to show that the intention of McBean was to allow the Indians to kill off those who were at the Dalles. The result showed that the caution used was justifiable and necessary. Had he alarmed the people at the Dalles, it would have informed the natives of what had happened, and have delayed him on his errand, whereas he was in the greatest possible haste to reach headquarters before the Dalles Indians should hear what the Cayuses had done. Gray points out that a letter written by Hinman to Abernethy after reaching Vancouver was dated December 4th, while a letter from Douglas to Abernethy was not written until the 7th; making it appear that Douglas had delayed 3 days to inform him, while the truth was that Hinman did not learn the news till the 6th, and that his letter was wrongly dated. As it appears in the *Oregon Spectator* of Dec. 10, 1847, from which Gray must have copied it, the date is Nov. 4th, more than 3 weeks before the massacre occurred, which should have been corrected, as the month was wrong as well as the day. No time was lost either at Walla Walla or Fort Vancouver in acquainting the governor with the situation. The correspondence in full is contained in the *Or. Spectator*, Dec. 10, 1847, and in *Gray's Hist. Or.* Other authorities on the subject of the massacre are the *A. B. C. F. M. Annual Report*, 1848, 239–44; *Californian*, April 19, 1848; *Kane's Wanderings*, 317–22; *Marshall's Christian Missions*, ii. 266–7; *Sandwich Island News*, ii. 54–5; *Deady's Hist. Or.*, MS., 2; *Ford's Roadmakers*, MS., 32; *Johnson's Cal. and Or.*, 183–4; *Kip's Army Life*, 32; *Walla Walla Statesman*, Feb. 9 to April 13, 1866; Evans, in *Trans. Or. Pioneer Assoc.*, 1877, 35–6; *Atkinson's Or. Colonist*, 5; *Crawford's Nar.*, MS., 160–3. *Brouillet's Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr Whitman and other Missionaries by the Cayuse Indians of Oregon in 1847, and the Causes which Led to that Horrible Catastrophe*, is a pamphlet of 108 pages, in reply to a statement appearing in the *Oregon American* reflecting harshly on the Catholic priesthood in general, and the priests of the Umatilla camp particularly. It is not without the usual misrepresentations of sectarian writings, but is in the main a correct statement of events. A second edition, with some slight additions, was printed at Portland in 1869. Its first appearance, under the head of *Protestantism in Oregon*, was in the *Freeman's Journal* in 1853; being put in its present form in 1869. See also *Catholic Magazine*, vii. 490; *Mullan's Top. Mem.*, 7; *S. F. Daily Herald*, June 1, 1850.

The messenger arrived at Vancouver on the evening of the 6th, and the following day Douglas wrote to Governor Abernethy, enclosing a copy of McBean's letter to the board of management, and informing him that Ogden would leave at the earliest possible moment for Walla Walla with a strong party to endeavor to prevent further outrages.

CHAPTER XXIV

RESCUE OF THE CAPTIVES.

1847.

HIS HONOR THE INDIAN—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS—JOSEPH L. MEEK, MESSENGER TO WASHINGTON—FORMATION OF MILITARY COMPANIES—APPLEGATE'S ATTEMPT TO REACH CALIFORNIA—PUBLIC APPROPRIATIONS AND PRIVATE SUBSCRIPTIONS—JOEL PALMER, SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS—CHIEF FACTOR OGDEN'S ADVENTURES AMONG THE CAYUSES—THE RANSOM EFFECTED—PRICE PAID FOR THE CAPTIVES—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN OGDEN AND ABERNETHY—THE GENTLE SAVAGE IS WILLING TO FORGIVE THE WHITE MEN NOT YET MASSACRED—FURTHER DISPLAY OF HOT DISTEMPER BETWEEN CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS.

AFTER all, we must give the American settlers of Oregon, in common with the British fur-traders, credit for treating the natives fairly well. Both are entitled to the merit due from the performance of a good action from necessity. The servants of the Hudson's Bay Company were likewise the most obedient servants of the lordly aboriginal; for it was by the savage skin-catchers of America that the courteous adventurers of England lived. Likewise the poor emigrant, rendered yet more respectful by the presence of wife and children, was quite humble in the presence of a fierce band of painted warriors. But fifty well-fed and mounted riflemen together could massacre with the best of them, not omitting the women and children, or even the time-honored custom of scalping.

Oregon had now at hand her first Indian war. In the message of the governor delivered to the legislature on the morning of the 8th of December, that

body was reminded of their relations with the natives, how they were becoming every year more embarrassed, by reason of the failure of the United States to send an agent authorized to treat with them. And thereupon they recommended an appropriation enabling the superintendent of Indian affairs to take a small party in the spring and visit the disaffected tribes, making presents which would quiet their apprehensions, and also to demand from them restitution of the property stolen from the new-comers during the autumn.

On the afternoon of the same day, having received the letter of Chief Factor Douglas, the governor communicated the facts of the massacre of the 29th, and submitted the correspondence of McBean, Douglas, and Hinman. The case, he said, was one that required prompt action, and he suggested that for the funds required they should apply to the Hudson's Bay Company and the merchants of Oregon City, as without doubt the United States government would assume the debt.[1] A resolution was immediately adopted, requiring the governor to raise and equip a company of riflemen, not to exceed fifty men with their officers, to be despatched to the Dalles for the protection of that station, according to the prayer of Hinman, who was much alarmed for his family.

On the following day a bill to that effect was passed, and was signed by the executive on the 10th. Immediately afterward a communication was received by the house from Jesse Applegate, suggesting that a messenger be sent to Washington to urge the United States government to assume control of affairs. The suggestion was at once adopted, and notice of a bill to provide for a special messenger given the same day.[2]

The bill to raise troops required the governor to issue a proclamation to raise a regiment of mounted riflemen by volunteer enlistment, not to exceed five

[1] *Or. Spectator*, Dec. 10, 1847.
[2] *Grover's Or. Archives*, 225; *Polynesian*, iv. 206.

hundred men, to be subject to the rules and articles of war of the United States army, and whose term of service should expire at the end of ten months, unless sooner discharged by proclamation of the governor. The regiment was required to rendezvous at Oregon City on the 25th of December, and proceed thence to the Walla Walla Valley for the purpose of punishing the natives. The fifth section of this act authorized Jesse Applegate, A. L. Lovejoy, and George L. Curry to negotiate a loan not to exceed $100,000, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the act, pledging the faith of the territory for the payment of the sums obtained by them, unless sooner discharged by the United States; said loan to be negotiated in gold and silver, or such goods as should be required by the army; provided, however, that the holder of such goods should deduct from the loan the value of the goods remaining in his hands at the cessation of hostilities.[3]

A public meeting had been called by the governor immediately on receiving Douglas' letter, which was addressed by J. W. Nesmith, H. A. G. Lee, and S. K. Barlow, and at which forty-five names were enrolled for the rifle company, which was to proceed at once to the Dalles.[4] The company organized with Lee as captain; J. Magone, 1st lieutenant; and J. E. Ross, 2d lieutenant. The other officers were: C. H. Devendorf, commissary; W. M. Carpenter, M. D., surgeon; J. S. Rinearson, 1st sergeant; C. W. Savage, 2d sergeant; William Berry, 3d sergeant; Stephen

[3] *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 6, 1848.

[4] The names of the volunteers were as follows: Joseph B. Proctor, George Moore, W. M. Carpenter, J. S. Rinearson, H. A. G. Lee, Thomas Purvis, J. Magone, C. Richardson, J. E. Ross, I. Walgamoutts, John G. Gibson, B. B. Rogers, Benj. Bratton, Sam. K. Barlow, Wm Berry, John Lassater, John Bolton, Henry W. Coe, William Beekman, Nathan Olney, Joel Witchey, John Fleming, John Little, A. J. Thomas, Geo. Westby, Edward Robson, Daniel P. Barnes, J. Kestor, D. Everest, J. H. McMillan, Jno. C. Danford, Ed. Marsh, Joel McKee, H. Levalley, J. W. Morgan, O. Tupper, R. S. Tupper, C. H. Devendorf, John Finner, C. W. Savage, Shannon, G. H. Bosworth, Jacob Johnson, Stephen Cummings, Geo. Weston. *Or. Spectator*, Dec. 10, 1847. In the *Salem Mercury*, 1877, is the list copied from the roll of the orderly sergeant, which is the one here quoted.

Cummings, 1st corporal; J. H. McMillan, 2d corporal. By noon of the 9th the company were equipped as far as it was possible for them to be from the resources at hand, and assembling at the City Hotel, received a flag from the ladies of Oregon City, which was presented by Mr Nesmith, with an appropriate address. Two hours afterward the company was on its way to Vancouver, having been cheered on its errand by the firing of the city cannon and the shouts of excited spectators. Governor Abernethy accompanied them, and also the commissioners appointed by the legislature to negotiate a loan which should enable the government of Oregon to prosecute, if necessary, a war with the natives by whom the settlements were surrounded.[5]

[5] The letter of the loan commissioners is as follows:

'FORT VANCOUVER, Dec. 11, 1847.

'To James Douglas, Esq. Sir: By the enclosed document you will perceive that the undersigned have been charged by the legislature of our provisional government with the difficult duty of obtaining the means necessary to arm, equip, and support in the field a force sufficient to obtain full satisfaction of the Cayuse Indians for the late massacre at Waiilatpu, and protect the white population of our common country from further aggression. In pursuance of this object they have deemed it their duty to make immediate application to the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company for the required assistance. Though clothed with the power to pledge, to the fullest extent, the faith and means of the present government of Oregon, they do not consider this pledge the only security of those who, in this distressing emergency, may extend to the people of this country the means of protection and redress. Without claiming any especial authority from the government of the United States to contract a debt to be liquidated by that power, yet from all precedents of like character in the history of our country, the undersigned feel confident that the United States government will consider the murder of the late Dr Whitman and lady as a national wrong, and will fully justify the people of Oregon in taking active measures to obtain redress for that outrage, and for their protection from further aggression. The right of self-defence is tacitly accorded to every body politic in the confederacy to which we claim to belong, and in every case similar to our own, within our knowledge, the general government has promptly assumed the payment of all liabilities growing out of the measures taken by the constituted authorities to protect the lives and property of those residing within the limits of their districts. If the citizens of the states and territories east of the Rocky Mountains are justified in promptly acting in such emergencies, who are under the immediate protection of the general government, there appears no room to doubt that the lawful acts of the Oregon government will receive a like approval. Should the temporary character of our government be considered by you sufficient ground to doubt its ability to redeem its pledge, and reasons growing out of its peculiar organization be deemed sufficient to prevent the recognition of its acts by the government of the United States, we feel it our duty, as private individuals, to inquire to what extent, and on what terms, advances may be had of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Company, to meet the wants of the force

On application to the chief factor at Vancouver for assistance of a monetary nature, and of such amount, the commissioners met with a difficulty which no doubt the better informed citizens of the country were prepared to anticipate, but which many were unable to understand, and which related to the order of the London directors to the company in Oregon, not to deal in government securities, after the experience they had had in the case of White, acting as Indian agent. In his reply to the loan commissioners, without an explanation of the origin of the order, which would have been quite as offensive as his refusal, Douglas declared his inability to make the required advance for the company.[6]

This answer, though not unexpected by the commissioners, was a disappointment. To no other source could they look for such supplies as the army needed. At the same time, with the indebtedness of the settlers to the company, and their experience in collecting debts from the general government, there was

the authorities of Oregon deem it their duty to send into the field. With sentiments of the highest respect, allow us to subscribe ourselves, Your most obedient servants, Jesse Applegate, A. L. Lovejoy, Geo. L. Curry, Commissioners.' *Or. Archives*, 322–3; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 538.

[6]Fort Vancouver, Dec. 11, 1847. To Jesse Applegate, A. L. Lovejoy, George L. Curry, Esquires. Gentlemen: I have had the honor of your communication of this date, and have given an attentive perusal to the documents accompanying it. With a deep feeling of the importance of the object which has procured me the honor of your present visit, and the necessity of the measures contemplated for the punishment of the Cayuse Indians and for the future protection of the country, I can on the present occasion only repeat the assurance verbally given in our conversation of yesterday, that I have no authority to grant loans or make any advances whatsoever on account of the Hudson's Bay Company, my orders on that point being so positive that I cannot deviate from them without assuming a degree of responsibility which no circumstances could justify to my own mind. It is, however, in accordance with the spirit and letter of my instructions from the Hudson's Bay Company, to exert their whole power and influence in maintaining the peace of the country, and in protecting the white population from Indian outrage. The force equipped and despatched, at their sole expense, to Walla Walla, under the command of Mr Ogden, immediately on receiving the intelligence of the disastrous event at Waiilatpu, is an earnest of our attention to the calls of humanity. The object of that expedition is, with the blessing of God, to prevent further aggression, to rescue the women and children who survived the massacre from the hands of the Indians, and to restore them to their afflicted friends. Trusting that these objects may be successfully accomplished, I have the honor, etc., James Douglas, C. F. H. B. Co. *Oregon Archives*, MS., 66–7.

reason to expect objections even had there been no positive order from the directors to guide them in their decision. It could hardly be doubted, either, that they deprecated the prospect of an Indian war which would be the ruin of their trade, and perhaps the destruction of their several interior posts. The policy of the company had always been one of peace; on peace depended their success. To be known to have assisted the Americans in making war would destroy their long-sustained good standing with the natives. From whatever point of view they regarded it, there was every reason to avoid being involved in the impending war. On the first intimation of what had happened, without a day's delay, they had despatched their ablest and most popular Indian trader to the country of the Cayuses, attended by a party of sufficient strength to defend Fort Walla Walla if necessary, but at the same time to secure, if possible, the safety of the prisoners in the hands of the Indians; in short, to do what, in Mr Ogden's judgment, appeared to be best for all. Douglas probably thought that the matter might be safely left in Ogden's hands; and that the appearance of an American army in the country might defeat his measures. Should he, then, wish to aid in doing what would be opposed to the best interests of both British and American citizens? The question could have but one solution in his mind, and he may have thanked fortune for the order which enabled him to refuse to put an army in the Indian country.

But there was another side of the subject to be considered. The case was such that according to the usages of the company itself, the individual murderers must be punished. And by the same rule, the Americans must punish them. To refuse to assist them to do this was against their own sense of right. Besides, a refusal, under the provocation from which they were suffering, would be likely to exasperate the Americans against the company in which case there

might be trouble at home. Under all the circumstances, Douglas did what was undoubtedly the wisest thing; he accepted the security of the governor and two of the commissioners, Applegate and Lovejoy, and advanced the means to equip and put in the field the first company of Oregon riflemen, at a cost of about a thousand dollars.

On obtaining these supplies, the volunteers proceeded without unnecessary delay to the Dalles, where they were to remain in charge of the mission property until reënforced.

But one company of less than fifty men could not make war upon several powerful tribes, likely to combine at the first intimation of hostilities on the part of the Americans. The business of the loan commissioners was, therefore, only begun. On the 13th of December they addressed a letter to the merchants and citizens of Oregon, in very much the same language in which they had addressed the Hudson's Bay Company.[7]

The success attending the labors of the commissioners was entirely inadequate to the demand for means to put in the field five hundred men in the winter season, the amount secured being only $3,600,[8]

[7] It differed only in the concluding paragraph: 'Though the Indians of the Columbia have committed a great outrage upon our fellow-citizens passing through their country and residing among them, and their punishment for these murders may and ought to be a prime object with every citizen of Oregon, yet, as that duty more particularly devolves upon the government of the United States and admits of delay, we do not make this the strongest ground upon which to found our earnest appeal to you for pecuniary assistance. It is a fact well known to every person acquainted with the Indian character that by passing silently over their repeated thefts, robberies, and murders of our fellow-citizens, they have been emboldened to the commission of the appalling massacre at Waiilatpu. They call us women, destitute of the hearts and courage of men; and if we allow this wholesale murder to pass by as former aggressions, who can tell how long either life or property will be secure in any part of the country, or what moment the Willamette will be the scene of blood and carnage? The officers of our provisional government have nobly performed their duty. None can doubt the readiness of the patriotic sons of the west to offer their personal services in defence of a cause so righteous. So it now rests with you, gentlemen, to say whether our rights and our firesides shall be defended or not.' *Or. Archives*, 323–5; *Victor's River of the West*, 429–30.

[8] Of this, $1,000 was obtained from citizens, $1,000 was a loan from Mr Roberts, superintendent of the Oregon Methodist Mission, and $1,600 from

and after making their appeal to the people they resigned, and another board was appointed by legislative act, consisting of A. L. Lovejoy, Hugh Burns, and W. H. Willson. The new commissioners were not able to collect funds, but were obliged to take orders on the stores in Oregon City, in consequence of which it was impossible for the commissary-general to obtain articles for the use of the army, money being required to purchase axes and spades to make a road for the wagons to pass up the Columbia River; and the commissioners were in some cases obliged to discount twenty-five per cent of the subscriptions, in order to obtain cash. What the commissioners could not furnish the volunteers and the citizens supplied out of their private resources, taking receipts for any considerable amount of property.

The company destined for the Dalles were chiefly from the late settlers. It took somewhat longer to move men located on farms far up the valley. They did move, however, with surprising quickness, considering the difficulties to be overcome.

On the day following the departure of the Dalles company, the legislature proceeded to elect officers for the army, the election resulting in the choice of Cornelius Gilliam, colonel commandant, James Waters, lieutenant-colonel, H. A. G. Lee, major, and Joel Palmer, commissary-general. Their next act was to pass a bill to provide for a messenger to be sent to the United States,[9] their choice falling on Joseph L. Meek, who

the merchants of Oregon City. Report of Loan Commissioners, *Grover's Or. Archives*, 332–3. Waldo says in his *Critiques*, MS., 6, that he and Applegate contributed $1,000, and that he went around the valley soliciting subscriptions.

[9] The bill which passed authorized him to proceed with all despatch by the way of California to Washington City, and lay before the executive of the United States such official communications as he should be charged with. It also required him to take an oath faithfully to perform his duties to the best of his abilities; leaving him to be compensated by the government of the United States; and authorized him to borrow, if he could, on the faith of the Oregon government, $500 for his expenses, while he was made to give bonds to the governor in the amount of $1,000, for the faithful execution of his trust. *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 6, 1848. This was making the office of special messenger an onerous one; and so the legislature must have perceived, for another act was passed appropriating $500 in addition to the first appropria-

from his knowledge of the mountains and plains to be traversed, and the expedients of travel through a wilderness country, as well as by his undoubted patriotism and personal courage, was peculiarly fitted for an expedition of so much peril and responsibility.[10]

The memorial of the legislature thus despatched was a pathetic iteration of the many prayers for protection which had hitherto passed unanswered except in empty promises. "Having called upon the government of the United States so often in vain," it said, "we have almost despaired of receiving its protection." "We have the right to expect your aid, and you are in duty bound to extend it. For though we are separated from our native land by a range of mountains whose lofty altitudes are mantled in eternal snows; although three thousand miles, nearly two thirds of which is a howling wild, lie between us and the federal capital—yet our hearts are unalienated from the land of our birth. Our love for the free and noble institutions under which it was our fortune to be born and nurtured remains unabated. In short, we are Americans still, residing in a country over which the government of the United States has the sole and acknowledged right of sovereignty, and under such circumstances we have the right to claim the benefit of its laws and protection."

But the prayer of the legislature was not for protection alone. The authors of the memorial took occasion to say that in the matter of the offices to be created when the territory should be established, they would be gratified to have the government patronage

tion, 'for the purpose of facilitating the departure' of the messenger. *Or. Laws*, 1843-9, 9, 11; *Polynesian*, iv. 206.

[10] There was, besides these necessary qualifications in the man selected, the western sentiment to be gratified, which, it will be remembered, was opposed to Governor Abernethy's action in secretly despatching his own selected agent to Washington a few months previous. When the act had been signed constituting Meek the messenger of the Oregon legislative assembly, Nesmith produced his resolutions, before mentioned, against the appointment of J. Quinn Thornton to any office in the territory, which being printed in the *Spectator* were conveyed to Washington with other matter in charge of the messenger.

bestowed upon those who were then citizens of Oregon. But since there were many of equal merit among them, and a selection would be invidious, under the peculiar difficulties of their situation, they judged it would be better to fill the offices of governor and judges with men of the best talent and most approved integrity without regard to their present place of residence; which was the legislative way of saying that they would submit to have all the chief places given to men who were strangers to them, rather than that Thornton should be returned as a United States district judge, or Abernethy appointed governor. "The accompanying documents," said the memorial, "will afford additional information concerning some of the subjects of which we have spoken." And in conclusion, Meek was commended to congress for compensation for his services in conveying this petition to the government.[11]

The act constituting Meek a messenger contemplated a route by the way of California, in order to carry despatches to Governor Mason and the commander of the United States squadron in the Pacific, Governor Abernethy having written letters which were waiting to be conveyed, asking for a man-of-war to be sent immediately to the Columbia River, and making a requisition on the California executive for arms.[12] But Meek decided that he could not then cross the mountains into California, and pass over the sierra out of California later in the winter, and proposed to accompany the army to Walla Walla, and proceed thence eastward through the South Pass, a determination annoying to the governor.[13] But Meek knew too much about mountains to undertake the route marked out for him, and persisted in his inten

[11] *Or. Spectator*, Dec. 25, 1847; *Cong. Globe*, 1847–8, App., 684–5.

[12] *Or. Archives*, MS., 113.

[13] In a private letter to Major Lee, which found its way into the *Oregon Archives*, MS., 10, Abernethy says: 'Meek has altogether disappointed the expectations of this community, for it was fully expected of him he would have been in California by this time.'

tion of going to Fort Hall, on learning which the governor sent a commissioner to Jesse Applegate requesting him to go to California, or if he could not leave home, to employ some suitable person to carry the despatches to Governor Mason. It was late in January before this request reached Applegate, who immediately organized a company of sixteen men, and about the 1st of February set out upon the mission.[14]

But notwithstanding the determined character of the men who led the expedition, and the urgent nature of their duties, they were compelled to return. An extraordinary depth of snow on the mountains between Rogue River and Klamath Lake prevented crossing with horses. To have abandoned the horses, attempting to carry their blankets and provisions for the journey, would have been discomfiture or death to most of them. So at the end of one day's painful march on snow-shoes improvised of willow sticks, which sunk into the seven feet of soft snow several inches at every step, and often pitched their wearers headlong, the undertaking was relinquished, and the company returned regretfully to the Willamette Valley,[15] after four weeks of toil and hardship.[16] The letters to Governor Mason with which Mr Applegate was charged were, on the 11th of March, placed on

[14] Applegate's company consisted, besides himself, of his former associates in laying out the southern route, Levi and John Scott, Solomon Tetherow, Thomas and Walter Monteith, Daniel Waldo, John Minto, Campbell, Smith, Hibbler, Dice, Owens, Lemon, Robinson, and James Fields.

[15] In a private letter of Applegate is an interesting account of this day's struggles in the snow, too long to insert here. See *Or. Spectator*, Feb. 10, 1848; John Minto, in *Salem Mercury*, Nov. 23, 1877; *Ashland Tidings*, Dec. 7, 1877. Solomon Tetherow, to whom Applegate refers as his faithful and valued friend and helper on this occasion, was of the immigration of 1845, as elsewhere mentioned. He was a native of East Tennessee, born in 1800. He resided for some time in Alabama and Missouri, and married, at the age of 21, Miss Ibba Baker. He accompanied General Ashley on his expedition to the head waters of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. He subsequently ran a keel-boat on the Missouri to Council Bluffs, then a trading post of the American Fur Company, and was pilot of the first steamboat on the upper Mississippi. He afterward migrated to Texas, but finding that a sickly country, returned to Missouri, and finally went to Oregon, where he settled on the Creole River, where the town of Dallas later stood, removing afterward to the Luckiamute in Polk County, where he died in February 1879. *Portland Oregonian*, March 1, 1879.

[16] *Or. Spectator*, March 9, 1848.

board the brig *Henry*, by which means they finally reached California.[17] By the same conveyance letters were despatched to the American consul of the Sandwich Islands, imploring any assistance he might be able to render.

The act of the legislature requiring the governor to issue his proclamation for raising a regiment of five hundred men was not at first regarded by the executive as a wise one, both on account of the difficulty of raising the means to put them in the field, and of the effect upon the savages, who might be led, by hearing of extensive preparations for war, to a combination against the settlers. Instead, therefore, of calling for five hundred men, he called for one hundred. This difference of opinion led the legislature to remove the responsibility from the executive and to assume it themselves, by a resolution passed the 25th of December, at which time no further news had been received from the upper country, or from Major Lee's company at the Dalles.[18] The governor having at last issued the proclamation required, trusting to the patriotism of the citizens of the country for the support of the army[19] in the field, the office of adjutant-general was created, A. L. Lovejoy being elected to that position. An act was also passed establishing the pay of privates and non-commissioned officers who furnished their own horses and equipments at one dollar and a half a day A penalty of not more than two hundred dollars nor less than twenty-five dollars

[17] Abernethy's letters are to be found in a manuscript volume of the *Oregon Archives*, not contained in Grover's collection, which I have had copied from the originals in the state-house at Salem. See *Or. Arch.*, MS., 112–13, 134.

[18] *Or. Spectator*, Dec. 25, 1847. I find a letter in the *Or. Archives*, MS., 100, written by Nesmith Dec. 27th, to Major Lee, in which he says: 'But little has as yet been accomplished owing to the imbecility of the executive. The proclamation which was authorized for raising 500 men immediately after your departure has been delayed until the 25th...I know it has been difficult to obtain means, yet the governor has had sufficient at his disposal to have procured you reënforcements and provisions, both of which would probably have been acceptable to you before this.'

[19] *Grover's Or. Archives*, 247, 249.

was fixed for each sale or gift of munitions of war to the natives. This act brought the legislature in conflict with the fur-traders at Vancouver, who were in the habit of paying for the assistance of the natives in passing the portages at the Dalles and the Cascades with powder and ball, and who thought it a hardship to these people, and one fraught with danger, to refuse them their accustomed compensation.[20]

In truth, the situation of the Hudson's Bay Company at this juncture was anything but enviable. They were located in a country which by the recent treaty had become foreign, and whose people, more numerous than themselves, were prejudiced against them; yet whose laws they were under a compact to obey. The Americans had involved themselves with the natives, and whether intentionally or not, the consequences must be the same. While the company were honestly doing what they judged best for the peace and safety of the country, they were subjected to the ever-recurring suspicion that they were in some way to blame for whatever evil befell the people they endeavored to serve.

In the midst of the anxiety and suspense which harassed all minds during the absence of Ogden in the Cayuse country, a report was spread that Gilliam, indignant at the refusal of the company to furnish $100,000 worth of supplies on the credit of a government which could not afford to pay a salary to its own executive, had determined to take Vancouver by force of arms, and help his regiment to what they required from its stores, tendering a draft on the United States treasury in payment. On the credit of this rumor, Douglas placed some guns in the bastions, and made other preparations for defence, at the same time writing to Abernethy for an explanation, trusting that his letter would "satisfactorily account for any unusual

[20] Correspondence in *Or. Spectator*, Feb. 10 and 16, 1848; *Or. Laws*, 1843-9, 12, 48.

precautions observed in the present arrangements of this establishment." Upon this hint Abernethy hastened to reply that Gilliam entertained no such purpose, and he trusted nothing would occur to cause distrust. No one knew better than Abernethy what a fatal error it would prove on the part of the Americans to fall out with the fur company, to whom all the savages were friendly; and while it may be doubted whether Abernethy did not equivocate in his reply to Douglas, there can be no doubt of the sincerity of his wish to retain the coöperation of the company to as great an extent as possible;[21] and fortunately the impending wrath of the irrepressible Gilliam was averted.

No sooner had the governor issued his second proclamation than about two hundred and thirty men responded and were organized into companies, the company at the Dalles being numbered 1st in the regiment of Oregon mounted riflemen.[22]

[21] That Gilliam made some such threats seems quite certain. Pettygrove says that Gilliam proceeded to Vancouver and called for supplies, giving Douglas until 9 o'clock next morning to comply or refuse, and that Douglas complied. *Oregon*, MS., 8, 9. The same story is met with in other places, and added to the correspondence of Douglas and Abernethy, confirms the rumor if not the fact.

[22] The second company was officered as follows: Lawrence Hall, captain; H. D. O'Bryant, 1st lieutenant; John Engart, 2d lieutenant; William Sheldon, orderly sergeant; William Stokes, Peter S. Engart, Thos R. Cornelius, and Sherry Ross, duty sergeants; Gilbert Mondon, color-bearer. Names of privates: A. Engart, Thos Fleming, D. C. Smith, W. R. Noland, Jos. W. Scott, G. W. Smith, A. Kinsey, John N. Donnie, A. C. Brown, F. H. Ramsey, S. A. Holcomb, A. Stewart, Wm Milbern, A. Kennedy, Oliver Lowden, H. N. Stephens, P. G. Northup, W. W. Walters, J. Q. Zachary, Sam. Y. Cook, J. J. Garrish, Thos Kinsey, J. S. Scoggin, Noah Jobe, D. Shumake, J. N. Green, J. Elliot, W. Williams, John Holgate, R. Yarborough, Robert Walker, J. Butler, I. W. Smith, J. W. Lingenfelter, J. H. Lienberger, A. Lienberger, Sam. Gethard, Jno. Lousingnot, A. Williams, D. Harper, S. C. Cummings, S. Ferguson, Marshall Martin.

The officers of the third company were: John W. Owen, captain; Nathaniel Bowman, 1st lieutenant; Thomas Shaw, 2d lieutenant; J. C. Robison, orderly sergeant; Benj. J. Burch, J. H. Blankenship, James M. Morris, and Robert Smith, duty sergeants. Names of privates: George W. Adams, William Athey, John Baptiste, Manley Curry, Jesse Clayton, John Dinsmore, Nathan English, John Fiester, Jesse Gay, Lester Hulan, Stephen Jenkins, J. Larkin, Joshua McDonald, Thomas Pollock, J. H. Smith, S. P. Thornton, William Wilson, Benjamin Allen, Ira Bowman, Currier, George Chapel, William Doke, Linnet, T. Dufield, Squire Elembough, Henry Fuller, D. H. Hartley, Fleming R. Hill, James Keller, D. M. McCumber, E. McDonald,

Before the army was ready to proceed to the Indian country the legislature had appointed Joel Palmer superintendent of Indian affairs, and had also appointed a commission, consisting of Palmer, Major Lee, and Robert Newell, to visit the Nez Percés, and other tribes in the interior, for the purpose of preventing, if possible, their coalition with the Cayuses. Mean time news began to be received from Major Lee and his force at the Dalles.[23] They had reached that place on Christmas night, after being detained ten days by adverse gales at Wind Mountain.[24] Major Lee found Hinman and family,[25] on their way to the Willamette

Edward Robinson, Chris. Stemermon, Joseph Wilbert, T. R. Zumwalt, Charles Zummord.

The officers of the fourth company were: H. J. G. Maxon, captain; G. N. Gilbert, 1st lieutenant; Wm. P. Hughes, 2d lieutenant; Wm. R. Johnson, orderly sergeant; O. S. Thomas, T. M. Buckner, Daniel Stewart, and Joseph R. Ralston, duty sergeants. Names of privates: Andrew J. Adams, John Beattie, Charles Blair, John R. Coatney, Reuben Crowder, John W. Crowel, Manly Danforth, Harvey Evans, Albert H. Fish, John Feat, Andrew Gribble, Wm. Hawkins, Rufus Johnson, John W. Jackson, J. H. Loughlin, Davis Lator, John Miller, John Patterson, Richard Pollard, Wm. Robison, Asa Stone, Thos. Allphin, Wm. Bunton, Henry Blacker, Wm. Chapman, Samuel Chase, Sam. Cornelius, James Dickson, S. D. Earl, Joseph Earl, D. O. Garland, Richmond Hays, Goalman Hubbard, Isaiah M. Johns, S. B. Knox, James H. Lewis, Horace Martin, John McCoy, James Officer, Henry Pellet, Wm. Russell, John Striethoff, A. M. Baxster, D. D. Burroughs, Samuel Clark, John M. Cantrel, Asi Cantrel, Albert G. Davis, S. D. Durbin, Samuel Fields, Rezin D. Foster, Isaac M. Foster, Horace Hart, Wm. Hock, Wm. A. Jack, Elias Kearney, James Killingworth, Isaac Morgan, N. G. McDonnell, Madison McCully, Frederick Paul, Wm. M. Smith, H. M. Smith, Jason Wheeler, John Vaughn, Reuben Striethoff, Wm. Vaughn, Wm. Shirley.

The officers of the fifth company were: Philip F. Thompson, captain; James A. Brown, 1st lieutenant; Joseph M. Garrison, 2d lieutenant; George E. Frazer, orderly sergeant; A. Garrison, A. S. Welton, Jacob Greer, and D. D. Dostins, duty sergeants. Names of privates: Martin P. Brown, William A. Culberson, Harrison Davis, James Electrels, William Eads, Alvin K. Fox, William J. Garrison, William Hailey, John A. Johnson, J. D. Richardson, Martin Wright, William Smith, E. T. Stone, John Thompson, H. C. Johnson, Joseph Kenney, Henry Kearney, Jacob Leabo, Daniel Matheny, William McKay, John Orchard, John B. Rowland, John Copenhagen, Reuben Crowder, Bird Davis, John Eldridge, John Faron, C. B. Gray, Robert Harmon, James O. Henderson, Green Rowland, William Rogers, Thomas Wilson, William D. Stillwell, William Shepard, Alfred Jobe, T. J. Jackson, Jesse Cadwallader, Andrew Layson, J. C. Matheny, Adam Matheny, Charles P. Matt, James Packwood, Clark Rogers. *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 20, 1848; *Id.*, April 6, 1848; *Albany State Rights Democrat*, Nov. 2, 1877.

[23] Much of the information regarding this period has been drawn from the correspondence, published and unpublished, found in the *Oregon Spectator* of Jan. 6, 1848, and *Oregon Archives*, MS., 97, 101, 103.

[24] *Ross' Nar.*, MS., 9.

[25] Perrin Whitman and Saffarans were also of the party. The former, on first seeing the volunteers, took them for Indians, became alarmed and fled

Valley, the Indians having shown a desire to open hostilities by driving off some of their horses. On meeting Lee, however, who had only a few of his men with him, the boats being scattered by the wind, Hinman determined to turn back and endeavor to save the mission property. Leaving his family to proceed to the Cascades, and there await his return, he accompanied Lee to the Dalles, where they arrived the 21st of December, and whence Lee's first report to the governor was dated the 26th.

Lee found the natives there friendly, Seletza, the head chief, whose men had been killing the mission cattle, declaring that his people should pay for the property destroyed.[26] The mission buildings were undisturbed, though the property belonging to emigrants, left at Barlow's Gate on the Barlow road, having arrived too late to cross the mountains, had been carried off. A little of it was brought in, but no confidence was entertained that the natives intended to do anything more than to divert suspicion. In the mean while they circulated reports of a combination and general council of the Nez Percés and Cayuses, and their determination to cut off the missionaries in the Nez Percé and Spokane country, as well as to murder all the captives then in their hands. Lee himself sent these reports to the governor, but qualified by the information of their origin.[27] Such was the uncertain and excited condition of the public mind

into the woods, making his way to the cabins on the portage, which a party had been sent to erect. Mortified at his error, he remained there for some time. The accounts he sent to Oregon City, by parties engaged in the transportation of supplies to this depot, represented that the Indians had driven off all the stock belonging to the mission, and had probably destroyed the buildings; a report which greatly disturbed the governor, who in his letters to Lee inquired anxiously concerning the safety of the mission property, and says it was this report which led him to meet the house in secret session, and determined him upon calling out 500 men.

[26] 'Seletza professes friendship,' writes Lee, 'but I shall keep an eye on him.' Saffarans in a letter to Lee, dated at the Dalles Jan. 30th, says: 'I deem it necessary at this crisis to warn you against placing too much confidence in the fidelity and friendship of Homas,' another chief. The general feeling was one of distrust of all savages.

[27] *Crawford's Nar.*, MS., 116

when the governor's proclamation calling for five hundred men was issued, ordering them to rendezvous at Portland on the 8th of January, and to proceed on horseback. In order that their supplies might meet them, a party was sent to build a flat-boat above the Cascades, and to transport the provisions and ammunition over the portage and across the river; the route lying by the mouth of the Sandy across the Columbia to Vancouver, east by the cattle trail to a point above the Cascades, and across the river again to the south side, whence the trail led to the Dalles. Abernethy wrote Lee January 1st, that if there was a prospect of a general war, he thought of building a block-house at the Cascades, and keeping a force there.[28] He also wrote that provisions had begun to come in from the country, and Commissary-general Palmer was doing all he could to hasten them.[29] The impossibility of knowing what was going on in the Indian country, or what was likely to be required, augmented his cares and anxieties.

[28] This was the first intimation ever given of the value of that point for defensive purposes; or for any other, though it had been passed by thousands since 1842.

[29] There have been recently rescued from dust and oblivion some of the documents which show the manner of furnishing the first army of Oregon. Yamhill County sent the following: Andrew Hembree, 600 lbs. pork, and 20 bushels of wheat; Eli Perkins, 1 horse, 2 lbs. powder, 2 boxes caps, 5 lbs. lead; Wm. J. Martin, 1 horse loaded with provisions; Benj. Stewart, 2 boxes caps, 2 lbs. lead, 1 blanket; John Baker, 1 horse; Thos. McBride, $5 cash; James Ramsey, 3 lbs. powder, 8 lbs. lead; Samuel Tustin, $5 cash, 5 lbs. lead, 2 lbs. powder; Joel J. Hembree, 1 horse, 200 lbs. pork, 20 bushels wheat; James McGinnis, $3 in orders; James Johnson, $7.75 on Abernethy, 4 lbs. lead; T. J. Hubbard, 1 rifle, 1 pistol; Hiram Cooper, 1 rifle, 1 musket, 60 rounds ammunition; A. A. Skinner, 1 blanket, 1 lb. powder; James Fenton, 3 pair shoes; J. M. Cooper, 2 boxes caps, 2 guns; James Green, 2 boxes caps, 2 lbs. lead; C. Wood, 1 rifle; J. Rowland, 1 outfit; W. T. Newby, 1 horse; Carney Goodridge, 5 bushels wheat, 100 lbs. pork; John Manning, 1 pair shoes; John Richardson, 1 Spanish saddle-tree; Solomon Allen, 6 bars lead; Felix Scott, 1 gray horse; O. Ridley, 1 rifle, 3 boxes caps, 100 lbs. flour; M. Burton, 1 pair pants; Richard Miller, 1 horse, six boxes caps; Amos Harvey, 1 gun; James Burton, 1 sack and stirrups. *Salem Mercury*, in *Albany State Rights Democrat*, Oct. 12, 1877. Says Abernethy to Lee, 'We are now getting lots of pork, and some wheat.' *Or. Archives*, MS., 103. Thomas Cox, who had brought a stock of goods across the plains the previous summer, had a considerable quantity of ammunition which was manufactured by himself in Illinois, and which he now freely furnished to the volunteers without charge. *Or. Literary Vidette*, April 1879.

At the moment when Gilliam was ready to move toward the Dalles with an advanced company of fifty men, Ogden arrived from Walla Walla with the survivors of the massacre. The letter announcing to the governor the happy result of his expedition was dated at Vancouver the 8th of January, and was as follows:

"SIR: Mr Ogden has this moment arrived with three boats from Walla Walla, and I rejoice to say he has brought down all the women and children from Waiilatpu, Mr and Mrs Spalding, and Mr Stanley, the artist. Messrs Walker and Eells were safe and well; they were not considered to be in danger. The reports of the later murders committed at Waiilatpu are all absolutely without foundation, not a life having been lost there since the day of Dr Whitman's death. Mr Ogden will visit the Falls on Monday and give you every information in his power respecting the Indians in the interior. The Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Nez Percés, and Yakimas are said to have entered into an alliance for mutual defence.

"In haste, yours respectfully,

"JAMES DOUGLAS."

In Douglas' letter, written in the excitement and haste of the reception of the unhappy company of the rescued, there was an error concerning the fact of three murders which occurred after the 29th,[30] and under no circumstances was an error of a Hudson's Bay officer or a Catholic priest allowed to be anything but intentional by the Protestant American writers who have dealt with the subject of the Waiilatpu massacre; the infallibility imputed to them extending only to their knowledge of the truth, but not to their disposition to tell it. The error in this case was really immaterial, while the *on dit* of the last sentence of Douglas' letter was of the greatest consequence.

The courier bearing the despatch to Governor Abernethy arrived at Oregon City on Sunday morn-

[30] See *Brouillet's Authentic Account*, 57; Deposition of Elam Young, in *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 482.

ing, finding the executive at church. Even the usual decorum of the sanctuary was forced to give way. The letter was read to the congregation, and the greatest excitement prevailed, of mingled gladness, gratitude, and sorrow.

On the following day the ransomed captives[81] were delivered to the governor in Oregon City. As the boats passed Portland a salute was fired, as also on their arrival at the Falls; the compliment being intended to express the general gratitude of the people to the gallant man who had effected their release. On the 17th the governor indicted a letter of thanks as follows:

"SIR: I feel it a duty as well as a pleasure to tender you my sincere thanks, and the thanks of this community, for your exertions in behalf of the widows and orphans that were left in the hands of the Cayuse Indians. Their state was a deplorable one, subject to the caprice of savages, exposed to their insults, compelled to labor for them, and remaining constantly in dread lest they should be butchered as their husbands and fathers had been. From this state I am fully satisfied we could not relieve them. A small party of Americans would have been looked upon with contempt; a large party would have been a signal for a general massacre. Your immediate departure from Vancouver on receipt of the intelligence from Waiilatpu enabling you to arrive at Walla Walla before the news of the American party having started from this reached them, together with your influence over the Indians, accomplished the desirable object of relieving the distressed. Your exertions in behalf of the prisoners will no doubt cause a feeling of pleasure to you through life, but this does not relieve them nor us from the obligations we are under to you. You

[81] The price paid for the prisoners was 62 three-point blankets, 63 cotton shirts, 12 guns, 600 loads of ammunition, 37 pounds of tobacco, and 12 flints. Seven oxen and 16 bags of coarse flour, obtained from Tiloukaikt, for the use of the captives, had also to be accounted for. *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 20, 1848.

have also laid the American government under obligation to you, for their citizens were the subjects of the massacre, and their widows and orphans are the relieved ones. With a sincere prayer that the widow's God and the Father of the fatherless may reward you for your kindness, I have the honor to remain, your obedient servant, GEORGE ABERNETHY,

"Governor of Oregon Territory.

"To Peter Skeen Ogden, Esq., Chief Factor Honorable H. B. Company, Vancouver."[32]

To which Ogden replied on the 26th:

"George Abernethy, Esq., Governor of Oregon Territory.

"SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your highly flattering letter of 19th inst., and the high value you lay upon my services in rescuing so many fellow-creatures from captivity, but the meed of praise is not due to me alone. I was the mere acting agent of the Hudson's Bay Company; for without its powerful aid and influence nothing could have been effected, and to them the praise is due. And permit me to add, should unfortunately, which God avert, our services be again required under similar circumstances, I trust you will not find us wanting in going to their relief. I have the honor to remain,

"Yours, most respectfully,

"PETER SKEEN OGDEN."

Ogden's letter appeared in the *Spectator*, prefaced by the remark that "the act of rescuing so many defenceless women and children from the bloody and cruel grasp of savages merits, and we believe receives, the universal thanks and gratitude of the people of Oregon. Such an act is the legitimate offspring of a noble, generous, and manly heart."[33]

When Ogden left Vancouver his purpose was to stop the murders, and rescue the families before any

[32] *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 30, 1848.
[33] *Or. Spectator*, Feb. 16, 1848.

measures their countrymen might adopt could furnish the Cayuses with a motive for further atrocities. Taking sixteen men, he left Vancouver on the 7th of December, within twenty-four hours after McBean's messenger arrived. Hinman accompanied him; and on arriving at the Dalles, finding that the natives there had the previous day taken four horses from the mission enclosure, an act which could signify nothing less than hostilities, he advised Hinman to remove his family, and all the Americans at the Dalles, to the Willamette, leaving only a trusty Indian in charge of the mission property, advice which was immediately adopted.

Ogden arrived with his party at Fort Walla Walla on the evening of the 19th of December,[34] and found that none of the captive women or children had been killed, though they had narrowly escaped, having been 'decreed against,' but saved by the interposition of McBean, who, hearing of the intention of the Cayuses, sent his interpreter to them with a message warning them that "they had already gone too far" in what they had done,[35] and requesting them to withhold their hands from further crimes. Ogden's first effort was to call the chiefs together and hold a council to learn the plan with regard to their prisoners. For this purpose couriers were immediately despatched to the Cayuses, and on the 23d the council was assembled.

[34] There is a disagreement of dates here. In Ogden's letter to Mr Walker he says he reached Walla Walla on the 12th, at least so it is printed in the *Spectator;* but five days was too little time to get to that post in the winter; and 12 days was rather a long time, but many things might occur to delay him, and as the other authorities agree on the 19th, I think it the true date.

[35] 'When my messenger,' he says, 'arrived, Indian women, armed with knives and other implements of war, were already assembled near the house where the captives were, awaiting the order of the Chief Tiloukaikt, who was present. On being informed of my request, he hung down his head and paused, then with a wave of his hand peremptorily ordered the women away, who abusing him, called him a coward.' Letter of McBean, in *Walla Walla Statesman*, March 16, 1866. Mrs Mary Saunders, later Mrs Husted, disputes with McBean the honor of having saved the lives of the women and children by getting on her knees to Tiloukaikt; but I think the savage more likely to have considered McBean's threat than her prayer. Mrs Husted, who long resided in San Francisco, became, like many others who were of adult years at that time, a nervous wreck, incapable of reasoning upon the events which destroyed her mental and bodily health.

Some indications of the temper of the Nez Percés had been received before Ogden's arrival, through a letter from Spalding to the bishop of Walla Walla, and also through the intercourse of the chiefs on the Umatilla with the same person. From Spalding, the bishop, who was addressed as "Reverend and Dear Friend," had information that the Nez Percés wished the Americans to be upon friendly terms with the Cayuses, and not to come into their country to avenge the massacre at Waiilatpu, giving as a reason that the natives had overlooked the death of the son of Peupeumoxmox in California, for which the slaughter of thirteen Americans was no unreasonable offset. He was, in fact, remaining with his family in the Indian country as hostages of peace, and hoped to be able to send the same two young chiefs who carried his letter to the bishop, to Governor Abernethy, to prevent volunteers coming into the Cayuse country, lest by doing so they should precipitate him in ruin; and of this effort on his part to avert their punishment, the bishop was to inform the Cayuses. He also wished the Hudson's Bay Company to be informed of his situation with the Nez Percés; and that they had pledged themselves to protect him only by his pledging himself to prevent the Americans seeking revenge on the Cayuses.[36] A similar letter was sent to McBean at Fort Walla Walla.

This letter of Spalding's reached the Umatilla about the middle of December, and must be taken into account in considering what followed. The bishop was asked to impress upon the minds of the Cayuses that Spalding would do all that he could to prevent war, and to inform the governor of Oregon that his life and the lives of the other Americans at Lapwai depended on this promise to the Indians. The young chiefs who brought this message repeated the wish that the bishop would request Governor Abernethy not to send fighting men, but to come

[36] Letter of H. H. Spalding, in *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 20, 1848.

himself in the spring and make a treaty of peace with the Cayuses, who would then release the captives. To this petition the bishop replied that before writing to the governor it would be necessary to learn from the principal Cayuse chiefs whether this was their desire also; and for the purpose of learning their minds proposed a council on the 20th.

Before the 20th came round there were signs that the Cayuses were beginning to realize that the crime they had committed was one which the Americans might not be brought to overlook even by promises of friendship in the future. Camaspelo, a chief of high rank, sought an interview with the bishop, in which he declared his reluctance from the first to consent to the murder of Whitman, and his subsequent regret, and his present intention of killing his horses and quitting the country forever. To this Blanchet replied that peace, he thought, might be hoped for, and counselled that the chiefs should all be brought together to settle upon their course on the day appointed. Accordingly, when the day arrived the bishop's house was crowded, Tiloukaikt, Camaspelo, Five Crows, Tauitau, and a number of sub-chiefs being present. The contents of Spalding's letter was made known to them by the bishop in presence of his clergy.

The first to speak upon the propositions of the Nez Percés was Camaspelo, who, after admitting the ignorance and blindness which had caused him to despair of the life of his people, professed now to see a way out of the darkness, and approved of the plan of the Nez Percés. Tiloukaikt confessed that the missionaries had given them instructions for their good; but reverted to the death of the chief who accompanied Gray in 1837, and to the death of Elijah in California, endeavoring to show cause for what had been done, and hoping the Americans would pardon him as he was willing to pardon them. Edward, the son of Tiloukaikt brought forward the accusation of

poisoning, as made by Joe Lewis, and the pretended confession of the dying Rogers to the same effect, at the same time exhibiting a blood-stained Catholic ladder, which he declared had been shown to the Cayuses by Whitman with the remark, "You see this blood! it is to show you that now, because you have the priests among you, the country is going to be covered with blood;" thus placing the responsibility on the Catholics, where the Protestants were willing to believe it belonged. Edward even drew a touching picture of the distress and bereavement of the captive families, and recounted freely all the circumstances attending the massacre, only concealing the names of the guilty.

At length all agreed to the propositions of the Nez Percés, if they might be allowed to add a manifesto setting forth the reasons which influenced them in committing the murders. To this the bishop consented. They then stated what we already know, asking, first, "that the Americans may not go to war with the Cayuses; second, that they may forget the lately committed murders, as the Cayuses will forget the murder of the son of the great chief of Walla Walla, committed in California; third, that two or three great men may come up to conclude peace; fourth, that as soon as these great men have arrived and concluded peace, they may take with them all the women and children; fifth, they give assurance that they will not harm the Americans before the arrival of these two or three great men; sixth, they ask that Americans may not travel any more through their country, as their young men might do them harm."[37]

This being settled, the bishop wrote his letter to Abernethy, saying that in a moment of despair the Cayuses had committed acts of atrocity grievous to the writer as well as to him. Yet he felt forced to say that by going to war with this tribe, he would without doubt have all the savages in the country

[37] *Brouillet's Authentic Account*, 60–3.

against him. And would it be for the interest of a young colony to so expose itself? Advice he had none to offer; he simply enclosed Mr. Spalding's letter to himself.

The Cayuses, having been prepared by the council on the Umatilla to treat with the governor of Oregon on the terms laid down above, were not prepared to receive Ogden with the ready consent with which they usually listened to any proposition coming from the fur company. They could see plainly that their hope of securing peace with the Americans depended on retaining Spalding and the captive families as hostages. Nor were they encouraged to hope for peace, as Spalding and Blanchet caused them to believe.

"We have been among you for thirty years," said Ogden, "without the shedding of blood; we are traders, and of a different nation from the Americans; but recollect, we supply you with ammunition, not to kill Americans, who are of the same color, speak the same language, and worship the same God as ourselves, and whose cruel fate causes our hearts to bleed. Why do we make you chiefs, if you cannot control your young men? Besides this wholesale butchery, you have robbed the Americans passing through your country, and have insulted their women. If you allow your young men to govern you, I say you are not men or chiefs, but hermaphrodites who do not deserve the name. Your hot-headed young men plume themselves on their bravery; but let them not deceive themselves. If the Americans begin war, they will have cause to repent their rashness; for the war will not end until every man of you is cut off from the face of the earth! I am aware that many of your people have died; but so have others. It was not Dr Whitman who poisoned them; but God who has commanded that they should die. You have the opportunity to make some reparation. I give you only advice, and promise you nothing, should war be declared against you. The company have nothing to do with your quarrel. If you wish

it, on my return I will see what can be done for you; but I do not promise to prevent war. Deliver me the prisoners to return to their friends, and I will pay you a ransom, that is all."[38]

Such was Ogden's address to the chiefs, contemplating, as he truthfully said, only the rescue of the prisoners, without altering the relations of the company toward the Indians, whose friendship they had long possessed and did not mean to lose. Neither did he intend to anticipate the action of the American government or people.

The Indian impulse, shifting as the sands of the sea, gave way to Ogden's superior will. With some weak efforts to excuse the disposition to yield, Tauitau consented to the ransom of the captives. The Hudson's Bay Company's men were married to Indian women, and were therefore his brothers; he could not refuse his brother's request. Tiloukaikt, besides the tie of blood, recognized the claim of the company upon him made by allowing their dead to be buried side by side. "Chief!" he cried, "your words are weighty—your hairs are gray. We have known you a long time. You have had an unpleasant journey to this place. I cannot, therefore, keep the families back. I make them over to you, which I would not do to another younger than yourself." Peupeumoxmox remarked that he had nothing to say: the Americans were changeable; but he agreed with Tauitau that the captives should be given up.[39] The

[38] *Or., Spectator*, Jan. 20, 1848. Brouillet, in *Authentic Account*, materially alters the matter and the meaning of Ogden's address, which was published in the *Or. Spectator*, less than a month after it was delivered, and which I take to be correct in substance and spirit. The amount of falsifying which the clergy on both sides thought necessary in order to avenge sectarian affronts is something astounding to the secular mind.

[39] Contradictory opinions have prevailed concerning the complicity of Peupeumoxmox. Tolmie, in *Puget Sound*, MS., 28, tells an anecdote that is in his favor. A messenger from Waiilatpu, coming with the news of the massacre, was asked by the chief what part he had in it. On his answering that he had killed certain persons, 'Take that fellow,' said Peupeumoxmox, 'and hang him to the nearest tree.' Another statement is, that when the Cayuses proposed going to war the chief warned them not to make the mistake of considering the Americans cowards because they would not fight when

Nez Percé chiefs, who had not yet returned to Lapwai, consented to go at once and bring Spalding and the others from that station, should they wish to come; the anxious desire to escape having been thus far carefully concealed from the Nez Percés. Ogden, in his letter to Spalding, which the young chiefs carried, advised the missionary to lose no time in joining him, and to make no promises to the Nez Percés, being unaware, perhaps, of the promise already given. He wrote immediately to Ogden that he should hasten his departure, and all the more because the young chiefs had assured him that the Cayuses would exterminate them should they learn that the Americans were intending to call them to account. As nothing was more likely than that such a purpose was harbored by the Americans, he was aware of the value of Ogden's advice to hasten to Walla Walla.

A letter was also despatched from Walla Walla to the Chemakane mission, in which the purpose of Ogden to do nothing which might interfere with the future course of the United States in dealing with the Cayuse murderers was reiterated,[40] and in which he ex-

encumbered with their families and property, though robbed and insulted, for he had been in California and seen that when it came to fighting every American was a man; and that if war with them were begun, they would all be killed off. *Parrish's Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 91-2. There is a similar statement in *Rept. of Com. Ind. Aff.*, 1854, 223-4. But I am of a different opinion about the Walla Walla chief. If he had been against the Cayuses, why did they make his son's death to figure so prominently in their justification? Why did he not warn Whitman? Why did he answer Ogden that Americans were changeable, but that he would agree with Tauitau, one of the most bloody of the Cayuses? Peupeumoxmox was as wily as his name of Yellow Serpent suggested, as I shall be able to show.

[40] This letter was intended to be sent by J. M. Stanley, a young painter travelling in the Indian country to study savage faces, forms, and costumes; but he seems to have gone to Vancouver instead. Stanley was from Ohio, and was at that time known chiefly in the Mississippi Valley. He travelled overland to California by the Santa Fé route, and thence to Oregon on the bark *Whiton* in July 1847. From Oregon City he went up the Columbia, and visited the Spokane country. Happening to be coming down to Fort Walla Walla at the time of the massacre, he was intercepted by a Cayuse, who demanded, 'Are you a Hudson's Bay man?' 'No.' 'An American?' 'No.' 'What then?' 'A Buckeye!' This being a new nation to the Cayuse, and one with which he was not at war, the artist was permitted to proceed. When he arrived at the fort he learned the significance of the questions. After Ogden's arrangement with the Cayuses, Stanley returned to the Spokane country, where he remained till spring. He was afterward artist to the

pressed his great anxiety, which had not permitted him to sleep for two nights. This letter was not written until the 31st of December, and the alarm from which Ogden was suffering was occasioned by the fact that he had no sooner received the captives at Walla Walla, by agreement, on the 29th, than rumors were received by the natives of the arrival of the first company of the volunteer riflemen at Walla Walla. The excitement occasioned by this intelligence it was feared might cause Spalding's company, which had not yet arrived, to be cut off, and any such resumption of hostilities would certainly be fatal to the success of his efforts for the rescue of even the Waiilatpu captives; for the rage of the savages would permit them to stop at nothing. But to his great relief Spalding arrived on the first of January, accompanied by a large force of Nez Percés. After spending another night in earnest council with these natives, always more friendly and more tractable than their relatives the Cayuses, Ogden embarked the ransomed company for Vancouver,[41] thankful to be able to do so.

Nor was he gone a moment to soon. A few hours after his departure fifty Cayuses arrived at the fort with the purpose of taking and killing Spalding, as they had all along declared their intention of doing, should they learn that any but peace commissioners were on the way to their country. It was this deter-

Pacific railway expedition in 1853. Many of his Indian portraits were placed in the Smithsonian Institution, and were destroyed by fire some time later.

[41] Repugnant as was the idea of what the white women and girls had suffered at the hands of their captors, there were certain touches of feeling exhibited. When Miss Bewley was sent for it was yet early morning. According to her testimony, Five Crows prepared a good breakfast for her, with tea, and placed a new blanket and buffalo-robe on the saddle of her horse to make her comfortable, bidding her good-by in a kind manner. Spalding in his his lectures makes Miss Bewley say of her arrival at the fort: 'As we rode up, Governor Ogden and Mr McBean, with several Catholic priests, came out. Mr Ogden took me gently from the horse, as a father, and said, "Thank God, I have got you safe at last! I had to pay the Indians more for you than for all the other captives, and I feared they would never give you up."' *State Rights Democrat*, Jan 18, 1868. Stanley relates that a Cayuse who took to wife a girl of 14 years, after murdering her brother and gaining her submission by threats against the lives of her mother and sister, offered Ogden a large price for her, or to forsake his own people and live among the white people. *Rept. Com. Ind. Aff.*, 1854, 219.

mination, well understood by all, that decided William Craig to quit his claim on the Clearwater, though on the best of terms with the Nez Percés. Bishop Blanchet also accompanied Ogden to the Willamette Valley, but Brouillet and Leclaire remained at the Umatilla until the 20th of February, when they too abandoned the country; and their property left among the Cayuses was destroyed.

The recipients of Ogden's favors were scarcely distributed among the homes of sympathizing friends in the Willamette Valley before the Presbyterians, with Spalding at their head, made an attack on the Hudson's Bay Company and the Catholic clergy, openly accusing them of conspiring with the Indians to destroy the Protestant missions in the interior; every act and word of either being turned into the acts and words of conspirators plotting death and ruin to Americans and Protestants. All were termed Jesuits, whether Jesuit, secular, or Oblate; and fertile imaginations, half crazed by horrors, were sown with suspicions the foulest and most unnatural. The *Spectator* being by its by-laws prohibited from entering into sectarian discussions, the *Oregon American* devoted its columns almost exclusively to the publication of the matter.[42] The results of its few weeks of existence continue to appear in the frequent assertions published and uttered even now that the fur company and the Catholic priesthood in Oregon were responsible for the tragedy of Waiilatpu, notwithstanding the facts.

The lack of motive on the part of the company,

[42] The *Oregon American* was not the only paper brought into existence about this time with the purpose of giving utterance to sentiments which were not admitted to the columns of the conservative *Spectator*. George L. Curry, after being dismissed from the editorial chair of that journal for reasons before mentioned, started the *Oregon Free Press*, a small weekly in which he printed as much truth, welcome or unwelcome to the *Spectator*, as pleased him. It ran only from April to December 1848. It was printed from a press made in the country, and with display type wrought out of wood by hand. Address of G. L. Curry, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875, 72; *S. I. News*, ii. 123; *Richardson's Missis.*, 411; *Polynesian*, v. 27; *Portland Oregonian*, April 30, 1872; *Gilfry's Res. Or.*, MS., 25.

even admitting the monstrous idea that its officers were capable of such acts; the lack of both opportunity and motive on the part of the priests, admitting that these young men just out of European or Canadian colleges could be thinking of murder, should be sufficient proof that they did not instigate the Indians. The country belonged by treaty to the United States, hence the company had nothing to gain. The priests had not yet established a mission, or obtained control of the Indians. They knew that Whitman intended leaving the Walla Walla Valley, and would if they wished it sell them his improvements at Waiilatpu. Why then kill him? Or why, if he must be killed, did the Protestant instead of the Catholic Cayuses do the deed? It was the Indians nearest to Whitman who killed him, even those almost of his own household. By the captives, saved and liberated by those they now accused, being instigated by sectarian hatred, were put upon the stand, and tricked into saying things the most abominable and absurd. It was Spalding himself who should have been examined, under oath, and not all those afflicted and bewildered captives who understood little or nothing of the causes which led to their great misfortunes. Finding the Protestants taking depositions, the Catholics also resorted to sworn statements; and it must be admitted that so far as the depositions go the latter have the best of the cause. But the rancor on both sides! The merely secular mind shrinks from contemplating it.[43] I have in previous chapters stated my belief that the interference of the Catholics augmented Whitman's troubles with the Cayuses; but it is evident to my mind that had there not been a Catholic in the country the catastrophe would have come in the identical shape that it did come, from Indian jealousy alone. Blanchet, in attempting to account for

[43] Among the writers who will not countenance the accusations published in the *Oregon American* in 1848 are Evans, Strong, Dowell, Waldo, J. Henry Brown, Victor, Deady, I. I. Stevens, and J. Ross Browne. Thornton and Gray continued to put forth these horrible ideas.

its occurrence, uses the following language: "At the sight of the good already done, and to be done by the army of the zealous missionaries just arrived, the devil, shaking with anger and rage, resolved to make his last efforts to utterly ruin the Catholic clergy on this coast."[44]

The Presbyterians blamed the Catholics, and the Catholics blamed the devil, for what the exercise of ordinary good judgment ought to have averted, but which sectarian pride and obstinacy resolved to dare rather than to avoid.

[44] *Cath. Church in Or.*, 165.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CAYUSE WAR.

1848.

ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY—COLONEL GILLIAM EN ROUTE FOR THE DALLES—THOMAS MCKAY'S CANADIAN COMPANY—CAPTAIN ENGLISH'S COMPANY—CAPTAIN MARTIN'S COMPANY—CAPTAIN SHAW'S COMPANY—CAPTAIN GARRISON'S COMPANY—THE ARMY AT FORT GILLIAM—THE ARMY AT FORT LEE—MEEK'S PARTY—PEACE MEASURES—A BRUSH WITH THE ENEMY—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE—HEADQUARTERS AT WAIILATPU—ACTION OF THE PEACE COMMISSIONERS—COUNCIL WITH THE CAYUSES—THE MURDERERS MUST BE DELIVERED UP—DEATH OF COLONEL GILLIAM—MAJOR LEE ASSUMES COMMAND—THE GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION—SCARCITY OF AMMUNITION—THE WAR ENDED AND TROOPS MUSTERED OUT—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

THE arrival of the rescued captives and the recital of their wrongs greatly accelerated the preparations for war. The letter of Spalding counselling peace would have been suppressed but for the request of Ogden that all if any of the correspondence should be published. But it was easy to see that Spalding had written as he did, because, as the natives said, "he was in a hole," and could not otherwise get out. He had heard, through the Nez Percés, of the escape of Hall, and supposed he would have reached Vancouver or Oregon City, and that steps would be taken for the relief of all who were left alive. He rightly surmised that his countrymen would wish to be avenged, and he took measures to warn them not to precipitate him and all the other Americans in ruin by coming with an army to fight the Cayuses. No humane and reasonable being could blame him for dissembling to the Indians when so many lives were at

stake; but the dissembling had not stopped there. While the general judgment declared the sentence to be "for the barbarian murderers and violators. . . eternal remembrance; let them be pursued with unrelenting hatred and hostility, until life-blood has atoned for their infamous deeds,"[1] Spalding was employed in creating a similar feeling toward the bishop of Walla Walla, whom he had so lately addressed as his "dear friend and brother," with the request to do all he could to save him. In the heated state of the public mind, which was not prepared to reason, the impression that the sword had fallen because the bishop had cut the hair sank deeply. If it were not so, asked the Presbyterians, how could the Catholics remain when we have been driven away? That question was answered when the army approached the Umatilla, but the answer was not forthcoming when Spalding pointed out this significant fact to the volunteers, who went away prepared to encounter the horns and hoofs of his Satanic Majesty on that river.[2]

On the same day that Ogden arrived with the families from the missions in the interior, Colonel Gilliam set out for the Dalles with fifty men, in advance of the companies mentioned in the previous chapter, which were to follow on the 14th. He was accompanied by Meek's overland party; but such were the difficulties and consequent delays of the march in the winter, that the advance did not reach the Dalles till the 24th, three other companies being close behind, and three others organizing to follow, besides a number that were being raised for defence in some of the counties. A company of infantry was also forming in Portland, which expected to be ready to march by the 1st of February. On French Prairie a company

[1] *Or. Spectator*, Jan. 20, 1848.

[2] The excitement became so great that the volunteers in starting said that their first shots would be for the bishop and his priests; and that for several months the Catholic churches and establishments in the Willamette Valley were in the greatest danger of being burned down. *Blanchet's Cath. Church in Or.*, 173.

was raised by Thomas McKay, among the Canadians, which action on the part of this noted Indian-fighter gave great satisfaction, not only on account of his reputation as a warrior, but as an indication of the course which would be taken by the half-breed population in the event of a protracted war[3] with the natives. A flag was designed for and presented to Captain McKay, emblematic of the provisional government, bearing a lone star and a number of stripes. He presented it to his company with this brief address: "This is the flag you are expected to defend, and you must defend it."[4]

Besides the Canadian company, Marion county furnished two others, under captains Levin N. English and William Martin;[5] and Clackamas and Marion

[3] Grim describes McKay as mounted and riding along the road haranguing the French half-breeds in Chinook. In an hour's time he had 34 men in his company. *Emigrant Anecdotes*, MS., 8. McKay's company was officered as follows: Thomas McKay, captain; Charles McKay, 1st lieutenant; Alexander McKay, 2d lieutenant; Edward Dupuis, orderly sergeant; George Montour, Baptiste Dorio, David Crawford, and Gideon Pion, duty sergeants. Privates: John Spence, Louis Laplante, Augustine Russie, Isaac Gervais, Louis Montour, Alexis Vatrais, Joseph Paine, Jno. Cunningham, Jno. Gros Louis, Joe Lenegratly, Antoine Poisier, Antoine Plante, Pierre Lacourse, Ashby Pearce, Richard Linkletter, Charles Beauchmain, Augustine Delard, B. S. Laderiste, Antoine Lafaste, Nathan English, Charles Edwards, Gideon Gravelle, Chas. Coweniat, Antoine Bonaupaus, Nicholas Bird, Francis Dupres, William Towie, Thomas Purvis, A. J. Thomas, J. H. Bigler, Mongo, Antoine Ansure, Narcisse Montiznie, Edward Crete. *Or. Spectator*, April 6, 1848; *Ross' Nar.*, MS., 8–10.

[4] *Or. Spectator*, Feb. 16, 1848.

[5] Captain English's officers were: William Shaw, 1st lieutenant; F. M. Munkers, 2d lieutenant; William Martin, orderly sergeant; Hiram English, George Shaw, Thomas Boggs, and L. J. Rector, duty sergeants. Privates: Jackson Adams, L. N. Abel, William Burton, Joseph Crank, John Downing, Thos. T. Eyre, R. D. Foster, Alexander Gage, Thomas Gregory, G. W. Howell, Fales Howard, J. H. Lewis, N. G. McDonald, James Officer, Joseph Pearson, Jackson Rowell, William Simmons, Lewis Stewart, Charles Roth, Daniel Waldo, George Wesley, William Vaughn, L. N. English, jun., Nineveh Ford, Albert Fish, A. Gribble, Samuel Sewers, Thomas Wigger, Richard Hays, Wesley Howell, Richard Jenkins, G. H. March, William Medway, J. R. Payne, Benjamin Simpson, Alexander York.

Captain Martin's officers were: A. E. Garrison, 1st lieutenant; David Waldo, 2d lieutenant; Ludwell J. Rector, orderly sergeant; William Cosper, Fales Howard, Joseph Sylvester, aud Benjamin Wright, duty sergeants. Privates: J. Albright, H. Burdon, T. J. Blair, Joseph Borst, George Crabtree, Joseph Crank, Wesley Cook, Samuel Center, John Cox, John Eads, Parnel Fowler, S. M. Crover, John Kaiser, Clark S. Pringle, Israel Wood, Lewis Stewart, Pleasan C. Kaiser, Thomas Canby, Sidney Ford, William Melawers, A. M. Rainwater, B. F. Shaw, William Waldo, Silas G. Pugh, G. K. Vernon, Isaiah Matheny, Thomas T. Eyre, John C. Holgate. *Albany State Rights Democrat*, Nov. 2, 1877.

together two others, under captains William Shaw and J. M. Garrison.[6]

The army established, as it passed up the river, a way-station for supplies at the Cascade portage, which received the name of Fort Gilliam. The stockade erected at the Dalles by Major Lee was called Fort Lee. The only piece of ordnance at the governor's command was the nine-pounder belonging to Oregon City, which was forwarded to the Dalles, this place being designated as army headquarters.[7]

When Colonel Gilliam arrived at Fort Lee there had already been some skirmishing. On the 8th of January some savages were discovered herding the cattle left at the mission by the immigrants preparatory to driving them away; and when Major Lee and several men advanced on foot with the intention of preventing it they were fired on. Thereupon a running fight was kept up for two hours, between seventeen white men, some mounted and others on foot, and twenty-three mounted natives, eight only of whom were Cayuses. The natives succeeded in driving off about three hundred head of cattle, and wounding Sergeant William Berry. Three savages

[6] Captain Shaw's officers were: David Crawford, 1st lieutenant; Baptiste Dorio, 2d lieutenant; Absalom M. Smith, orderly sergeant; George Laroque, Vatall Bergeron, George W. Shaw, and Charles McKay, duty sergeants. Privates: John H. Bigler, O. Crum, Joseph Despont, William Felix, Xavier Plante, Eli Viliell, F. M. Mankis, Antonio Plante, Charles Edwards, Andrew Heeber, Xavier Gervais, David Jones, John Pecares, Samuel Kinsey, Joseph Pearson, William Towie, Peter Jackson, Alexander Laborain, William McMillen, B. F. Nichols, Hiram Smead, William Marrill, Francis Poiecor, George Westley.

Captain Garrison's officers were: A. E. Garrison, 1st lieutenant: John C. Herren, 2d lieutenant; J. B. Kaiser, orderly sergeant; George Crabtree, George Laroque, and Joseph Colester, duty sergeants. Privates: E. Biernaisse, Thomas R. Blair, John C. Cox, Joseph Despart, Caleb M. Grover, Isaiah Matheny, John Picard, William Philip, Henry Barden, Silas P. Pugh, Isaac Wood, Penel Fowler, Andrew Hubert, Daniel Herren, Xavier Plante, Vitelle Bergeron. There is a repetition of the same names in two or more companies here given, from which it appears that men and officers were frequently transferred. But as the rolls were thus published by J. Henry Brown from the originals, I let them stand. They appeared first in the *Salem Mercury*, and were copied into the *Albany State Rights Democrat*, Nov. 2 and 9, 1877, and *Ashland Tidings*, of same date.

[7] *Or. Archives*, MS., 114.

were killed, and one wounded. On the following morning, while a detachment was going some distance from the fort to bring in a friendly chief, Seletza, who had been robbed for refusing to join in the hostilities, sixty Indian horses were captured—a reprisal which hardly offset the loss of so much beef in a country destitute of provisions.

On hearing of Major Lee's first brush with the enemy, the governor wrote Colonel Gilliam, January 26th, to select some of his best men and horses, and make a reconnoissance in the neighborhod of Des Chutes River. "It will require great caution on your part," he said, "as commander-in-chief in the field, to distinguish between friends and foes; but when you are certain that they are enemies, let them know the Americans are not women." But Gilliam was not a commander to need promptings of this kind. He meant to show the natives that Americans could fight when disembarrassed of their wives, children, and herds.

On arriving at the Dalles, he led a hundred and thirty men to the east side of Des Chutes River, where Major Lee was sent forward with a small detachment to discover the whereabouts of the enemy, a camp being found located about twenty miles above the crossing, but moving toward the mountains, with their families and property. Lee at once charged them, killing one man and capturing two women and a number of horses. Returning to camp, he was overtaken in a narrow cañon by a well-armed and mounted force, who opened fire, obliging them to dismount, and shelter themselves among the rocks and bushes of the ravine, where the savages annoyed them until dark by rolling heavy stones down upon them. On the following day Gilliam attacked the natives with his whole company, killing a number and taking forty horses, a few cattle, and about $1,400 worth of other property which had been stolen. Skirmishing continued for several days, during which time three men

were killed, and one wounded so that he died subsequently at Vancouver.[8]

In the mean time the governor's policy with regard to fighting suddenly underwent a change, for on the 27th we find him instructing Lee, at every opportunity, to assure the Indians that all the Americans want of them is to give up the murderers, and that they wish to be at peace with all the other tribes. At the same time he informed him that he thought of appointing the three commissioners authorized by the legislature, who should repair to Walla Walla for the purpose of holding a council with the various tribes of the Columbia, to prevent if possible a coalition between them and the Cayuses; and that he had selected Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian affairs, Robert Newell, well known to the Nez Percés and Cayuses, and Major Lee himself, who under White's administration had also become well known to the Indians.

In accordance with this plan of action, the governor on the 29th directed Colonel Gilliam to remain at the Dalles until the commissioners, with the last of the volunteer companies, should arrive; and repeated to him the instructions he had given Lee concerning the assurances to be made to the Indians, that if they would give up the murderers and restore the stolen property the volunteers should be withdrawn. On the 2d of February commissions were issued to Palmer, Newell, and Lee, and the former two immediately set about making preparations for departure.

Palmer, being commissary-general, deputized A. E. Wait and James Taylor, of Oregon City, to take charge of the commissary and quartermaster departments in his absence.[9] Knowing the impatient character of

[8] Alexander McDonald was shot by the guard whom he approached in a manner to induce the belief that he was an Indian. James Packwood and Jackson were shot by Indians while herding horses near the fort.

[9] In his directions to Wait, Palmer says: 'The troops in the field must be supplied with provisions at all hazards...If a supply cannot be had by purchasing with such funds as are at the disposal of the department, a resort must be had to levying contributions upon the citizens...In doing this you will be particular in not reducing the amount of bread-stuffs below the wants

Gilliam, the governor urged Palmer to use all possible despatch to reach the Dalles before the colonel should have moved from that place. The commissioners arrived at Fort Lee on the 10th, accompanied by the commands of McKay and English, with the cannon, which McKay's men transported round the Cascades in a severe snow-storm, which detained both companies at the upper landing all day of the 9th, and also a party of three Hudson's Bay men bearing despatches to Fort Walla Walla.

Colonel Gilliam received a letter from the governor by the hand of Commissioner Palmer, in which he was informed that the commissioners had been ordered to hold a council with the field-officers of the army, on the steps necessary to be taken in order to secure entire unanimity of action. If the colonel thought best to proceed at once to Waiilatpu with the main army, he was to do so, and to select a favorable point for erecting a fort; wood, water, and grass being requisites. In case of the tribes combining and refusing to comply with the demand to give up the murderers, the field was left in the hands of the colonel, who was only cautioned to respect the lives and property of all Indians who were friendly.

This blowing hot and blowing cold, and final leaving of everything in Gilliam's hands, was extremely perplexing to the commissioners, who, if they were to effect the object for which they were delegated, must meet the natives in council before the army was upon them. The council with the field-officers took place on

of families. You should have at least 40 days' rations in advance. Call upon the citizens through the medium of the press, or handbills, or both, to come forward and aid us. Now is the time to show their love of country, their patriotism, who are friends, and who are foes. There are but two sides, for and against; there can be no half-way place.'

Writing from Vaucouver, on his way up the Columbia, he says: 'I have bought a keg of powder and 100 pounds of balls which can be used as well as lead. Secure all the ammuniton you can and forward speedily. Send cannon, ball, and canister. I will make a portage for the cannon at the Cascades, as I go up. There are 40 pounds of good rifle powder at Timmon's, on the Columbia Slough, opposite this fort.' Such was the multiplicity of cares of the chairman of the peace commission, who, while delegated to negotiate for peace, was preparing for war See *Or. Archives*, MS., 117-18.

the 11th, but there was not that unanimity for which the governor hoped, and no arrangement was effected. On the following day a compromise was made, the colonel allowing the commissioners to precede him, accompanied by Major Lee, captains McKay and Thompson, Meek's party, and men enough to make up a company of one hundred. Letters were written to be despatched by an Indian messenger to the Catholic mission on the Umatilla, to Fort Walla Walla, and to the Nez Percés, that they might be prepared for the advent of the army as well as of the peace commissioners. The latter were to proceed on the morning of the 14th. In the mean time the old frontier method of warfare prevailed, the innocent and the guilty being shot down indiscriminately.[10] News was received on the 13th that a combination had been consummated between the tribes east of the Dalles, which information determined Gilliam to delay no longer, but to march the next morning with three hundred men for Waiilatpu, leaving Captain Williams at Fort Lee with twenty-seven men, including several sick.[11]

Before the commissioners could start on the 14th they received a visit from two Yakimas who came as messengers from their chiefs to learn the intentions of the Americans; saying that the Cayuses wished them to join the murderers; but that they had had no quarrel with the white people, who did not pass through their country. If the Americans desired peace, so did they. In this friendly mood they

[10] I learn these things from a memorandum kept by Robert Newell during his journey to and from Waiilatpu. It was a strictly private diary, which his daughter, Mrs Wardwell, of Lewiston, Idaho, allowed me to copy in 1877. The following entry is touching the recklessness of the volunteers: 'An Indian was shot by one of our own people, H. English, while out hunting horses to-day, Feb. 13th, a most shameful thing.'

[11] Newell says in his *Memoranda* that Williams pulled down the mission barn to make pickets around the houses. Palmer, in a letter to Wait, says only 3 men were left at Fort Gilliam to protect the property, and 3 to run the boats from the Cascades to the Dalles. 'The men have volunteered to fight Indians, and not run boats'—so say the officers. *Or. Archives*, MS., 123. These bits of private information show the condition of the army more clearly than the reports of officers.

were encouraged to remain, and sent back to their chiefs with a few trifling presents.

The discipline of the army was bad. Several of the men left at Fort Lee returned to the Willamette because they were not permitted to fight Indians; and Captain Ross resigned for some reason equally foolish;[12] while much disorder prevailed in the commissary department; and annoying jealousies were indulged in by some who had not provided themselves with private stores. In spite of these drawbacks, the army maintained a generally cheerful tone and practised their military manœuvres with increasing dexterity, as they moved slowly to the John Day River without encountering any natives either hostile or friendly—an indication of enmity in Indian tactics. On the 18th, at the upper crossing of John Day River, it became apparent that a camp of the enemy had left that place the previous night, as the newly opened caches demonstrated, and Major Lee was ordered in pursuit, returning at midnight without having overtaken them.

On the 21st, after a hard day's march, the wagons not getting into camp with the provisions until late in the night, and flour being scarce, the company of Captain Maxon took a vote on the propriety of turning back without orders. On the following day Colonel Gilliam remained in camp, and after a military parade, made a speech to the army upon the duties of a soldier and the dishonor of deserting the cause in which they were enlisted, promising that the men who had first moved in the mutiny should be remembered in a manner befitting their conduct; which well-deserved reproof had the effect to check desertion, though it did not prevent other infractions of discipline, and the waste of ammunition by the firing of guns in camp.

On approaching the Cayuse country the natives could be seen moving off toward the Blue Mountains,

[12] *Newell's Memoranda*, MS., 4.

taking with them their personal effects and herds. This condition of affairs, although what might have been expected, was the occasion of discontent among the hungry volunteers, who had not enlisted simply to march after a retreating foe; and the distance from a base of supplies was growing daily greater.

But at length on the 23d, while the army was at Willow Creek, a deputation of thirteen Des Chutes appeared, bearing a flag, with a request for a council. The delegation was headed by a chief called Sue, who gave as a reason for not sooner responding to the invitation, that the volunteers had fired on his people and compelled them to run away. He professed sentiments of friendship for the Americans, even offering to join them against the Cayuses. It was agreed that they should return to the Dalles and there await the commissioners, who would hold a general council with them when they came back from Waiilatpu.

These peace measures were not regarded with favorable eyes by the army, who were anxious to avenge the killing of Packwood and Jackson, but the Indians were allowed to depart unmolested. Before leaving, Sue presented Captain McKay a fine horse from the principal Des Chutes chief, Welaptulekt, who also sent word to Gilliam that he would bring in all the property left in his charge by immigrants, and all that had been stolen by his people, and return it to the colonel at the Dalles, if that would make them friends, to which Gilliam replied that such a course would be entirely satisfactory.[13]

On the morning of the 24th, about daylight, a messenger arrived from the Catholic missionaries among the Yakimas, to inform the commissioners that this people had decided to follow their advice, and would remain at peace, desiring that the governor of Oregon be informed of their decision at the earliest moment possible, as if they feared to trust to the friendship of the military. But no message had yet come from the

[13] Report of commissioners, in *Or. Spectator*, April 6, 1848.

missionaries among the Cayuses, to whom a letter had been sent[14] on the 20th.

About ten o'clock on the morning of the 24th, while the army was on the march, the commissioners being in advance with a flag, two Cayuse spies were discovered, and about noon a large force came in sight making signs of hostility; and when the commissioners advanced they were warned to keep off. They then returned to the volunteers, and the natives began closing in on all sides to the number of four hundred, about one hundred being unarmed spectators and women. Their first overt act was the shooting of a dog belonging to one of the men. Then the battle began.

It was a brave sight, the gayly dressed warriors mounted on their painted coursers galloping over the field, and the hills decorated with motionless human bronzes. The vanity of a native is his most distinguishing trait. These three hundred Cayuses had told each other, and believed it themselves, that they should have an easy conquest of the Americans. "We will beat the Americans to death with clubs, and then proceed to the Willamette and take the women, and all their property," said these boastful braves,[15] who had yet the art of war to learn. They had an advantage in the ground chosen, and in their general acquaintance with the country, and had they been as great warriors as they imagined, must easily have beaten the invaders.

But the volunteers behaved well, considering it

[14] This apparent neglect is explained by Brouillet in *Authentic Account*, 69, where he says that the Cayuses had been told that the missionaries would remain among them as long as they were at peace, but would retire as soon as war should be declared; and that on the 19th of Feb. the Cayuses had gone to meet the Americans, whereupon the priests removed to Fort Walla Walla on the 20th. Brouillet also says that Ogden promised the Cayuses to endeavor to prevent a war, and that he would send an express to Walla Walla to apprise them of the result; but that no such express came before the first engagement, and that the Indians suspected Ogden of betraying them. 'Had Ogden's letter arrived in time,' says Brouillet, 'it would probably have prevented the engagement, and induced the Cayuses to accept peace upon the terms offered by the government.'

[15] C. McKay, in *Or. Spectator*, March 23, 1848.

was their purpose to kill as many as possible. Yet in Indian battles, except where there is a surprise and a massacre, few are killed, for the Indian fights from behind a tree, and his white antagonist usually adopts the same tactics. Gilliam's troops extended their lines until they embraced in an almost complete circle the wagons and cattle, advancing and fighting, using every caution to avoid an ambush. The cannon was twice discharged, but owing to the scattered positions of the enemy, proved of little use, and the rifle became the sole dependence. The army continued to march and fight until sunset, when the natives withdrew and the volunteers encamped beside the road without wood or water, having had at last a chance to do something besides waiting and quarrelling among themselves or complaining of their commander. The loss on the side of the Americans was five wounded, one dangerously; while the Cayuses had eight killed, including a chief called Great Eagle and a medicine-man, and one severely wounded—the popular chief Five Crows, whose arm was shattered by a ball from the rifle of Lieutenant Charles McKay of the French company. Newell, in remarking upon events of the day, says that the murderers were eager for battle, and that it was easy to distinguish between them and those who had no personal interest in the fight, and would have avoided it if possible.[16] Divided among themselves, and in consternation at the outcome of the battle, the fighting next day was cautious and ineffectual.

For two days the men were without water, and with little to eat, harassed continually by the enemy keeping on a parallel line of march. Some of the Cayuses approached near enough to intimate their desire to hold a council with the commissioners, but they were told that no interruption could be allowed the movements of the army until water was found. On the night of the 25th the volunteers encamped on the

[16] *Memoranda*, MS., 8.

west bank of the Umatilla River, of which the enemy in the beginning had boastfully said the Americans should never drink; and notwithstanding the overtures for a council, some of the horses were stolen during the night.

Crossing the Umatilla on the 26th, Gilliam marched to within three miles of the Cayuse camp, where he remained until the forenoon of the 27th. While moving, and in camp, the Indians swarmed all along the hills, the main body showing a determination to continue hostilities. From those who approached the volunteer camp the commissioners learned that their messenger to the Nez Percés had been robbed and sent back by the Cayuses, and they immediately despatched another.

The correspondence of the Cayuse war is one of its peculiar features. Governor Abernethy had prepared a communication to be presented to the Nez Percés and other tribes to prevent a coalition with the Cayuses. In it he had begun with their first intercourse with white people, reminding them that they had invited and encouraged them to reside in their country, and that their white friends had earnestly labored to do them good, but had been rewarded with death. Many Americans, he said, had passed through their country to the Willamette, at first without molestation, but latterly had been robbed and assaulted. The Cayuses had accused Whitman of poisoning them, when they could see that the white people as well as the Indians died of a disease sent by the Creator. The hearts of the white people bled because of what had been done at Waiilatpu. It could not be passed by. The murderers and ravishers must be given up to be punished, and peace would then be restored; but all who sheltered or assisted the criminals would be accounted equally guilty, and be subject to the wrath of the great white race, compared with which they, the tribes of Oregon, were but a handful. Should

they not take his advice and give up the guilty Cayuses, the Great Chief of the Americans would send his war-chiefs, and they would all be punished until they were glad to capitulate. He warned them that he had sent the news of the massacre to California, and asked for war ships to be stationed in the Columbia, and that other means would be used for their chastisement should they not conclude to accept peace on his terms; but that should they consent he would promise to protect them.

A letter was also prepared by Spalding, addressed to the Nez Percés, counselling them to remain at peace.[17] It was anticipated, when these communications were prepared, that the commissioners would be able first of all to hold a council with the Nez Percés, friendly Cayuses, and Walla Wallas; but the vacillating course of the governor in authorizing Gilliam to advance on Waiilatpu should he think best, when he knew that every instinct of the commander was for fighting, had defeated that expectation; hence the preparation of other letters to be forwarded, as before mentioned, from John Day River on the 20th.

Spalding's letter, and one addressed by Gilliam to Vicar-general Brouillet requesting him to furnish the facts concerning the part he had taken in the events

[17] Spalding's letter is a curiosity, and of value as a specimen of the literary style of the Nez Percé school, rather than for its importance to the history of the country. It was written in Roman letters as follows: 'Willamette, Feb. 3, 1848 —Nez Percé Chiefs: My Friends, Ellis, Kancoot, James, Yuainimalkin, Luke, Jacob, Pucatash, Yamohmohnim, Yumtamilkin:—quick, meet them; with these flags meet them. From us, from the Americans, five go to meet you: Mr Palmer, Dr Newell, Mr McKay, Mr Lee, and Mr Gilliam. These meet you, with good hearts they meet you. They bear a message from the great chief, they bear it; therefore they call you to meet them. Keep quiet ye young men; do not go over to the Cayuses. Wait till these speak closely with you. The good are not to be punished; only the bad are to be punished. The Nez Percés, the Americans are one, therefore do you not depart from us. Very many Americans are going to seek the bad Cayuses, and the bad only. There will soon be large ships from California; therefore they offer to you a proposal of peace. They send you tobacco, therefore meet them without delay. My youngest child is sick, therefore I cannot meet you. When he is well, I will see you, by the blessing of God. Ever make yourselves good hearts. By the blessing of God, may we see each other. H. H. SPALDING.' *Or. Archives.*, MS., 120.

preceding and succeeding the massacre[18]—a precaution which did him honor, considering the feeling with which the volunteers had been inspired concerning the priest—were enclosed in a packet addressed to McBean at Fort Walla Walla, and intrusted to a native named Elijah, who professed to be a Nez Percé, and who had accompanied the volunteers from Oregon City. Elijah, however, unfortunately or designedly, fell in with the Cayuses before reaching Walla Walla, and had taken from him, by Tauitau, his packet and the presents of a flag and some tobacco which the commissioners had sent to the Nez Percés. But Tauitau, not daring to keep the packet, which was addressed to McBean, sent it to the fort, though he intercepted and destroyed the answer.[19]

The letter of the commissioners to McBean was an explanation of the presence of an army in the country, and an assurance that it was not with the purpose of bringing on a general war, but to secure the punishment of the Cayuse murderers, and if possible to prevent the other tribes from joining with them. "We do not expect you," they said, "to take part in the matter so as to implicate you, but if possible to facilitate our movements to restore tranquillity;" and he was asked to apprise them of the disposition of the Nez Percés, Walla Wallas, and other Indians. There were some additional items of news, with an expression of anxiety lest the Catholic mission and the fort itself should be in danger, and the offer of a detachment to guard the latter if necessary.[20] The answer, as I have said, was destroyed by Tauitau, and the commissioners remained in doubt. In the mean time, it happened that Timothy and Red Wolf, two Nez Percé chiefs, arrived at the fort simultaneously with Tauitau's messenger, and to them the letter of Spalding was given to be conveyed at once as addressed;

[18] Brouillet's reply is the basis of his *Authentic Account*, which see at pages 48–56, 91.

[19] Report of the commissioners, in *Or. Spectator*, April 6, 1848.

[20] *Or. Archives.*, MS., 125–8.

so that excepting the failure of McBean's answer to reach its destination, no serious interruption of the correspondence occurred. This was the position of affairs when the army reached the Umatilla.

On the 27th the regiment moved to the Columbia, the savages having all disappeared during the night; which movement signified determined war. To those who had asked for a council during the encampment on the Umatilla, it had been answered that they must come to Waiilatpu where the Nez Percés were expected, though in truth nothing was yet known of the disposition of the Nez Percés, which want of information was the principal reason for deferring the meeting with this portion of the Cayuses.

On the evening of the 28th camp was made near Fort Walla Walla. Colonel Gilliam, with Palmer and Newell, spent the night within its walls, taking council with McBean, whose despatches from Vancouver, having reached him at the same time, might be supposed to express the sentiments entertained at headquarters. It was his opinion that with good management a war could be avoided.[21] That the company should so desire was to be expected. Nevertheless two kegs of powder were obtained, to be used if necessary.

Gilliam had an opportunity while at the fort of discussing the question of complicity with the Catholic priests, and appeared to have been satisfied, as nothing further was said in that quarter of the charges against them.[22] He moved six miles up the Walla Walla

[21] *Newell's Memoranda*, MS., 10.

[22] There was a letter written by B. Jennings from Fort Lee, more often called Fort Wascopam in the correspondence of the volunteers, stating that Seletza, the Dalles chief, alleged that the priests at Walla Walla had made shields for the Cayuses, from which circumstance the Cayuses flattered themselves they were invulnerable, and intended marching through the country of the Sklos, who are probably a branch of the Yakimas, from the name of one of the Yakima chiefs, Skloom, to punish them for their neutrality, and thence down the north side of the Columbia to the Willamette settlements. The letter was dated February 28th, and addressed to A. E. Wait. The same writer mentioned that, as acting quartermaster, he was daily importuned for ammu-

River on the 29th, and encamped near the camp of Peupeumoxmox, who made professions of friendship for the Americans, and sold them some beef cattle. During the night there was an alarm of Indians, but none could be discovered until on the afternoon of the next day's march the smoke of their fires could be discerned in the direction of Waiilatpu.

On the 2d of March the volunteers encamped near the mission, when Gilliam took two companies and visited the scene of the massacre, finding that the houses had been burned, and all the property carried off or destroyed. Wagons and everything movable had been cast into the fire, and nothing remained but a heap of adobes, broken china, glass, pottery, and warped iron, while books, letters, and many lighter articles were scattered about[23] the enclosure, and the orchard trees were hacked or cut down. Horror was added to desolation, for strewn over the ground were the mutilated remains of the victims of the massacre, which had been disinterred by wolves.[24]

This spectacle evidently hardened the heart of the impulsive commander against peace commissions, and he returned in an impatient mood to camp, after re-

nition, the friendly natives pretending to be afraid of the Cayuses; and if refused, they then wanted a pass to go to Vancouver, in all probability to purchase powder and ball, from which circumstances he feared their intentions were not good. There were no means of ascertaining the truth of an Indian report, which had always to be received with caution. See *Or. Archives*, MS., 132.

[23] Among the letters were some which showed that Whitman had been aware of his danger. Joel Palmer, in *Brouillet's Authentic Account*, 21.

[24] A tress of Mrs Whitman's hair is preserved among the relics in the Oregon archives at Salem. *Nevell's Memoranda*, MS., 11; *Victor's River of the West*, 433. There is also in the state archives a tomahawk said to have been the one used by Tamahas in killing Whitman. When Tamahas was about to be executed, it is said he gave the hatchet to Stock Whitley, a chief of the Des Chutes, whose family presented it to Donald McKay, who in turn gave it to William Logan, Indian agent at Warm Springs in 1864. It was exhibited by Logan at a sanitary fair during the civil war, and finally presented to the state. It is not probable, however, that Tamahas would give a keepsake to a Des Chutes chief when the tribe had refused to assist the guilty Cayuses. Another and more probable story is that Tamahas used a hatchet obtained by Tiloukaikt of the Gros Ventres in 1833, and that he presented it to Five Crows a few years afterward. This fact, if established, would go to show that Five Crows was fully apprised of the intention of the Walla Walla Cayuses. See *Portland Oregonian*, March 9, 1865.

solving to make his headquarters among the ruins, to which place he removed on the 3d. This settled, a detachment of a hundred was sent to escort Meek's party of seven to the foot of the Blue Mountains, whence they were to make their way, protected by their Hudson's Bay cap and capote, and their own strength and sagacity, to the frontier of the United States.[25] Three months had elapsed since the tragedy of Waiilatpu, and as yet they had not been able to send the intelligence beyond the silver-rimmed mountain ranges which cut off the Oregon colony from the inhabited world. In how great a degree the present attempt was successful will be related in a future chapter.[26]

Amidst rumors that the Nez Percés were on their way to join the Cayuses, and the assurances of Sticcas that, while pretending friendship himself, his people were expecting war, the peace commissioners made efforts to hold a preliminary council with such of the Cayuses as professed to be friendly, they being almost altogether of the poorer and less influential class. But the commander frowned on 'peace talk,' and expended his energies on a fortress constructed of the adobes of the demolished mission buildings which was named Fort Waters for the lieutenant-colonel.[27] While many of the officers were willing to leave the commissioners free to accomplish what they could, Gilliam opposed his opinion and authority to this unmilitary sentiment, and threatened to march to battle on the morning of the 6th, the very day on which the Nez Percés, two hun-

[25] Meek was accompanied from Waiilatpu only by his old comrade of mountain days, G. W. Ebberts, and by John Owens, Nathaniel Bowman, James Steel, Samuel Miller, Jacob Leabo, Dennis Buris, David Young. *Brown's Miscellany*, MS., 22. The party being too small to be safe, Gilliam ordered an escort to take them beyond the Cayuse country.

[26] From a letter of Abernethy's I gather that he had some hope that Meek might meet the Oregon regiment, so much talked about in congress, near Fort Hall, if peace should have been concluded with Mexico. *Or. Archives*, MS., 108–9.

[27] Newell says: 'Colonel Gilliam left the council in a huff, and declared he had come to fight, and fight he would.' *Memoranda*, MS., 12.

dred and fifty strong, under Craig and Gervais, had appointed to meet them in council at Waiilatpu. No unity and little discipline existed in the army, because, as Newell said, some men had joined it from motives of patriotism, others for popularity, a certain portion for plunder, and the course taken by the commander was not one to consolidate factions. Gilliam did not, however, attempt to lead the volunteers against the Cayuses before the council, as he had threatened. The Nez Percés arrived about noon on the 6th, and were received by the army with cheers. On the 7th the council opened with the usual ceremony of smoking the calumet of peace. The letter of Governor Abernethy was then given to the chiefs, who broke the seal with much care, but being unable to read it, the contents were delivered through an interpreter, while they listened with close attention. Ellis, the head chief of the Nez Percés, being absent, the first speech in reply was made by Joseph, next in authority, a half-brother of Five Crows, on the mother's side, and like Five Crows a professed Protestant, but who, on hearing of the Cayuse outbreak, had been the first to withdraw his countenance from the missionaries and to join in the plunder of their houses. Said Joseph: "Now I show my heart. When I left my home I took the book (the gospels in the Nez Percé language) in my hand, and brought it with me. It is my light. I heard the Americans were coming to kill me; still I held my book before me, and came on. I have heard the words of your chief. I speak for all the Cayuses present, and all my people. I do not want my children engaged in this war, although my brother is wounded. You speak of the murderers. I shall not meddle with them. I bow my head. This much I speak."

Jacob, the chief, who was wont to practise upon the superstitions of the people to advance his personal popularity, as elsewhere mentioned, said: "It is the law of this country that the murderer shall die. That

law I keep in my heart, because I believe it is the law of God—the first law." He also had heard, on the way, that the Americans were coming to kill all his brethren, but he was not turned back by the report, and was thankful for the good letter of the governor.

Then spoke James, the Catholic Nez Percé, and expressed his pleasure that Spalding had escaped, and his conviction that all the chiefs present desired peace. Red Wolf declared that when he heard of the massacre he went to Waiilatpu to discover the truth concerning the conspiracy, and had been told by Tauitau that not all the chiefs were guilty, but that the young men had committed the murders. Without sleeping he returned and reported to Spalding what chiefs were engaged in killing the Americans, and Spalding had said: "I go to the Willamette and will say, 'The Nez Percés have saved my life,' and I will go to the Willamette and save yours;" since which time they had all been waiting to hear from the governor.

Timothy was more reserved. He said: "You hear these chiefs, they speak for all. I am as one in the air; I do not meddle with these things; the chiefs speak, we are all of the same mind." Richard, who accompanied Whitman to the States in 1835, was thankful that the governor had spoken so kindly. His people would not go to war. They had been taught by their old chief, Cut-nose, to take no bad advice, but to cling to the good. Ellis was in the buffalo country; but he was sure that his counsel would be for peace.

Kentuck, who had escorted Parker through the Salmon River country when he came to explore for mission stations, followed with an address. He said he had been much with the Americans and French, and that none of them could say anything disparaging of his character. He had fought with the Americans against the Blackfoot. He had been with Frémont in California the previous summer, not for pay, but from friendship toward the Americans.[28] It had been

[28] In reality to avenge Elijah's death.

said that he was with the Cayuses and concerned in the murders, but such was not the fact. His people had never shed the blood of Americans; and he was glad to learn that they only demanded the guilty for punishment.[29]

Camaspelo, the only Cayuse chief who was present, acknowledged that his people had two hearts, and that Tamsucky had consulted him on the subject of the massacre before it was committed. He had refused to have anything to do with it, but had pointed to his sick child, and answered that his heart was there, and not bent on murder; but nevertheless Tamsucky had gone back to the other chiefs and told them that Camaspelo consented. Camaspelo might have said further that at that very time Whitman had ridden forty miles to visit his sick child, and yet the chief had not warned him of danger. But the commissioners were more intent on peace than on an examination of Indian evidence. They were satisfied to be told that some of the Cayuses would not attempt to screen the murderers, let their motives for neutrality be what they might.

Superintendent Palmer then addressed the council. He praised the Nez Percés for their reasonableness, and took occasion to give them a motive for continuing friendly by saying that the Cayuses by their conduct had forfeited their lands. At the same time he declared that the land was not wanted by Americans, who asked nothing more than that the road should be kept open for their countrymen to pass through to the Willamette Valley, which, he added, must be done. For this purpose a fort would be built, and a force stationed at Waiilatpu. For the Cayuses to oppose this demand would be futile. If they were wise they would assist in discovering the criminals in order that the innocent might be no longer involved in the troubles that threatened. The Nez Percés were advised to return to their home and their planting; and as an

[29] *Or. Spectator*, April 20, 1848; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 562–4.

earnest of good faith on both sides, William Craig as agent should accompany and reside amongst them,[30] with authority to settle all disputes. A school-teacher and a blacksmith were promised them as soon as peace should be restored, with the assurance that no other white man should settle on their lands without their consent; but they were warned not to interfere with the missionaries still at Chemakane, nor to molest immigrants or travellers as they passed through the country, or Americans coming among them to trade, to all of which they readily agreed. After addresses by other commissioners and Colonel Gilliam, tobacco was distributed and an American flag presented; this was followed by an entertainment in the evening, at which the Indians exhibited the war-dance.

All this talk was an irritation to Gilliam, who beheld the guilty Cayuses slipping through his fingers and moving off toward the Nez Percé country while he was forced to confer with their relatives, lingering only near enough to get news of what transpired at the council, but ready to elude him when he should move. On the 8th the Nez Percés were permitted to visit the Cayuse camp twenty-five miles away, in the hope that when they learned the result of the council they might be induced to surrender the murderers, and on the 9th the army began to move in that direction. After advancing a few miles towards the crossing of the Touchet, they were met by Sticcas, coming from the Cayuse camp with several hundred dollars' worth of mission and emigrant property and money, which was given up in the hope of winning a favorable opinion for those who consented to its restoration.

Sticcas wished to hold a council, to which request Gilliam objected, believing it to be merely an artifice to gain time; but as two of the commissioners present

[30] Craig was appointed agent March 10th, and went to take charge of the mission property at Lapwai, and to render 'all the assistance in his power' to the Nez Percés. *Or. Archives*, MS., 133.

added their solicitations to the entreaties of Sticcas, the volunteers encamped, Captain English with forty-two men being ordered back to Fort Waters with the cattle and other property brought in by the Cayuses. In the talk with Sticcas which followed, the chief announced that the Cayuses had decided that they would not surrender Tauitau nor Tamsucky. Gilliam proposed that for the person of Joe Lewis he would release five others of the guilty; but as this would be in violation of the agreement that the commissioners had made with the Nez Percés, they refused their consent, and withdrew from the council, returning with English to Waiilatpu, and thence to Fort Walla Walla, the Dalles, and Oregon City.

The commander had long wished to be freed from the peace commission, which was daily lessening the probabilities of the capture of the murderers. However that may be, Gilliam made his own agreement with Sticcas, who returned to the Cayuse camp, and soon after the volunteers, one hundred and fifty-eight in number, resumed their march toward Snake River. On the 11th they met three Indians bearing a flag, and driving some of the horses which had been stolen while the army was *en route* to Waiilatpu, which they were restoring as a peace-offering. These Indians reported that Sticcas had taken Joe Lewis, and had started with him to meet the volunteers, but that he had been rescued, and the property retaken, which the chief was bringing to deliver to Gilliam.[31] This intelligence caused Gilliam to hasten forward, as he now strongly suspected Sticcas of deception. On the 13th, while encamped at a spring near the Tucannon River, he received a message from Tauitau, who professed friendship, and an intention to forsake the company of the hostile Cayuses, adding that he was encamped on the Tucannon, a little farther up, and that Tamsucky had gone to Red Wolf's place on the Snake River in the Nez Percé country; and Tiloukaikt had

[31] Letter of Lieut. Magone, in *Or. Spectator*, April 6, 1848.

fled with the rest of the Cayuses down the Tucannon with the intention of crossing the Snake River into the Palouse country.

To many commanders this strategic division of the enemy would have boded ill, but Gilliam seems not to have been daunted, and taking as verity what might well have been doubted, determined to act without loss of time. Mounting his men after dark, he marched for the mouth of the Tucannon, arriving before daybreak near the Indian camp. As soon as the morning dawned he advanced, but was arrested when within four hundred yards of the lodges by the approach of an old unarmed Indian, with one hand on his head and the other on his heart, who hastened to assure Gilliam that he had made a mistake, and that this was the camp of Peupeumoxmox, who would not fight the Americans. The murderers, he said, were gone, and the only recourse for the Americans was to take possession of their stock which was feeding on the surrounding hills. The volunteers proceeding into camp, found only a few warriors painted and armed, who appeared friendly. Disappointed in his purpose, Gilliam could see no better course than to follow the old man's suggestion and drive off the enemy's stock, thus crippling him in his resources.

The Tucannon runs through a deep cañon, and to reach the hills where the cattle were grazing required a toilsome march up a steep ascent for a quarter of a mile. No sooner was this elevation gained than they beheld the cattle swimming across the Snake River. The enemy had outwitted them, and there was nothing left but to collect about five hundred head of stock, mostly horses, and return to the Touchet.

They had not proceeded more than a mile in that direction when they were attacked in the rear by four hundred Indians, the majority being Palouses. A running fight began, which lasted all day, the army being obliged to encamp several miles from the Touchet, on a small stream, where without food or fire they passed

a wretched night. So much did the Indians annoy them by firing into camp, that the captured stock was turned out in the hope that with that they would be content to depart. This, however, did not suffice, for when the volunteers were ready to move in the morning, the Indians swarmed about their heels and hung upon their flanks.

It soon became evident that the battle was to be at the crossing of the Touchet. When within two miles of the ford the Indians made a dash to pass the volunteers and take up their position, the river-bottom affording a thick cover of shrubby trees. White men and reds contended bravely for precedence, and the smoke of their guns mingled as they approached the crossing.[32] In this engagement the Cayuses did not show that apparent ignorance of tactics displayed at the battle of Umatilla, and warming to their work kept the army of Oregon for an hour at the ford before it all gained the southern side. Unequal as the numbers were, the volunteers achieved a decided victory. Though sustaining a loss of ten wounded, none were killed. The Indians, on the other hand, had four killed and fourteen wounded.[33] No attempt was made to follow the Americans across the Touchet. The whoop and yell, and rattle of musketry which had been continuous for thirty hours, ceased, and from the farther side of the stream came the wild and melancholy death-song which attested their loss. On the 16th the army arrived jaded and famishing at Fort Waters, having eaten nothing except a small colt for three days.[34]

[32] Captain Maxon in his report says that the courage and determination of a few young men saved the army from a heavy loss and perhaps from being cut to pieces; and mentions in a subsequent letter the names of captains Hall, Owens, and Thompson, sergeants Burch and Cooke, Quartermaster Goodhue, Judge Advocate Rinearson, and Paymaster Magone. English being at Waiilatpu did not participate in this battle, nor Thomas McKay, who had returned sick to Walla Walla when the commissioners left. See *Or. Spectator*, April 6, 1848; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 568.

[33] This is the number of killed and wounded given by Craig in a letter found in the *Or. Archives*, MS., 138. A writer in the *Catholic Magazine*, vii. 491, states that there were 50 Indians killed; but this number is entirely too great.

[34] *Crawford's Nar.*, MS., 121.

The late expedition and its results had demonstrated that notwithstanding the desertion of the Cayuses by the Nez Percés, Walla Wallas, and Yakimas, they still had a powerful ally in the Palouse tribe, which occupied a sort of neutral country between the Nez Percés, Spokanes, and Cayuses, and were largely augmented in numbers by outlaws from the surrounding tribes, which circumstance lowered their rank among the savages. But in their present rather friendless condition the Cayuses were glad to avail themselves of these or any other auxiliaries.

On the 18th Gilliam held a council with his officers, when it was determined that one hundred and fifty men should proceed to the Dalles to escort a supply-train to Waiilatpu, where provisions and ammunition, as well as men were wanting; and that the colonel would accompany them in order to more readily confer with the governor on the situation of affairs, leaving the command of the fort to Lieutenant-colonel Waters. Accordingly the companies of captains Maxon and McKay, with other officers and men, set out on the 20th for the Dalles with wagons for the transportation of supplies. They had reached the springs beyond the Umatilla and were encamped for the night, when as Colonel Gilliam was drawing a rope from a wagon to tether his horse, it caught on the trigger of a gun and discharged the contents into his body, killing him instantly. Thus died an honest, patriotic, and popular man, whose chief fault as an officer was too much zeal and impetuosity in the performance of his duties; whose glory would have been to die in battle, but who perished by accident in the discharge of homely labors.[35]

The death of Gilliam left the command temporarily in the hands of Captain Maxon. From his report to General Lovejoy, which he despatched by C. W.

[35] Gilliam left a wife and 8 children. His body was taken to the Willamette for interment by Captain McKay, whose impaired health obliged him to retire from his command. *Or. Spectator*, April 6, 1848; *S. F. Californian*, May 3, 1848.

Cooke immediately on arriving at the Dalles, where he found Captain Garrison in command, the colonists learned not only the events above recorded, but that without more men and means the army was practically useless. Fort Waters was but an enclosure of adobe walls a few feet high. The men in the field were almost destitute of clothing; the horses were worn out with marching, and no others could be obtained, as those captured had been claimed by the friendly Indians. The time for which a portion of the army enlisted, three or four months, would soon expire. He stated that one hundred and fifty men only were left at Fort Waters, and almost without ammunition and wholly without bread; while at Fort Lee there were but fifty men and no supplies. Maxon, having pictured their condition in a strong light, appealed to fathers to send bread to their sons, who were enduring cold and hunger to keep danger away from the hearth-stone; to mothers for clothing to shield their soldiers from the piercing airs of winter; to the young women to withhold their smiles from every young man who refused to volunteer to defend her honor and the country of her adoption; and to all to hasten forward the supplies for which he was waiting at the Dalles.[36] This appeal, which was no doubt necessary if the war was to be carried on, was somewhat highly colored as to the commissary department at Fort Waters, where beef and bread were plenty for some time after the departure of Colonel Gilliam for the Dalles.[37] These articles were obtained by the seizure of cattle, and wheat, pease, and potatoes found cached by the Indians, but which belonged to the mission estate.

The people, again excited by the report of Maxon

[36] *Or. Spectator*, April 6, 1848.

[37] See letter written on the 4th of April by Jesse Cadwallader, in *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 570. The news of Gilliam's death had not at that date reached Fort Waters. The writer complains only of the lack of ammunition, and says he hopes to see Gilliam back in a few days, and more men with him. A letter from Lieut.-col. Waters mentions that they had repaired the mill, and set it to grinding wheat found at the mission.

and the fear that in a few weeks when the snow should be off the mountains the Indians might invade the Willamette Valley, made haste to collect such articles as could be purchased from or spared by all classes, and to forward them to the Dalles. In this work the women of Oregon City heartily joined, organizing a society whose purpose was to support the army in the field,[38] and the maidens pledging themselves to treat with avoidance and contempt all able-bodied young men who would not march at once to the seat of war.

The objection offered by many to enlisting or remaining in the army was the fear of losing their land claims by abandoning them at this critical moment, when it was expected that the first mail from the United States would bring news of the passage of an act by congress giving a certain amount of land to actual settlers. But to this fear the young ladies replied that they would see that the soldiers' claims were respected, and exhorted them to "fight on, be brave, obey your officers, and never quit your posts till the enemy is conquered," promising to reward them with their sympathy.[39]

The governor issued a proclamation for three hundred recruits. Meetings were held in several counties, and about two hundred and fifty men enlisted.[40]

Before the recruits were ready to march, an express arrived from Fort Waters with letters. Waters wrote to Governor Abernethy, April 4th, that, not seeing

[38] The president of this society was Mrs N. M. Thornton, the secretary Mrs E. F. Thurston, and the treasurer Mrs Leslie; the first the wife of the governor's private delegate to congress, the second the wife of the first delegate elected under the territorial organization, and the third the second wife of Rev. D. Leslie. The committee appointed to collect funds consisted of Mrs Robb, Mrs Hood, and Mrs Herford.

[39] *Or. Spectator*, April 20, 1848.

[40] In Linn County H. J. Peterson organized a company, the means to equip it being raised by subscription. They left for Portland April 25th. Clatsop County sent a few volunteers: S. B. Hall, D. H. Kinder, John Richey, R. W. Morrison, and N. H. Everman. *Id.*, May 4, 1848. A second company was raised in Linn County, officered by Granville H. Baber, captain; Jeremiah Driggs, 1st lieutenant; J. M. McConnel and Isaac Thompson, sergeants. Three other companies were organized at Portland, one from Linn, William Pugh, captain; one from Polk and Clackamas, J. W. Nesmith, captain; and one from Yamhill and Tualatin, William J. Martin, captain.

any Indians for several days, either friendly or hostile, he had sent an express to Fort Walla Walla to gain some information, if possible, concerning them, and had learned from McBean and the chief himself that Peupeumoxmox had revoked his friendship for the Americans, and was now hostile on account of an act of the recent legislature prohibiting the sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians. He complained of being placed by the act on the same footing with the guilty Cayuses, and threatened, if the law should not be abrogated, that his people would also become murderers. Sixty lodges, said to contain between two and three hundred warriors, were gathered within a mile and a half of the fur company's fort, which circumstance was considered as being significant of hostile intentions.[41]

News had also arrived at the fort that the head chief of the Nez Percés, Ellis, with sixty of his men, had died in the mountains, whither they had gone to hunt, of the two scourges, measles and dysentery, which had carried off so many Cayuses. This loss would naturally affect the superstitious minds of the Nez Percés, and it was thought their word to the commissioners would be betrayed, as they had held a great feast with the Cayuses since the last engagement at the Touchet. The wound of Five Crows, who was with Joseph, was also likely to carry him off, and altogether the prospect appeared gloomy in respect to breaking up the alliance of the confederated tribes of the Umatilla, the Walla Walla, and the Clearwater valleys. Waters also wrote concerning the Des Chutes chief, Welaptulekt, that he went to Fort Walla Walla and delivered up a large amount of immigrant property, giving as a reason for not

[41] The cunning of the savage character has frequently been displayed when one or more tribes have gone to war, by a portion remaining friendly in order to act as go-betweens, to buy ammunition, and carry information. If such was the character of Peupeumoxmox's friendship, the act of the legislature defeated his intention and gave him the provocation he desired for becoming hostile.

taking it to Gilliam, that he was fearful he would be killed; but as it was known that he had refused to accept the flag sent to him by the peace commissioners by the hands of his own men, his apology to McBean was regarded as a subterfuge. The same letter conveyed the information that Tamsucky, Joe Lewis, and Tiloukaikt's two sons were on the road to Fort Hall, the latter three intending to join the Mormons at Salt Lake, while Sticcas and Tauitau were gone to the mountains to remain until the war was over. The other Cayuses, the Palouses, and some worthless Nez Percés were congregating to give the volunteers one more battle before abandoning the country and going to hunt buffalo.

Such was the information which the commander of Fort Waters thought of sufficient importance to despatch to the governor.[42] From the Yakima country the news was more encouraging. Some of their chief men visited the Dalles to assure the officer in command of Fort Lee that neither they nor the Spokanes wished to be involved in the war, though the Cayuses had threatened them with the same treatment they gave the Americans if they refused to join in the hostilities. On this representation, that they had resisted entreaties and threats to make them go to war, they hoped to get some ammunition; but were told that until peace was restored no ammunition would be furnished to any Indians; but instead of powder a plough was presented to them, with which they departed apparently satisfied.[43]

Indeed, the quantity of ammunition which the governor was able to send to the Dalles on Maxon's demand was so small that none could have been spared, had there been no other reason for withholding it. But such as it was, he returned immediately with it to Fort Waters, leaving the Dalles on the 8th of April with wagons loaded with flour.

[42] *Or. Spectator*, April 20, 1848. See also letter of William Craig, in *Or. Archives*, MS., 138; *S. F. Californian*, May 8, 1848; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 575–7.
[43] Letter of Captain Maxon, in *Gray's Hist. Or.*, 569–70.

In Maxon's report of the death of Colonel Gilliam he had intimated that Major Lee would be acceptable to the army as its colonel, and the governor, ignoring the next in command, had commissioned Lee, leaving vacant the position of major, which was filled by Lieutenant Magone of the 1st company of Oregon mounted riflemen. Palmer having resigned the office of superintendent of Indian affairs, Lee was appointed to that place also, a combination of powers which it was believed by some would go far toward securing peace. But however Lee's promotion might affect the Indian question, a difficulty arose between Captain William J. Martin's company of the new organization and the colonel, with regard to priorty in regimental number, Martin's company being numbered the 10th, when according to his belief it was the 9th, and considering himself unfairly treated, he deserted at the Dalles with his two lieutenants and twelve privates, and returned to Portland,[44] from which place Colonel Lee had departed on the 20th of April with three companies, and a second supply of flour and ammunition.

The policy determined upon by the governor and Lee, to be pursued toward the Indians, was to treat all as enemies who should be found armed in the Cayuse country after notice should be given. News of the appointment of a new superintendent of Indian affairs having reached Fort Waters in advance of the reënforcement, Lee was met by an express from the Nez Percés on John Day River, who brought a request from the tribe for a council, to settle, among other matters, who should be head chief in place of Ellis, on which account he hastened forward, arriving at Waiilatpu on the 9th of May, in advance of the wagons and volunteers. He found that Tauitau,

[44] E. Bidwell and H. D. Martin were the lieutenants. The complaint was that they were marched in the rear; were not always allowed beef when the other companies were; and could not have their horses shod in time to march with them from the Dalles, but were ordered to follow and overtake the companies of Pugh and Nesmith. *Or. Spectator*, June 1, 1848.

Sticcas, Camespelo, and some lesser Cayuse chiefs, had returned to the Umatilla, and were professing to be friendly, but it was thought from the numerous herds in the valley that they were taking care of the stock belonging to the murderers, who had fled from the country. Welaptulekt was in confinement at Fort Waters, awaiting the judgment of the superintendent upon his conduct. Between some of the Cayuses and Nez Percés there was considerable ill feeling because the majority of the latter still declined to be forced into a war.[45] On being requested by the Nez Percés to appoint a high chief, Lee nominated Richard, on account of his superior attainments; and also appointed Meaway, a man of little note, as war-chief, telling the natives if the selections made did no meet their approbation, to make a choice for themselves; but they simply left the matter in abeyance.[46]

After settling affairs with the Nez Percés, Lee held a council with the Walla Wallas and the Cayuses of the Umatilla, and found that the accession of men and ammunition to Fort Waters had not been without effect. "The friendship of the Indians," remarked Colonel Waters, "increases with our numbers."

Peupeumoxmox, on being reminded of his threat to turn murderer, expressed much shame at having been guilty of such folly. "I told him, and all that were present," says Lee, "that we were bound to hold this country until the murderers were punished, the stolen property returned, and that which had been destroyed paid for; and then asked them what they were going to do. Whether they would try to settle the matter, and let us go home about our business, and leave them to theirs, or would

[45] *Or. Archives*, MS., 139–40

[46] Richard does not seem to have acted as the head of the Nez Percés. Gray says that he was 'murdered by a Catholic Indian' after his appointment. His nomination appears to have been unpopular with the older and more influential men of the Nez Percés.

they hold off as they had done, and leave us here to hold their country with our guns?"[47]

This was not a question easy of answer, in view of the fact that to attempt to deliver up the murderers, one of whom, Tiloukaikt, was still in the Palouse country, would involve them in a war among themselves; while to refuse to make the attempt would bring them into hostilities with the justly incensed Americans. These hard and unavoidable conditions caused Peupeumoxmox and Tauitau to humble themselves before the superintendent, and to promise more than they were able to perform had their dispositions in reality been more favorable toward it.

On arriving at Fort Waters, Lee, finding the discipline good and the men satisfied with their commander, immediately offered to resign his rank to Waters, whose right it was; and their resignations being sent to the governor, the regiment at once elected Waters colonel and Lee lieutenant-colonel; the whole transaction being conducted with entire unanimity and friendliness.[48] Preparations were begun soon afterward for invading the Nez Percé country, where it was believed the refuge of the guilty Cayuses would be found; and on the morning of the 17th of May the regiment, now numbering about four hundred and fifty, marched out from the fort, leaving only a small force to garrison the post. That night the army encamped on the Coppei; and on the following morning Lee was detached, with Captain Thompson and one hundred and twenty-one men, with orders to proceed to the crossing of the Snake River at Red Wolf's camp, to cut off if possible the retreat of the fugitives to the mountains, while Waters would cross with the main force at the mouth of the Palouse River, and prevent their escape to the Columbia.

[47] 'I also showed them the bill of articles taken at this place, and those taken from immigrants along the road, as also at Barlow's Gate, and told them we would forget nothing.' Letter of Supt. Lee, in *Or. Spectator*, June 1, 1848.

[48] *Or. Spectator*, June 1, 1848.

In order to facilitate these operations, some Palouse chiefs, from mercenary motives now willing to lend their aid to the Americans, agreed to have canoes in readiness to ferry over the men and baggage. But on coming to the place determined upon, no canoes or Indians were visible, and Major Magone with four men was detailed to cross the Snake River on a raft to search the banks of the Palouse for the promised ferry-man. This was effected with difficulty, the river being high and rapid; the Indians returning with the major, but too late to prevent any further movement that day. A day and a half having been spent in crossing the army and baggage, the horses swimming, at noon of the 21st the march was resumed toward Lapwai under the guidance of an Indian pilot, who promised to direct the colonel directly to the camp of Tiloukaikt.

On the 22d Waters was surprised by an express from the Chemakane mission, bearing a letter from Eells in reply to one from himself inquiring concerning the temper of the Spokanes. Eells reported that they were not entirely harmonious, but that he knew of none who excused the murderers. As if to answer for themselves, a party of forty-three of this tribe accompanied the courier, and offered their services, informing the commander where a part of Tiloukaikt's cattle could be found, and offering to bring them to camp. They were sent upon this service, and brought in, besides the cattle, two Indians claiming to be Nez Percés, who were thought to be spies. On being questioned, they declared that Tiloukaikt had fled to the mountains, but that most of his stock was being herded by a few Indians near Snake River, and could be captured. Major Magone was at once ordered to take one hundred men and bring in Tiloukaikt's property; and to capture any Indians suspected with being in league with the guilty Cayuses.

The order to capture suspected Indians being lib-

erally construed by the volunteers, the first one showing symptoms of flight was pursued by a squad of nine men, who followed and shot him while attempting to escape across Snake River in a canoe.[49] Near the spot where this unjustifiable killing occurred, Magone found a small camp of Indians under an old chief called Beardy, who assured him that Tiloukaikt was nowhere in that country, but had gone far away. He directed the major to the camp of Richard, the lately appointed high chief, who confirmed this statement. The Indians also informed him that an express of two white men had that morning gone to Colonel Waters from Lee in the Lapwai country,[50] upon which he collected the stock belonging to Tiloukaikt in that vicinity, and returned to the Palouse to learn the news direct.

Lee had been met at Red Wolf crossing by the statement that Tiloukaikt's people had fled the country two days before, leaving all their worldly possessions, some of which were in the vicinity of Lapwai. To this place he had marched, arriving on the morning of the 21st, and remaining several days to collect the cattle belong to the Cayuses. To the Nez Percés who visited the volunteer camp, Lee said that his business in their country was to punish the Cayuses, and that since they had fled beyond reach, he claimed all their property, and that if they were true friends

[49] Major Magone in his report says that on nearing the river Baptiste Dorion discovered an Indian and at once set off at full speed, followed by those who were in front—not that he ordered the charge; and that having a poorer horse he did not come up with them until the river was reached, when he found the men shooting at a canoe in which no person was visible; but the men said there were Indians in it who had fled from the troops, and who were no doubt guilty. W. P. Breeding, who now resides in the Palouse country, says that 2 Indians pushed off from shore in a rawhide boat just as the volunteers gained the shore, and that Ramsey and Brown hastily made a raft of logs on which they crossed Snake River, being carried 2 miles down by the current before they effected a landing, after which they ran back to a point opposite the place from which they started, and discovering the canoe under the bank, watched until an Indian raised his head to reconnoitre, when Brown shot him. *Nichols' Ind. Aff.*, MS., 1, 2.

[50] C. W. Cooke and David M. Guthrie carried this express, riding at night through the long stretch of Indian country. They were assisted in crossing the Snake River by Beardy's people.

of the Americans, they would assist, without attempting to hide anything from him. To this they agreed, and allowed the volunteers to drive back to Colonel Waters' camp one hundred and eighteen horses and a number of colts, besides about forty head of cattle.[51]

It was with regard to rejoining the main command that Lee had sent an express; this he was ordered to do without delay. His detachment crossed back to the south side of Snake River in boats made of the skin lodges left behind by the fleeing Cayuses, and returned to camp, where he arrived about the 26th.

It was evident from the results of the spring campaign thus far that there was nothing to be gained by having a regiment in the Indian country. So long as they remained, the guilty Cayuses would keep concealed. There was the trifling satisfaction of confiscating their property; but it sometimes happened that a doubt was raised concerning the real ownership, and incidents occurred of a nature to embroil them with the peaceable Indians. Such an incident was mentioned in one of the official reports, where a company was driving to camp a herd which it was supposed belonged to the Cayuses, when an unknown Indian of dignified bearing forbade them, declaring the property to be his, upon which, without inquiry, he was shot down. Colonel Waters wished to punish the man for firing without orders; but his captain interfered, saying the man had done his duty.[52] Such acts could only lead to a general war.

Satisfied that it was hopeless to expect any real coöperation, even from the Nez Percés, in capturing the fugitives, whom they were known to have entertained up to the time the volunteers were within

[51] Report of Capt. Thompson, in *Or. Spectator*, July 27, 1848.

[52] *Nichols' Ind. Aff.*, MS., 2. Major Magone, in closing his report of the expedition to Snake River, before mentioned, said: 'I ordered the detachment to return to the regiment, thoroughly convinced that I would have given more general satisfaction by ordering them to wipe from the face of existence these (professedly) friendly Indians.' *Or. Spectator*, July 27, 1848.

two days of Lapwai, and being aware that now that the snow was off the mountains the Cayuses could find sustenance without their herds, Colonel Waters determined upon closing the campaign, should it meet the approval of the governor. Feeling, also, that it was better that all the white inhabitants should remove out of the Indian country, he despatched captains Thompson and Nesmith to Craig's place on the Clearwater to escort him and his family and goods to the fort; and ordered Major Magone with fifty-five men to the Chemakane mission to give Walker and Eells an opportunity to leave the country, advising them by letter that in his judgment they would do well to accept it.

These measures were adopted without waiting for the sanction of Governor Abernethy, as shown by the dates of the correspondence and reports.[53] Colonel Waters left Waiilatpu June 8th to proceed to the Dalles, the letter of the governor directing him to do so being dated June 15th, which could not have been received before he reached the Dalles. That the orders of the governor agreed so well with the previous acts of the field-officer is evidence that the latter suggested to the former his course.[54]

At Fort Waters, which was placed under the command of Captain William Martin, Colonel Waters left fifty-five men, which number he expected to be

[53] Magone left camp for the Chemakane May 26th, and Thompson must have started for Lapwai a day or two later. He returned to Fort Waters the day that Magone left Chemakane with the mission families, and the colonel, without waiting for the major's detachment, left at once for the Dalles.

[54] 'Oregon City, June 15, 1848. Sir: On receipt of this you will hold a council with the superintendent of Indian affairs and come to a decision in regard to remaining in the upper country. In order that the remainder may return without delay, I would recommend that one company of 85 men, rank and file, be formed out of the volunteers that may offer their services to remain until the U. S. troops arrive. Of this company, 15 could be stationed at Fort Lee and 70 at Fort Waters. Of the latter, 40 or 50 could proceed at the proper time to meet the emigrants. A company under Capt. Scott will leave the head of this valley in time to escort the emigrants on the southern route. I think treaties can be made holding the chiefs responsible and protecting the emigration from molestation. (Signed) GEO. ABERNETHY.'

'Col. Waters.'

Or. Archives, MS., 144.

augmented by a portion of Magone's command, only five of whom, however, remained. These were men who had enlisted to serve until the 15th of September; and the object in leaving the garrison was to afford protection to the immigrants who might pass by the Columbia route,[55] and also hold the enemy's country until they should be compelled to give up the murderers.

At Fort Lee seventeen men only were left, under command of Lieutenant A. L. Rodgers; the remainder of the regiment, which was joined at the Dalles by Magone's detachment, proceeding to Oregon City by the Barlow road over the Cascade Mountains, commanded by Captain Hall, while Colonel Waters with the missionary party took a boat from the Dalles to that place, expecting to arrive in advance and meet the companies at McSwain's, on the Clackamas. Not being able to do so on account of adverse winds, the regiment arrived at Oregon City before Waters, and was disbanded by Captain Hall, on furlough, subject to the order of the governor,[56] by whom they were subsequently mustered out.

The foregoing history of the winter and spring campaign has been written from the official documents, as far as they can be found, which, although somewhat meagre, afford a sufficiently clear account of the Cayuse war to show the spirit in which it was conducted, and the hardihood of the volunteers in marching back and

[55] I find a copy of a circular in Lee's handwriting evidently intended to be forwarded to meet the immigration at Laramie or Fort Hall, it being according to the act of the legislature creating the office of superintendent of Indian affairs, that he should give instructions to persons emigrating how to maintain peace with the Indians. In this circular they are warned of the existing hostilities with the Cayuses and Columbia River Indians, and informed of the establishment of military posts in their country. They were advised, unless they were protected by United States troops, to form themselves into military companies, and consider themselves as soldiers, and their families and property as their ordnance and baggage train; to give no unnecessary offence, and show no fear. 'Experience has taught us that the best way to keep the Indians really friendly is to keep them afraid of us.' *Or. Archives*, MS., 161–3.

[56] Rept. of Col. Waters, in *Or. Spectator*, July 27, 1848; *Polynesian*, v. 2; *S. F. Californian*, Aug. 14, 1848.

forth hundreds of miles through a hostile country at at a time of year when, if the Columbia River had frozen over, as it sometimes did, they would have been entirely cut off from supplies or reënforcements. Poorly furnished with clothing and ammunition, without any of the comforts of home or society, with little to gain should congress recognize their services, and everything to lose should fortune be against them, the men of Oregon evinced a courage and intrepidity honorable to individuals and their country; as also, in general, a self-restraint, doing little injury to the natives in person or property, though often exasperated by the recollection of past barbarities, and the evidence of present hostility.

There is, however, an inside history which should be given of the closing acts in the military administration, since it relates to the attempted settlement of the Walla Walla Valley by the volunteers, and illustrates what Roberts calls the 'earth-hunger' of these people. Lee says that when the regiment returned to Fort Waters a council of the officers, excepting those with Magone's detachment, was held to decide the question whether a command should be left to occupy the post, and that on being put to vote there was a majority of one against it, and preparations were begun for evacuating the fort. Colonel Waters then made a call for volunteers to remain, being unwilling to abandon the country and the advantage gained; but owing to opposition the order was countermanded. But Lee, in order to induce the men to volunteer to remain, pledged himself, by virtue of his office as superintendent of Indian affairs, to give authority to some prominent and responsible men to colonize the country immediately, and in the articles to secure them, as far as it was in his power, against future treaty stipulations prejudicial to their interests. The men to whom he pledged himself were Captain P. F. Thompson of Yamhill and James Taylor of Clatsop, and their associates. A call for fifty vol-

unteers was again made, to remain at Fort Waters until the middle of September, and upon the promise of Thompson and others that they would return with their families by that time to settle in the Walla Walla Valley, it was successful. Lee after returning to Oregon City wrote to Governor Abernethy for an expression of his opinion as to the legality and propriety of his action. "If the course to which I am pledged," said he, "be not a violation of any law or any principle of our organic compact, will you sanction the proceedings, and give to the promised instrument the benefit of authority and of your approbation?"[57]

This proceeding of Lee's which had an air of combining the military with the Indian department to a degree not compatible with his constant assurances to the Cayuses that the murderers were to be punished as individuals, and not as a nation,[58] and to the Nez Percés that no white people would be permitted to settle in their country without their consent, found a ready coadjutor in the governor. To the inquiries of Lee, he replied that the organic law did not limit settlers to any part of Oregon, and although it might be impolitic to occupy the lands of friendly Indians east of the mountains, at that time, there could be no impropriety in occupying the country of the murderers, provided the party taking possession were strong enough to hold it and maintain peace. The only reservation he asked them to make was of the lands and improvements of the Presbyterian board, to which the missionaries might wish to return and lay claim, together with their other property,[59] before

[57] *Or. Archives*, MS., 145-..

[58] See Palmer's speech to the Nez Percés elsewhere in this chapter. This sentiment was corroborated by the speeches of Lee, Gilliam, and McKay.

[59] With regard to the Waiilatpu claim, the board sold it to Rev. Cushing Eells for $1,000. At the time of the massacre there were about 100 horses, 200 cattle, and the same number of sheep belonging to Whitman. The savages had taken most of the stock before the army came, and the volunteers consumed a part of what was left, for which no return was ever made to the board. Original letter of Perrin B. Whitman. *Ind. Aff., Rept. 1862*, 426.

which time he had no doubt the United States government would be extended over it.

By the same reasoning which permitted settlers to occupy and claim the Cayuse country, because the people had not given up certain individuals whom the law regarded as criminals, the lands of the Nez Percés, Walla Wallas, and Palouses could have been seized, for they too had sheltered the criminals; and settlement being once begun in the Indian territory east of the mountains, it would not stop at imaginary lines, as Abernethy must have known. It was no secret that the real origin of the disorders in the upper country was the fear of the Indians that the white people who were every year coming from the east meant to take away their country by settlement, or that Whitman had latterly wished to prevent colonization until the United States should make treaties for that reason.[60] In killing Whitman the savages had ignorantly broken down the wall between themselves and the Americans, bringing upon themselves the very thing they dreaded; the governor and the superintendent of Indian affairs, under the pretence of a military necessity, lending themselves to the confiscation of the Walla Walla Valley.

No sooner was the governor's sanction obtained than the project was advertised by proclamation in the *Spectator* under the name "Forfeiture of the Cayuse Lands," with every eulogistic notice of the country calculated to promote immigration.[61]

When it is remembered that a colonization scheme was on foot, the purpose of the volunteer officers in

[60] *Or. Spectator*, July 13, 1848; *American Unionist*, Aug. 16, 1848.

[61] Lee appended to the proclamation, for the information of any who might wish to join the colonizing company, that there were already in the country grist and saw mills, a blacksmith's anvil and bellows, some tools, ploughs, harrows, hoes, a quantity of iron, a crop of wheat, pease, potatoes, and corn, with almost every convenience for forming a settlement. *Or. Spectator*, July 13, 1848. From this it would appear that the forfeiture was to extend to the mission property. Parrish says that the Methodists were driven away from the Dalles by the provisional government—a singular statement in the face of the fact that they had sold the station several months before the war broke out. See *Or. Anecdotes*, MS., 30.

urging the missionaries at Chemakane to leave the country becomes questionable. They may have thought it for the best. And in order to be perfectly logical, Superintendent Lee, when he arrived at the Dalles, notified the Catholics, who were beginning a station at that place, that it was desirable that no more missions should be established until the presence of United States troops in the country should render such efforts safe and judicious.[62] The bishop of Walla Walla had previously asked permission of the governor to return to his charge, but Abernethy had taken no notice of the application. Was the removal of the Protestant mission a measure to prepare the way for the suppression of the Catholic missions? If so it effected nothing, for Rosseau stayed at the Dalles as a settler, cultivating a land claim, but refraining from teaching the Indians, as ordered by the superintendent; and the Oblate fathers who had abandoned the Yakima country on the breaking-out of the war soon returned thither, while Bishop Blanchet, being prevented from going to the Umatilla, attended the Cayuses *en route* as they wandered about the country.[63] When called upon by the Indian agent, Henry Saffarans, to answer the charge of violating orders, he appears to have replied in a manner satisfactory to the agent, who apologized for troubling him, acknowledging that it was not to be understood that a house or a farm meant a missionary establishment, or that it was a violation of orders for a man to attend to his religious duties in his own domicile.[64] And in this manner they prevailed and held their ground. Blanchet does not conceal his satisfaction that the war resulted in the total overthrow of the Presbyterian missions, "and had the effect

[62] This letter was addressed on the outside to 'Rev. Mr Rosseau,' and on the inside to 'Messrs Blanchet, etc.' *Or. Spectator*, July 13, 1848.

[63] *Blanchet's Cath. Church in Or.*, 173.

[64] *Brouillet's Authentic Account*, 83–4. An anecdote is told by P. W. Crawford, illustrative of the suspicious temper of the people. The blacksmith at Vancouver and an American named Buell were employed all winter making axes for the use of the hunters and trappers, but which 'the settlers would have it were battle-axes!' *Narrative*, MS., 149.

of increasing those of the Catholics, by the establishment of St Peters at the Dalles."[65]

In the month of August another difficulty occurred with the priests of the Jesuit missions in the northeast. The natives were busy, as usual, carrying rumors from post to post. It was said that Peupeumoxmox had hanged one of the murderers, whom he found a day's march from Fort Walla Walla on the Yakima,[66] a story which was not credited, although the regiment before leaving Fort Waters had subscribed to pay a reward of fifty blankets for the delivery to them of one of the guilty chiefs, and half that amount for a common murderer. That the Walla Walla chief should hang a murderer without knowing of the inducement, or, knowing it, should forfeit the reward, Captain Martin refused to believe. The same gossip said that Peupeumoxmox was pursuing another of the guilty Cayuses, and McBean thought there should be a party sent to assist him; but Martin saw treachery in the movements of the chief, and kept his men at the fort.

Again it was said, this time by the Nez Percés, that a war had broken out between their nation and the Snake Indians, and also that two of the Cayuses who accompanied Joe Lewis had been killed on the Boisé River; and again that many Americans were coming by the Snake River route, and had threatened to kill all savages they should meet by the way, which had occasioned the erection of fortifications by the Cayuses on Burnt River, with a view to cutting off the immigrants at that pass. And still another rumor declared Tiloukaikt and seven of his people killed by Shoshones led by a Frenchman. These tales were the subject of conversation at Fort Waters, where almost any piece of news was received

[65] *Cath. Church in Or.*, 172, 180.

[66] McBean believed the story, which was brought by Patatis, an Indian whose word he said was more to be depended on than the word of Peupeumoxmox. *Or. Spectator*, July 13, 1848.

with avidity,[67] and were reported to the Oregon authorities as all there was to report.

At Fort Lee there was similar gossip, and Welaptulekt, who had lately come to profess much friendship for the Americans, and was endeavoring to promote peace by urging the Waiams of Warm Springs and the Wascos of the Columbia River to return horses and other property, brought the story to Lieutenant Rodgers that the Catholic priests had promised to supply the Cayuses with ammunition with which to exterminate the Americans, and that unless the Waiams and Wascos assisted them, they should also be killed. So much impressed were the Indians by the threats of the Cayuses that they retired from the river and hid themselves among the mountains, from which circumstance Rodgers became cautious, and when soon afterward a large amount of ammunition and arms arrived at the Dalles, on its way to the Jesuit missions, he intercepted and held it,[68] at the same time giving information to Governor Abernethy. The governor instructed Lee to write to M. Accolti, a Jesuit, then at the Cowlitz, in explanation, telling him that the most effective measures had been taken by order of the governor to prevent the powder and ball from falling into the hands of the Indians. Accolti replied that he did not object to the seizure, since the governor thought it prudent; unless it was intended to confiscate the property, it might be brought to Vancouver and left there until the restoration of peace; but he took occasion to remind Lee that the law did not prohibit the transportation of arms or ammunition through the Indian country, but only the distribution

[67] To amuse themselves, Martin's company celebrated the Fourth of July by a banquet held in a shady arbor on the green lawn, the table being spread with roast-beef and mutton, coffee, milk, sugar, bread, and pies. The toasts were drank in water. C. W. Cooke gave: 'The words of young Miss Wickliffe, "The American flag, the only thing American that will bear stripes!"' *Or. Spectator*, Aug. 24, 1848.

[68] There were 1,080 pounds of powder, 1,500 pounds of balls, 300 pounds of buckshot, and 36 guns. The Oregon army had not been able to procure more than 500 pounds of powder. *Oregon American*, Aug. 16, 1848.

of them to the Indians; and explained that what had been seized was the annual supply of the four missions of Okanagan, Cœur d'Alêne, Pend d'Oreille, and Flathead River. In answer to a remark of Lee, that much excitement and bad feeling against the Catholics existed, Accolti replied that he believed it, but that Lee must know that it was undeserved, and that the prejudices grew out of unjust suspicions and a grovelling jealousy.[69]

This answer, which contained some truth, was not altogether just to the Protestants, the more intelligent of whom were able to discriminate between fact and prejudice; nor was it calculated to soften the sectarian feeling, which culminated in December in a petition to the legislature to expel the Catholics from the country, which was refused. The quarrel ended by permitting them to retain possession of their other missions, but denying them the Umatilla country, to which for a period of many years they did not return.

All the fighting and marching of the Cayuse war was executed by the colonists without aid from any source. The first intelligence which reached the outside world of the massacre at Waiilatpu was received at the Sandwich Islands in February by the English bark *Janet*, Dring, master, which conveyed a letter from

[69] *Or. Archives*, MS., 156–60. Father Accolti was born at Bari, in the kingdom of Naples, in 1806. Educated at Rome, he became a member of the Society of Jesus, June 1, 1832. Having determined to devote his life to missionary work, he came to this coast in 1844, going direct from France to Oregon by way of Cape Horn, in the ship *L'Indefatigable*. His missionary labors in Oregon continued till 1851, during which time he had charge of the mission of St Xavier and St Paul on the north side of the Columbia River. In 1851 he came to San Francisco, when he continued his missionary labors at Santa Clara and San Francisco. In 1853 he was sent to Rome, to obtain priests for missionary duty on this coast, and with those who were selected he returned in 1855. Soon after leaving Rome he was made pastor of Santa Clara College, which position he held for 10 years. From Santa Clara he was transferred to San Francisco, where he was engaged in missionary duties up to the time of his death, Nov. 7, 1878. Father Accolti was a man of learning and distinguished for his earnest piety. *S. F. Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 9, 1878. Rev. P. Veyret, another of the Jesuits who came out in *L'Étoile du Matin*, from Brest, France, was born at Lyons in 1812, and became a member of the faculty of Santa Clara College, where he died Dec. 19, 1879. *San José Pioneer*, Dec. 20, 1879.

Douglas to S. N. Castle of Honolulu; but no mention of help is made in the Hawaiian journals. The brig *Henry*, which left the Columbia River about the middle of March, did not reach San Francisco until the 12th of April, whence she sailed for Mazatlan with government stores required by the troops in Mexico. In the mean time the United States transport *Anita*, S. E. Woodworth commanding, with the military commander of the northern district of California, Major J. A. Hardie, on board, paid a visit to the Columbia River for the purpose of raising recruits for the army in Mexico,[70] an errand which proved fruitless for obvious reasons.[71]

So slow were the means of communication that the letters of Governor Abernethy were not received until June,[72] nor were the munitions of war asked for sent to the Columbia River until the return of the *Henry* on the 9th of August, when the volunteers were disbanded.[73] So far as the conduct of the war was concerned, the delay was rather fortunate than otherwise. Had there been ample means at hand when the fighting spirit was at its height, a general and bloody conflict would have been the result. Both volunteers and Indians being short of ammunition, caution on each side became a necessity, and averted the spilling of much blood.

The United States Indian agent for Oregon, Charles E. Pickett, who was in California when the first in-

[70] *S. F. Californian*, March 1, 1848; *Murray's Nar.*, MS., 210; *Polynesian*, v. 2.

[71] The *Anita* arrived in the Columbia March 16th, 15 days from San Francisco. She departed April 22d and arrived at San Francisco April 27th. *Or. Spectator*, March 23 and May 4, 1848; *Honolulu Friend*, July 1848.

[72] I cannot account for this delay except by supposing that the *Henry* proceeded directly to Mazatlan, without touching at Monterey. She was 9 days in San Francisco Bay, and it seems unaccountable that in such an emergency the despatches should not have been forwarded at once.

[73] Major Hardie forwarded 100 rifles, with 25,000 rifle-cartridges, and 200 pounds of rifle-powder; 2 6-pounder iron guns and carriages, and ammunition for the same. Lieutenant E. O. C. Ord of the Third Artillery forwarded one 6-pounder brass gun, with 210 strapped shot (fixed), 70 canister shot, 28 spherical shot, and other artillery service; 500 muskets with their fixtures and 50,000 ball, with a large amount of ammunition. The invoices were dated June 27th and July 10th respectively. *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 7, 1848.

telligence of the warlike events in his district reached that country, made application on his own account to Governor Mason to be furnished with the means of relieving Oregon; but Mason declined to assume the responsibility, or to allow Pickett to do so, saying that the governor of Oregon only would be likely to have his acts sanctioned by congress,[74] and Pickett was so far satisfied that his services could be of no avail that he remained in California permanently.

During the progress of the Cayuse war the colony in the Willamette was in a state of expectancy and alarm very trying to those who lived on the outskirts of the settlements, especially to the scattered families on the east side of the valley toward the Cascade Mountains, where it was easy to imagine danger approaching them from the direction of the passes into eastern Oregon. Nor were the Indians in the Willamette unaffected by the example of the Cayuses, but tauntingly remarked that all the brave white men had gone to fight, the weak and spiritless ones only remaining at home, and that consequently they, the Molalles, and others, were set at liberty to conduct themselves as they pleased. To test their position, several outrages were committed, one of a serious character,[75] and companies of home guards were organized[76] in the most exposed settlements, ready to march at a moment's notice or whenever an alarm was given. But the only occasion when anything like a general engagement took place was during a visit of the Klamaths to the Molalles, a large encampment

[74] *S. F. Californian*, May 17, 1848.

[75] An Indian named Chilos, who had for 6 years been domesticated with the settlers, ravished a young girl in the absence of the family, and fled. He was pursued and killed. *Or. American*, Aug. 16, 1848; *Or. Spectator*, June 1, 1848. Elijah Bristow was attacked, but repulsed the savages without firing on them. *Bristow's Rencounters*, MS., 3–7.

[76] R. C. Geer was captain of a company in the Waldo Hills; Allen Davy of a company in the Santiam; Richard Miller between Abiqua and Butte creeks in the northern part of Champoeg Co.; and Samuel Parker of a company near Salem. R. C. Geer, in *Salem Or. Statesman*, in *San José Pioneer*, Sept. 1, 1877.

being lodged on the head of Abiqua Creek where it debouches from the Cascade Mountains. The Klamaths and Molalles began by robbing the cabins erected on land-claims at some distance from each other; and growing bolder, entered the houses of families, ordering the women to cook for them; or killing their beef-cattle. As these acts usually preceded a massacre, the settlers became more and more uneasy.

At length, one afternoon in the early spring, a large party from the encampment above mentioned surrounded the residence of Richard Miller, a prominent man in Champoeg County, making insolent demands and uttering the soul-harrowing warwhoop, at the same time endeavoring to cut off the passage of a neighbor of Miller's who was seeking refuge at his house. It happened that Knox, from whom Knox's Butte in Linn County was named, was riding within sight of Miller's, with the first United States mail that was carried up the Willamette Valley; he took in the meaning of the demonstration at a glance, and quickened his horse's gait to a run, leaving information at every house on the road. Others mounted and rode, spreading the story, and by morning sixty men and lads were gathered at Miller's, the Indians having in the mean time retired with threats.[77] An organization was immediately effected, Daniel Waldo being elected colonel, and the volunteers, horse and foot, set out for the Indian encampment; the mounted men crossing the Abiqua and proceeding up the north side under Colonel Waldo and Captain Davy, while Captain Geer marched on foot up the south side.[78]

As soon as the Indians discovered the approach of

[77] One account says 150 men were gathered at the house of J. Warnock in the same neighborhood, and that the Indians had declared they would cut the throats of Miller's, Warnock's, and Patterson's families. *Id.*

[78] The names mentioned in the account above quoted from are William Parker, James Harpole, Wilburn King, James Brown, S. D. Maxon, L. A. Bird, Israel Shaw, Robert Shaw, King Hibbard, William Brisbane, Winchester, Port Gilliam, William Howell, Thomas Howell, George Howell, William Hendricks, Leander Davis, Len. Goff, G. W. Hunt, James Williams, J. Warnock, J. W. Schrun, Thomas Schrun, Elias Cox, Cyrus Smith, T. B. Allen, Henry Schrun, and Jacob Caplinger; probably the most prominent men.

the mounted force they began crossing to the south side of the Abiqua, as had been anticipated, and came upon the footmen concealed in a thicket awaiting them. An exchange of arrows and rifle-balls took place, when the natives hastily retreated up the creek with the loss of two of their number. Upon consultation it was decided that as the day was well spent, those who had families should return, and the rest of the men and lads should encamp at the nearest farm-house to be ready to move in the morning, when the pursuit was begun, a part of the absentees having returned.

The savages were overtaken on the trail to Klamath, their rear being guarded by a few good marksmen, whose arrows flew about their pursuers, hitting one man in the breast, but without penetrating his body. The riflemen soon picked off these, and drove the rest before them to a spot where high cliffs intercepted their passage on the side of the stream they were travelling, and the current was too swift to permit them to cross. Here they were driven to bay, and compelled to fight, but they could do little to defend themselves against the fire of the white men's deadly rifles, by which seven warriors were killed and two women wounded.

When the volunteers came close enough to ascertain the results of the battle, it began to dawn upon them that they might have committed a sad blunder, the more disgraceful because one of the seven dead warriors proved to be a woman, with a strung bow in her hands, who had been killed by the same shot which pierced a male victim. In short, it was discovered that the real marauders had escaped or were never present, and that the Indians attacked were their wives, children, and a few guards left with the camp. The weather being cold and wet, with a drizzling snow, the white men built a large fire in the edge of the forest, and carrying the wounded women to a comfortable shelter, left them for their relatives to succor, and returned home. They

never boasted of their valor at the battle of the Abiqua;[79] but the lesson inflicted preserved that part of the Willamette Valley from any further threatening demonstrations during the Cayuse war.

On account of the feeling of insecurity occasioned by the conduct of the Klamaths and Molalles, Felix Scott was appointed sub-agent of Indian affairs for south-western Oregon by Superintendent Lee on the 10th of April; and at the same time informed that it was desirable for him to raise an independent company of rangers for the defence of the southern frontier, the governor being ready to commission the officers whenever elected. At the same time it was not concealed that there was no money, and no appropriation made for paying either sub-agent or military companies.[80] But according to the views of such men as the Scotts and others, this was a good reason for accepting a commission. When money is plenty men seek offices; when money is not to be had, the offices seek men, of the better sort.

On the 12th of May Scott reported to Lee that as he proceeded up the valley he found the inhabitants much excited in consequence of the bad behavior of the Indians, and their continued robberies. Some offenders had been flogged; but that not putting an end to their thieving practices, a resolution had been passed, and a copy sent to the governor, declaring that in future robberies would be punished with death. The killing of the Klamaths at the Abiqua was referred to by the Molalles, with whom they were

[79] It has been a matter of dispute that such a battle was ever fought as the engagement on the Abiqua; and, according to Minto, this blunder was the reason of the silence. Those who were not concerned in it laughed at those who were for 'killing squaws;' and it was tacitly agreed to say nothing about it. The matter almost passed out of recollection, when it was revived and discussed in 1877, and the facts brought out. It shows that the early Oregon settlers did not wantonly kill Indians and boast of it, as they were accused of doing at a later period. *Minto's Early Days*, MS., 41–6; J. Henry Brown and H. L. McNary, in *Willamette Farmer*, Mar. 24, 1877; *Brown's Or. Miscel.*, MS., 57–8.

[80] Lee's letter to Captain Scott is in the *Or. Archives*, MS., 168–9.

intermarried, as a cause for their continued depredations. A company of six men, under the leadership of John Saxton, who had started from California with a hundred horses, had lost sixty-five of them by the natives after reaching the Klamath River, and had been fired on all day by the Rogue River Indians,[81] with whom it was believed that Molalles were in league. At all events, not more than fifty could be found in the Willamette, and their fleeing before him to the Umpqua was regarded as a sign of guilt.

Another report dated June 21st, addressed to Adjutant-general Lovejoy, states that he had proceeded with his company of independent rangers as far as the Santiam River when he was met by complaints of the thieving practices of the Indians, and had divided his force, taking six men with him, and leaving eight with Lieutenant English, one party to take a course which it was intended should drive the savages to their trail over the Cascade Mountains, and the other to intercept them in their passage. Finding themselves hard pressed and becoming alarmed, they escaped by leaving their plunder and a couple of horses, probably intended as indemnity for past thefts; and being satisfied with this, Captain Scott gave up the pursuit.

On the 7th of July Scott was ordered to proceed to south-eastern Oregon to escort the immigration by the southern route, and was authorized to officiate in his capacity as Indian agent among any tribes on the way. "I have reason," says Lee, "to believe the Cayuses will be along both roads. Impress on the immigrants their danger."[82] With a company of only nineteen men he performed this important duty,[83]

[81] *Or. Spectator*, May 4, 1848.

[82] *Or. Archives*, MS., 169–71.

[83] Felix Scott was a native of Monongahela Co., Va. He was at one time lieut.-gov. of Mo., after which he came to California from St Charles Co. of that state, and resided for some time with Captain Sutter at Fort Sutter. In 1846 he removed to Oregon, where he soon became known for his high character. He resided in Yamhill Co. until 1849, when he settled permanently in Lane Co., and contributed much to its development. In 1863, wishing to drive a large herd of cattle to the mines of eastern Oregon, and also to trans-

while the volunteers from Fort Waters discharged a similer obligation on the Snake River route. The Indians along both roads behaved in a quiet and friendly manner to the immigration of this year, which amounted to about seven hundred persons, according to some authorities;[84] but computing in the usual manner, of five persons to every wagon, there would have been more than twice that number. They arrived in better health and condition than any previous body.[85]

port other provisions by wagon, he opened a road across the Cascade Mountains by the way of McKenzie Fork of the Willamette, thus realizing the idea which led to the misfortunes of a large part of the immigration of 1845. Over this road he drove 700 cattle and 8 heavy wagons at the first attempt. Being improved subsequently, it became a good pass between the head of the Willamette Valley and eastern Oregon. In 1857 Captain Scott returned to the States to bring out some valuable blood stock. Returning in 1858 by the southern route, he was murdered by the Indians near Goose Lake, while temporarily separated from the company with two other men, who were also murdered. All the stock and money belonging to Scott were taken. He was about 70 years of age at the time of his death. His sons, settled in Lane Co., were Felix, jun., Rodney, Harrison, and Marion. Felix, jun., died in Arizona in Nov. 1879. *Eugene Press*, in *Or. Statesman*, Jan. 25, 1859; Drew, in *Report Com. Ind. Aff.*, 1863, 58.

[84] *S. F. Californian*, Nov. 1848.

[85] I find the following names of men who arrived in 1848: Thomas Adams, W. F. Adams, W. L. Adams, William Armpriest, T. W. Avery, W. W. Bristow, E. L. Bristow, Rev. Wilson Blain, William Brunson, Dr D. S. Baker, Andrew Bowers, Isaac Belknap, George Belknap, C. Belknap, H. Belknap, B. B. Branson, G. J. Basket, Andrew Baner, W. Bethers, William Burns, Ball, Jesse W. Belknap, George H. Brown, Benjamin Cleaver, David Chapman, Peter D. Cline, Jesse Chapman, Adam Cooper, J. A. Cloninger, Coffey, Daniel Cushman, Seth Catlin, Jacob Conser, Thomas Clark, John S. Crooks, Rinehart Cripe, Benjamin Cripe, Christian Clyne, Reuben Dickens, L. Davis, John Davis, John Dennis, Anderson De Haven, James Davidson, James Emery, C. Emerick, Solomon Emerick, Thomas Gates, E. Garther, Levi Grant, Burrel B. Griffin, Griffin, Griffin, William Greenwood, P. Gearhart, George Graham, Daniel Hathaway, Robert Houston, Richard Hutchison, Abitha Hawley, Andrew Hagey, Martin Hagey, P. Hagey, Henry Henninger, Nathaniel Hamlin, P. Hibbert, H. N. V. Holmes, Hooker, A. B. Holcomb. John L. Hicklin, J. M. Hendricks, Frank Harty, S. Hanna, George Irvin, William M. King, Orrin Kellogg, Joseph Kellogg, G. Kittredge, Clinton Kelley, David Linenberger, Lyman Latourette, John J. Lindsay, William Lindsay, Lindsay, Edgar Lindsay, J. Lewis, Joseph D. Lee, Nicholas Lee, Jacob Miller, Christian Miller, John McGee, Isaac Miller, John Miller, Henry Moody, John Moore, B. Moore, Simon Markham, E. L. Massey, Harden McAllister, Isaac Newton, Norris, M. Neff, Isaac Owens, Rev. Jos. E. Parrott, Ira Patterson, Reuben Pigg, David Priestly, William Porter, Stephen Porter, John Purvine, Farley Pierce, A. Prussel, Jesse Parrish, Riley Root, James Robinson, J. G. Ramsey, Horace Rice, Pliny Richison, Caleb Richey, A. H. Roberts, John E. Ricknell, John Stipp, Fendall Sutherlin, Rev. John W. Starr, Buford Smith, M. Shelley, Christopher Shuck, H. Straight, James Shields, David Stone, Nathaniel Stone, Daniel Trulinger, John Trulinger, Nathan Trulinger, Gabriel Trulinger, Watt Tucker, Robert H. Thompson, James Valentine, Isaac Wyatt,

Thomas Wyatt, Elias D. Wilcox, Nathaniel Wilcox, Leonard Williams, Willis Williams, Isaac Winkle, Samuel Welch, W. B. Walker, W. M. Walker, A. S. Watt, T. D. Winchester.

Ahio S. Watt was born in Knox Co., Ohio, Jan. 15, 1824; went to Mo. in 1838, and to Oregon in 1848. He was married in 1850 to Mary E. Elder, and settled in Yamhill Co. He was a member of the senate in 1878; has been clerk of the court, surveyor, and farmer, and a useful and honorable citizen.

E. L. Massey, well known in Oregon, at the breaking-out of the mining excitement of 1861 removed to Walla Walla, where he was justice of the peace. In 1867 while travelling in Idaho he had his feet frozen, from the effects of which he died in August of that year. *Walla Walla Statesman*, Aug. 30, 1867.

Burrel B. Griffin settled in Linn Co., where he discovered in 1851 a mountain of bluish gray marl near the junction of Crabtree and Thomas forks of the Santiam. The stone was easily worked, and hardened on exposure to the air, and came to be much used in place of brick for hearth-stones and chimney-pieces. In 1852 Mr Griffin removed to the Rogue River Valley, where he discovered in 1875 valuable ores of cinnabar and antimony near Jacksonville. *Oregonian*, Sept. 25, 1875.

George A. Barnes, a native of Lockport, Monroe Co., New York, first emigrated to Fort Wayne, Indiana, and from there to Oregon in 1848. He went to the gold mines in California, after which he settled on Puget Sound, with the history of which he has since been identified.

David Stone, who was captain of the company with which Barnes travelled, settled in the Cowlitz Valley, a few miles north of the Columbia.

Thomas W. Avery emigrated to Oregon with his parents at the age of 15, and in 1849 went to the gold mines in California, from which he returned in 1857, when he settled in Douglas Co. Working as a carpenter and teaching in a country school, he continued to reside in the Umpqua Valley until 1862, when he went to Salem to study law in the office of Bonham and Curl. He was elected to the Democratic state convention in 1864, and commenced the practice of law in Umatilla County, and was in the legislature in 1866. In connection with J. C. Dow he established the *Columbia Press*, the first newspaper at Umatilla. He died of consumption in Salem in the autumn of 1867. *Salem Capital Chronicle*, Dec. 14, 1867.

Mrs Susan Sturges, born in Ill., May 14, 1839, married Andrew Sturges in Oregon in 1855, and died at Vancouver, in Washington Ter., April 28, 1876, her husband and 6 children surviving. *Portland Advocate*, May 11, 1876.

Mrs Jacob Conser, born in Richmond Co., Ohio, July 31, 1822, removed with her parents to Ill., where she was married Feb. 28, 1839, and emigrated to Oregon with her husband in 1848. She died at Walla Walla while on a visit to a sister residing there, April 18, 1879. *San José Pioneer*, May 10, 1879.

Nathaniel Hamlin, an immigrant of 1848, died in June 1866. *Seattle Weekly*, June 18, 1866.

Rev. Clinton Kelley was born in Pulaski Co., Ky., June 15, 1808. He joined the Methodist church at the age of 19, and devoted his life to preaching. Before he was 20 he married Mary Baston, who died in 1837, leaving him 5 children. He married in the following year Jane Burns, who also died, leaving one child. He then married Maria Crane, by whom he had 9 children. Being opposed to the institution of slavery, he determined to emigrate to a country where his numerous family could be educated to become useful citizens, and chose Oregon for his home, where he was widely known as 'Father Kelley,' and as a never-tiring advocate of temperance. He died at his residence near East Portland, June 19, 1875, leaving an honorable memory. *Oregonian*, June 26, 1875; *Or. City Enterprise*, June 25, 1875; *Portland Temperance Star*, June 25, 1875; *Salem Statesman*, June 26, 1875.

W. W. Bristow, son of Elijah Bristow, who emigrated in 1846 with his brother, E. L. Bristow, and other members of the family, followed his father in 1848, and all settled in Lane County, then the southern part of Linn. Mr

Bristow was one of the foremost citizens of that part of the country; was a member of the first state senate, and of the state constitutional convention, and active in securing the location of the state university at Eugene City. In his family he was as gentle as he was enterprising in affairs of public interest. He died at Eugene City, Dec. 10, 1874. *Eugene City Guard*, Dec. 1874; *Roseburg Plaindealer*, Dec. 12, 1874.

J. M. Hendricks, brother-in-law of W. W. and E. L. Bristow, also settled at Pleasant Hill in Lane County, where he died in the spring of 1878. His son, T. G. Hendricks, was a prominent merchant of Eugene City. *San José Pioneer*, April 6, 1878.

Nicholas Lee was born in Pike Co., Ohio, February 11, 1818. On coming to Oregon he settled in Polk Co., near Dallas. He engaged in merchandising in 1862, but retired to give place to his son, Joseph D. Lee, in 1876. His death occurred July 11, 1879, at the farm where he settled in 1848. *Dallas Itemizer*, July 18, 1879.

Frances Ella Reynolds, born in Tenn. in 1815, emigrated to Oregon in 1848, and resided with her sister, Mrs Wells, at the time of her death on the 25th of November, 1879. *Portland Advocate*, Dec. 4, 1879.

William Porter of Aumsville, Marion Co., had never been farther away from his home than Oregon City, in his 27 years' residence in Oregon, until summoned to Portland by the U. S. district court, to appear as a juror. He has contributed pleasing articles to the columns of the *Farmer*, but the journey across the plains satisfied completely his love of travel. *Salem Farmer*, June 25, 1875.

John L. Hicklin, born in Kentucky, June 1793, first removed to Indiana and finally settled in Washington Co., Tualatin plains, Oregon, in 1848, where he continued to reside, surrounded by a large family. He died Oct. 14, 1876, after a long and exemplary life. *Portland Standard*, Oct. 27, 1876.

David Linenberger emigrated from Virginia. In 1851 he removed to Siskiyou Co., Cal., where he engaged in mining. He died Sept. 7, 1868. *Yreka Union*, Sept. 12, 1868.

Rev. Joseph E. Parrott, a man of fine talents and a firm Methodist, was born in Missouri in 1821, emigrated to Oregon in 1848, and married Susan Garrison in 1851, who died in August 1869. On the 31st of May, 1870, he married Mrs L. A. Worden. On the 3d of September, 1872, he died at his home near Lafayette in Yamhill Co. *Portland Advocate*, Sept. 19, 1872.

Buford Smith, who settled in Marion Co., after a long residence removed to northern Cal., where he remained a few years, and returned to Oregon, having lost his health. He survived the change but a short time, and the once energetic and always genial pioneer of 1848 passed to his rest at the age of 70 years, Nov. 6, 1870. *Salem Farmer*, Nov. 12, 1870.

Mrs Elizabeth Smith, wife of Buford Smith, was killed by the accidental discharge of a gun in Nov. 1876. Their sons were A., Charles, and William Smith, who resided at Silverton in Marion County. *Salem Statesman*, Nov. 24, 1876.

William Greenwood was born in Hardy Co., Va., September 13, 1806. On the 12th of August, 1828, he married Elizabeth Jane Bramel, and in 1832 removed to St Louis, Mo., and 2 years later to near Burlington, Iowa, emigrating in 1843 to Oregon, and settling on Howell Prairie. He was always an upright and industrious citizen. He was elected to the state senate in 1862, serving 4 years. His death occurred May 18, 1869, from injuries received by accident, leaving 2 sons and 2 daughters, and a large estate. *Id.*, Aug. 9, 1869.

Mrs Jane Belknap, wife of Jesse Belknap, died Dec. 10, 1876. Born in Penn. in 1792, she emigrated with her parents to western N. Y. in 1796. At the age of 16 she became a convert to Methodism, and on settling with her husband in Benton Co., kept open house to the ministry, entertaining Bishop Simpson on his first visit to Oregon to preside over the first annual conference of the Methodist church. She had a large family of children. Her husband survived her. *Portland Advocate*, Dec. 21, 1876.

Rev. John W. Starr was born in Va. in 1795, removed to Ohio in child-

hood, and from that state in 1839 to Van Buren Co., Iowa, emigrating in 1848 to Oregon and locating in Benton Co. He was an ardent preacher of his faith from youth to old age. *Id.*, March 20, 1869.

Caleb Richey died in Pleasant Valley, Nev., Nov. 28, 1875. *Reno State Journal*, Dec. 18, 1875.

Jesse Parrish died in Marion County, Oregon, in Sept. 1878. *Olympia Transcript*, Oct. 5, 1878.

J. J. Lindsay was born in Ripley Co., Ind., Dec. 25, 1838, and emigrated with his parents to Oregon. They remained but one winter in the Willamette Valley, going to Cal. in 1849, and remaining there, where the elder Lindsay died in 1851. His subsequent history belongs to California. *Sonoma Co. Hist.*, 622.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OREGON'S ENVOYS—ERECTION OF A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

1848.

JOURNEY OF THORNTON—ADVENTURES OF MEEK—THE PIOUS LAWYER AND THE PROFANE TRAPPER—INTERVIEWS WITH THE PRESIDENT—MEMORIALS TO CONGRESS—THE ORDINANCE OF 1787—BILLS BEFORE CONGRESS—THE SLAVERY QUESTION—WARM DISCUSSIONS—FINAL PASSAGE OF THE BILL CREATING THE TERRITORY OF OREGON—APPOINTMENT OF OFFICIALS—ANXIETY OF PRESIDENT POLK—RETURN OF JOE MEEK WITH A LIVE GOVERNOR—LANE AND MEEK AT SAN FRANCISCO BAY—ARRIVAL IN OREGON—LANE'S PROCLAMATION—DECLINE OF MISSION INFLUENCE.

LET us now follow the two Oregon messengers to the national capital, and see what they did there. Thornton, in the United States sloop of war *Portsmouth*, Captain Montgomery, arrived at Boston the 5th and at Washington the 11th of May.[1] Though no one in Oregon but Abernethy and his counsellors knew exactly his errand, Thornton has represented it as most comprehensive, embracing a petition for no less than twenty-one favors from congress, among which was the old formula of the United States jurisdiction. He also asked for grants of land; for confirmation of the colonial land law and the other legislative acts and decisions of the courts, which had been asked for by the memorial of the legislature of 1845; for money to pay the debt of the provisional government; for troops to protect the settlements, and the immigrants on the road; and for steam pilotage

[1] *Thornton's Or. and Cal.*, ii. 248. In another place Thornton says he arrived in Boston on the 2d. *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1874, 85.

and light-houses, besides Indian agents, and the extinction of the Indian title, which were by no means original requests.

Thornton says that he had an interview with the president on the 13th of May, having previously conversed with Stephen A. Douglas, to whom he carried a lettter from Abernethy, and that soon after the visit to the executive he prepared a memorial to congress, which was presented by Benton to the senate. He does not say that he presented the memorial of the "free citizens of the United States resident in Oregon," which was placed in the mail-bag of the *Whiton*, and transferred with other mail matter to the *Portsmouth*, but one of his own. Yet it was the petition of the citizens which was presented by Benton, and that too on the 8th of May, before Thornton, according to his own account, reached Washington from New York, where he tarried two or three days. The mail had reached Washington before him.[2] If Thornton memorialized congress subsequently, it does not appear upon the records. However, it is safe to presume that his letters from Abernethy secured him friendly recognition, and that but for the appearing of a second and duly authorized messenger of the colonial government, the special mission of Thornton, whatever it was, would have received some consideration.

It will be remembered that Meek did not leave Walla Walla until the end of the first week in March. He arrived in Washington the last week in May, having performed the journey across the continent in the stormy spring months in less than half the time occupied by Thornton in sailing around it. The party had found the snow on the Blue Mountains not so deep but that a trail could be broken by the men walking and leading their horses and pack-mules. Beyond Fort Hall in the mountain passes travelling was more difficult, but they were assisted by some friendly natives and by a man famous among trappers, Peg-leg Smith,

[2] *Cong. Globe*, 1847–8, 737.

whom they found in the Bear River country. At Fort Bridger they obtained fresh horses, and avoiding the hostile tribes between Independence Rock and Ash Hollow by travelling at night and lying perdu by day, supplying themselves afresh at forts Laramie and Rubideau, they succeeded in reaching the frontier just as the immigrants were crossing the Missouri River on the 4th of May.[3]

Here all his remaining men left him; and after a brief visit to his relatives in Missouri, Meek hastened to Washington, being forced to make diplomacy supply the place of money[4] with steamboat captains and stage proprietors, and arriving at the capital in a costume sufficiently ragged and *bizarre* to command the attention of men, small or great, anywhere in the world. Nor was the messenger at all indifferent to his exalted position and the mighty power of dress. The rags and dirt which covered him, and which might have been the envy of any Peter the Great, were worth more to him at this juncture than twelve suits of broadcloth. He would see the president at once, before civilization should rob him of any particle of this prestige.[5] It was better than a bear-fight, better than a Blackfoot's scalp, the glory of being forever known

[3] *Ebbert's Trapper's Life*, MS., 24–31; *Barnes' Or. and Cal.*, MS., 2.

[4] The moneyless condition of both the Oregon messengers was about equal. Thornton states that at one time he had only a half-dime; but remembering to pray, that day his wants were supplied.

[5] In Mrs Victor's *River of the West*, 439–62, is an amusing account of Meek's *début* in Washington. The book was in fact written by Mrs Victor at the suggestion of Meek, who furnished the incidents of his life, on which thread is strung a sketch of the American fur companies and of the colonial history of Oregon. All that part of the book relating to the movements of the fur companies and Meek's personal affairs was written from notes furnished by Meek; the remainder was gathered from various other sources. Of Meek's characteristics, to which I have referred in his biography, Mrs Victor seems to have had a ready appreciation, and to have presented him very nearly as he was—a fine man spoiled by being thrust out into an almost savage life in his boyhood.

Frances F. Victor, *née* Fuller, was a native of Rome, New York; her father was born in Connecticut, and her mother, Lucy A. Williams, of the Rhode Island family of that name. Her father removed to Wooster, Ohio, in her girlhood, where her education was completed. Most Ohio people of the period of 1851 will remember a volume of poems brought out by Frances and her sister Metta Victoria, about this time, and while the authors were still in their teens. The sisters married brothers by the name of Victor. Frances, who

as the roughest and most rolicksome plenipotentiary the great republican capital had ever seen.

It little concerned Meek that his relative was the president's secretary. Was he not a great American citizen, very free and quite unceremonious, and the representative of other great American citizens who looked out on a sea toward the sunset? Two days had not passed before the apartments of the White House were as familiar to him as the cañons of Snake River. Yet he was not wholly void of compunctions.[6]

He began to feel in due time that after all in whatsoever appertained to greatness, there should be applied the eternal fitness, and so he permitted a tailor to trust him for a suit of 'store clothes.' On the 29th of May President Polk laid before both houses a special message on Oregon affairs, in which he quoted some passages from the memorial of the colonial legislature, forwarded by Meek, touching the neglect of congress, and reminded members that in his annual messages of 1846 and 1847 he had urged the immediate organization of a territorial govern-

continued to write as inclination prompted, removed to the Pacific coast in 1863, with her husband, who belonged to the engineer corps of the United States navy, and who after resigning perished in the foundering of the steamer *Pacific* in November 1875. Mrs Victor displayed great industry during her residence in California and Oregon, in studying the natural and historical features of the coast. She wrote many magazine articles and letters of travel, and besides the *River of the West*, Hartford, 1870, published in San Francisco *All Over Oregon and Washington*, and a volume of western stories and poems called *The New Penelope*.

[6] Mrs Victor gives Meek's own account of his feelings, which do him no discredit. 'He felt that the importance of his mission demanded some dignity of appearance—some conformity to established rules and precedents. But of the latter he knew absolutely nothing; and concerning the former he realized the absurdity of a dignitary clothed in blankets and wolf-skin cap. "Joe Meek I must remain," he said to himself as he stepped out of the train, and glanced along the platform at the crowd of porters with the names of their hotels on their hatbands. Learning that Coleman's was the most fashionable place, he decided that to Coleman's he would go, judging correctly that it was best to show no littleness of heart even in the matter of hotels. After an amusing scene at Coleman's, which at once introduced him to the cognizance of several senators, he repaired to the presidential mansion, where his cousin Knox Walker was private secretary, to whom also he made himself known in his peculiar style of badinage. Walker insisted on his being seen by Mrs Polk as well as the president. Says Meek: "When I heard the silks rustling in the passage, I felt more frightened than if a hundred Blackfeet had whooped in my ear. A mist came over my eyes, and when Mrs Polk spoke to me I couldn't think of anything to say in return."'

ment. The colony on the Pacific seaboard were now as then in need of federal aid, and were justly entitled to it.[7] Again he called attention to the want of a territorial organization, recommending that a regiment of mounted men be raised for the relief of Oregon, that Indian agents be appointed to reside among the different tribes, and an appropriation made to enable them to treat for the restoration and preservation of peace. This he said should be done in time to allow troops to reach the territory that year.

Before entering upon congressional proceedings following Meek's arrival, I shall refer briefly to what had been done since the treaty of 1846, settling the boundary question. It was not because congress had been unmindful of Oregon that the colonists had been compelled to wait so long for the jurisdiction of the United States. The Oregon boundary was hardly determined before the even more momentous question was asked, How much, if any, of this new domain shall be slave territory? In these days no topic so engendered bitter contest on the floor of congress as that of slavery. It was enough to secure its failure in the senate that Douglas' bill[8] for establishing a territorial government in Oregon, of which mention has already been made as having passed the lower

[7] *Cong. Globe*, 1847–8, 788–9; *S. F. Californian*, May 3, 17, 1848; *Home Missionary*, 22, 63; *Amer. Quart. Reg.*, i. 541–2.

[8] *Cong. Globe*, 1845–6, 24. Thornton has audaciously claimed to have been the author of this bill which was before congress with hardly any alteration from Dec. 1846 until its passage, with a few additions in Aug. 1848. He particularly alleges that he 'incorporated a provision prohibiting slavery in Oregon. This I took,' he says, 'from the ordinance of 1787; and I was induced to make it a part of the bill, not only because of my own convictions on the subject of human rights, but also for the reason that the people of Oregon had, under the provisional government, sternly pronounced a rigid interdiction of slavery.' *Or. Pioneer. Assoc., Trans.*, 1874, 87. Benton said in the senate Dec. 8, 1845, that the colonists had presented their form of government, 'subject to the ratification of the United States government,' and it was well understood by the friends of Oregon, and its enemies also for that matter, that the ordinance of 1787 was the base on which the structure of a government for that territory was to be erected, Therefore for Thornton to claim that he framed this part of Douglas' bill, or had anything to do with the framing of it, is brazen assumption. But this is not all. He declares that he 'felt a vehement desire to so multiply, in Oregon, the springs of knowledge,' that he 'framed the 20th section of the act of congress of August 14,

house, January 16, 1847, incorporated the ordinance of 1787, on which were founded the organic laws of the provisional government of Oregon according to the expressed desire of the colonial legislature of 1845,

1848.' This section is numbered in Douglas' bill section 18, and reads: 'That when the lands in said territory shall be surveyed under the direction of the government of the United States, preparatory to bringing the same into market, sections numbered 16 and 36 in each township in said territory shall be, and the same is hereby, reserved for the purposes of being applied to schools in said territory, and in the states and territories to be erected out of the same.' *Or. Gen. Laws*, 1843–72, 63–5.

Thornton goes on to say that the consideration which decided him 'to make the 20th section a part of the territorial bill, rather than of the land bill, to which it more appropriately belonged, 'was the same which governed him in framing sec. 17, relating to the transfer of civil and criminal suits from the courts of the provisional government to those established under the territorial government, namely, the best interests of the people. One is yet more astonished at Judge Thornton's audacity in view of the facts being open to any one taking the trouble to look into the proceedings of congress from 1845 to 1848, or to a file of the *Oregon Spectator* for 1847, where in the issue dated Sept. 16th is Douglas' bill of Dec. 1846, as it passed the house, and was at first amended by the senate, containing not only the ordinance of 1787, and the section granting the 16th and 36th sections for school purposes, but the section relating to the transfer of the cases already in the Oregon courts to the district courts of the United States; as well as a provision for having all penalties forfeitures, actions, and causes of action recovered under the new organization in the same manner they would have been under the old; the only difference between this section of the act as it finally passed and the first draught of the bill, being that in the former it is numbered 15, instead of 17; and that two provisos were added to this section before the bill became a law, to guard the constitutionality of the penalties and forfeitures, and to prevent abuses of the interpretation of the old laws. The change in the numbers was effected by the introduction, during a course of amendments, of several new sections, to the disarrangement of the former numbering. There is nothing in the bill of which Thornton particularly claims authorship that was not in the original bill of 1846. Yet he talks about his efforts to neutralize the hostility to this measure, when no opposition in congress ever appeared to granting this land. In his *Autobiography*, MS., 45, he says, in reference to the school-land section, 'I will frankly admit that when to this section (the 16th) of the public lands, the 36th was added by the passage of the bill, the thought that providence had made me the instrument by which so great a boon was bestowed upon posterity, filled my heart with emotions as pure and deep as can be experienced by man;' after which he talks about being recognized as a benefactor of his race when his toils and responsibilities shall be over. See *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1874, 95. I have endeavored to get the true and full history of the first grant by congress of the 36th section of the public lands for school purposes. After going over the congressional records and finding that so far as I could discover, Oregon was the first recipient of this bounty, I wrote to the commissioner of the United States land-office at Washington to learn if possible more about the matter; but found from his reply that he could learn from me, inasmuch as he wrote that the 'act to establish the territorial government of Minnesota' was the first instance of the grant of the 36th in addition to the 16th section for school purposes, of date March 3, 1849, 6 months after the passage of the Oregon bill, containing the grant of these two sections. I therefore came to the conclusion that the reiterated petitions of the early colonists, notably of the Methodist missionaries and Dr White, to congress, the president, and the friends of Oregon, to remember

as shown by the resolutions attached to the memorial of that body,[9] to which Benton drew attention December 8, 1845.

When the Oregon messenger arrived he found two bills before congress for the establishment of Oregon Territory. Douglas, who had stepped across from the house of representatives to the senate-chamber, and was chairman of the committee on territories, introduced, January 10, 1848, a bill which in place of the section rejected by the senate at the previous session contained one sanctioning the colonial laws of Oregon, which being twice read was referred back to the committee, and reported February 7th without amendments, to go through the ordeal of southern opposition when it came to debate. It was not until the 20th of April that Douglas was able to obtain the consent of the senate to make bills relating to territories the special order for the 26th; and when that day came round, the California claims and the $3,000,000 appropriation being under discussion, the Oregon bill was postponed, so that nothing had been done in the senate for Oregon when on the 8th of May the citizens' memorial was received, nor yet when on the 29th the legislative petition was presented, together with the special message of the president, and when Washington was full of rumors concerning the affairs of Oregon, emphasized by the presence of two men from that distant territory with requests from individuals and the colonial government for congressional action.

On the 31st, Bright of Indiana, in the absence of Douglas, brought up the Oregon bill, when Benton moved an amendment authorizing the president to

their efforts in behalf of the American title, by liberal grants of land for educational purposes, had first led to this generous provision as made by the Oregon bill of 1846. The precedent once established, however, the other territories of an even or subsequent date came into the same rich inheritance, due probably to the influence of far-off Oregon on national legislation, but never in any sense due to the influence or the care for posterity due to J. Q. Thornton as alleged. *Acts 2d Sess. 36th Cong.*, 120. I shall have occasion in another place to refer to similar unfounded pretensions.

[9] See chapter XVIII. on the amendment of the organic laws.

raise a regiment of volunteers in the territory to serve for twenty months, which was agreed to. This amendment was followed by one by Hale of New Hampshire, who moved that the 12th section of the bill of the last session, touching the ordinance of 1787, should be inserted in the place of its substitute in the present bill; but as the subject was one of importance to the whole country, desired the debate on it postponed until the 12th of June.

Bright opposed the amendment of Hale, on the ground that it would raise discussion and retard the passage of the bill, whereas it was of the utmost importance that it should be pressed to an immediate vote. Niles of Connecticut, on the other hand, objected to the unusual urgency displayed by the western senators, and proposed to make Benton's amendment a separate bill and pass it immediately, while the remainder of the territorial bill should take time for examination. Hannegan of Indiana, however, expressed a determination to vote against the amendment of Benton. The whole of Oregon, he said, lay within the boundary from which slavery was excluded by the Missouri compromise; which statement being challenged, he declared that no sane man believed that slavery would ever exist in Oregon, and hoped the bill would be passed without delay. "He appealed to every man not to turn a deaf ear to the cries of our citizens in Oregon, surrounded by hostile Indians, and not to be turned from it by this wicked and useless question being agitated."

Benton followed with an eloquent appeal, saying that the Oregon settlers had deserved well of congress for their enterprise, and now the neglect of government had encouraged the murderous outrages which compelled the settlers to send an express encountering the hardships and dangers of a winter journey across the mountains and plains to ask for the interposition of an ungrateful government. He closed by calling on senators of every variety of opinion to

unite in passing the bill and preventing any further Indian massacres.

Then Westcott of Florida took occasion to resent an insinuation against the judiciary committee, that it had retarded the passage of the bill[10] by thrusting on the senate the question of free territory. "It was not," he said, "thrust on the senate by that committee, but by the house bill (of 1847); and it was not then or now thrust on the senate by any senator from the south. It was not thrust upon them by the committee on territories. The amendment was entirely unnecessary, as it is already in the bill under consideration. The laws of Oregon already inhibit slavery. These laws were submitted to the judiciary committee last session, and will be found among the documents. If the bill should pass as it has been reported, it will contain a perfect inhibition of slavery."[11] In conclusion he gave notice that he would move to amend the bill by substituting the bill of the previous session as amended by the senate. Davis of Mississippi declared that no one could more earnestly desire that Oregon might have a territorial government than himself, but he wanted time for consideration. The laws of Iowa,[12] he declared, were not adapted to Oregon, which required different ordinances. He would recommend the recommitment of the bill to the judiciary committee, with instructions to report immediately.

Berrien of Georgia suggested that the shortest way to a final vote would be to adopt Westcott's amendment of substituting the former senate bill; and Calhoun was not disposed to interpose any delay which his duty did not imperatively require. He wished to give a government to the territory of Oregon imme-

[10] This is a reference to the amendments made by the judiciary committee of the senate to the Oregon bill at the previous session, which were rejected by the house. They may be found in the *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 16, 1847.

[11] *Cong. Globe*, 1847–8, 805. See Thornton's pretensions in note 8.

[12] I find several references to the fact that the Oregon bill was drawn up on the plan of the territorial acts of Iowa and Wisconsin. *Id.* Bright says, page 809, that 'the bill is substantially the same as the bills for the admission of Wisconsin and Iowa, with the exception of the 12th section.'

diately. At the close of the day's proceedings the Oregon bill had not advanced a step toward its passage.

On the following day the consideration of the bill was resumed, when Hale of New Hampshire offered an amendment which was only another fagot to the flame of southern opposition to free territory, embodying as it did the conditions of the ordinance of 1787, as well as confirming the laws already in force in Oregon not incompatible with the remainder of the act, subject to alteration or modification by the governor and legislative assembly; and extending the laws of the United States over that territory. This was objected to as a firebrand, and Hale offered to withdraw his amendment for the present, to be renewed if he deemed it best on seeing the course taken by the bill.

Calhoun of South Carolina replied to a proposition of Bright to strike out the obnoxious 12th section, to which Hale objected, that the removal of that section would not be a removal of the difficulty. "There are three questions involved," said Calhoun: "first, the power of congress to interfere with persons emigrating with their (slave) property into the state; second, the power of the territorial government to do so; and third, the power of congress to vest such a power in the territory;" and recommended either Westcott's amendment by substitution, or the passage of the military section as a separate bill.

Miller of New Jersey expressed surprise that the people of Oregon had not the right to prohibit slavery. Whence, then, had they derived the right to sanction slavery? To pour oil on the billows, Dickinson of New York suggested leaving out the 12th section, and permitting the people of Oregon to settle for themselves the question of free territory. To this proposal Bagby of Georgia gave, by implication, his consent, by saying that congress had no more right over the territory than over any other property of

the United States; and denying that it could "erect a wall around a territory in which citizens of other states could not meet without leaving their property behind them." For him, he wished the 12th section stricken out. At the same time he called Dickinson's doctrine, that Oregon could make its own laws, a monstrous one, and called his suggestion an "attempt to stir up agitation in reference to a territory into which it was generally admitted slavery was never likely to enter;" whereupon Hale retorted that this was a "southern firebrand" which was now thrown in.

Bagby again "deprecated the new doctrine as to these ephemeral things called territorial governments, by which any twenty thousand settlers on the public lands might set up a government, and demand the right to enact their own laws." Foote of Mississippi, though declaring that he did not wish to enter upon the discussion of the question of slavery at that time, as it "might enable an individual to whom the abolitionists were attracted to increase his popularity," announced that he would vote for the bill if the 12th section should be stricken out. Hale replying to the personalities of Foote, the debate ended in remarks of no pertinency to the history of the Oregon bill.

The third day was but a repetition of the two preceding, except that some new voices were heard in the debate. Things were said of the Oregon government that would have roused the resentment of its founders could they have heard them, and at every renewal of the contest it was evident that the prospect for Oregon darkened. At length Houston of Texas, hoping to put an end to the discussion, moved to amend the 12th section by inserting a modifying clause, which was agreed to, but did not prevent the recurrence of the motion to strike out the section.[13] A vote being taken

[13] The following is the paragraph so obnoxious to southerners, with the amendment in italics: 'Sec. 12. And be it further enacted that the inhabitants of the said territory shall be entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities heretofore granted and secured to the territory of Iowa and to its inhabitants; and the existing laws now in force in the territory of Oregon,

on striking out, resulted in a two-thirds majority against it, which was the end of that day's proceedings.

I need not follow the bill through the ensuing six weeks of discussion. On the 13th of July it was recommitted to a select committee on the organization of territorial governments in Oregon, California, and New Mexico, which reported a bill on the 18th to establish these several territories. This bill was intended to be a compromise, and granted to Oregon the right to organize by a popular vote, and by the "temporary adoption of their present laws prohibiting slavery, until the legislature could adopt some law on the subject;" while organizing the other two territories without this privilege, by appointing governors, senators, and judges; their legislatures to have no power to make laws concerning slavery.[14] It did not take away the liberties granted by the 12th section of the original Oregon bill, the modifications being slight, but withheld from California and New Mexico even the right to send a delegate to congress. It was with this powerful sedative the committee proposed to quiet the agitation on the question of slavery in the territories until Oregon could be organized without overturning the free principles upon which the people had erected an independent government, which they might choose to retain rather than yield to the subversion of their rights enjoyed under their own organic laws.

The contest then continued upon the propriety of yoking Oregon, "a native-born territory," with territories hardly a month old and peopled by Mexicans and half-Indian Californians. But after daily dis-

under the authority of the provisional government established by the people thereof, shall continue to be valid and operative therein so far as the same shall not be incompatible with the provisions of this act, *or in violation of any rights by the law or constitution of the United States vested or secured to the citizens of the United States or any of them;* subject nevertheless to be altered, modified, or repealed by the governor and legislative assembly of the said territory of Oregon; and the laws of the United States are hereby extended over and declared to be in force in said territory, so far as the same or any provision thereof may be applicable.' *Cong. Globe*, 1847–8, 512.

[14] *Id.*, 950; *Deady's Hist. Or.*, MS., 3; *Clarke*, in *Over'ınd Monthly* x. 411–13; *Benton's Thirty Years' View*, ii. 729–44.

cussion for another week, and at the close of a thirty hours' session, at eight o'clock in the morning of the 27th of July, the compromise bill was passed [15] by a vote of thirty-three to twenty-two, and sent to the house, which almost at once voted to lay it on the table, upon the ground that it did not settle, but would only protract, the vexed question to which it owed its birth.

But while senators were thus evading the final issue which all felt must soon be met, the lower house had not been free from agitation on the same subject. On the 9th of February Smith of Indiana reported a bill to establish a territorial government in Oregon. This bill as introduced, by comparison with the Douglas bill of 1846, appears to be nearly identical. It was made the special order of the house for the 28th of March. Several debates were had, but little affecting the passage of the bill up to the time of Meek's arrival in Washington, and the president's message to congress on the subject of furnishing a government to that territory at the earliest practicable moment. Fear of the delay which the inevitable discussion of slavery was likely to involve led to the proposition to refer the message to the committee on military affairs, in order that troops might at once be sent to Oregon; but this motion was not allowed, and the bill took its course through the arguments for and against slavery in the territories, as the senate bill had done. The only amendments agreed to were a proviso in the first section confirming to each of the missions in Oregon six hundred and forty acres of land,[16] the introduction of several new sections offered as amendments by the committee on commerce, concerning the establishment of a collection district, ports of entry and delivery, extending the revenue laws of the United States over Oregon, and appropriating

[15] See text of bill in *Cong. Globe*, 1847–8, 1002–5.

[16] This proviso, introduced in the territorial act, when a land bill had already been reported, but without the prospect of passing at that session, explains a part of Thornton's errand.

money for the erection of light-houses at the mouth of the Columbia and at the entrance to Admiralty Inlet; a section forbidding the obstruction of the Oregon rivers by dams which would prevent the free passage of salmon; and a section appropriating $10,000 to be expended under the direction of the president, in payment of the services and expenses of the persons engaged by the provisional government to convey communications to and from the United States, as also the purchase of such presents for the Indians as might be required to make peace with them.[17]

It is asserted by Thornton that he secured the amendments on commerce,[18] and knowing nothing to the contrary, I shall hope that he did so, because he should have done something to earn the money for his expenses, which charitable members of congress were induced to procure for him out of the public treasury. The bill as it now stood, with the ordinance of 1787 and all, passed the house on the 2d of August by a vote of one hundred and twenty-nine to seventy-one, and was sent to the senate, where for nine days it received the same discursive treatment to which the senate bill had been subjected, but was finally passed between nine and ten o'clock Sunday morning, August 13th, after an all-night session.

Seldom was there so determined opposition to a bill as that offered by the southern senators to the establishment of Oregon Territory: not, as they themselves said, from a want of sympathy with the people of that isolated section of the country, who were, as all believed, still engaged in a bloody contest with hostile savages; nor from a conviction that slavery would strike root in this far northern soil; but only from a sense of the danger to their sacred institution from extending the principles of the ordinance of 1787 to

[17] By the language of this appropriation the $10,000 was intended for Meek and his associates. Meek received a large share of it, and the Indians not any. See *Victor's River of the West*, 458–62. Thornton also received money for his expenses, probably from the contingent fund.

[18] *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1874, 94.

the territory acquired since the passage of that ordinance.[19] From their point of view the people of the southern states were defrauded of their inheritance in the vast possessions of the federal Union by the exclusion of slavery from any part of the common territory of the United States. They claimed the right to go whither they pleased, and to carry their human chattels with them, fiercely combating the opposition of the northern men that negroes were not property, in the usual acceptation of the term.

It had been agreed that congress should adjourn on Monday the 14th, and the policy of the opposition was to defeat the Oregon bill by preventing the ayes and noes from being taken. Almost the whole of Saturday was consumed in debate, in which Calhoun, Butler of South Carolina, Houston, Yulee, Davis, and other eminent southerners, argued the question over the same familiar ground with no other object than the consumption of time. Benton only had replied at any length.

In the evening session, after a speech by Webster, the debate was continued till after midnight, when a motion was made to adjourn, which was defeated. Butler then moved to go into executive session, when an altercation arose as to the object of the motion at that time,[20] and the motion being ruled out of order,

[19] Mason of Virginia said: 'The ordinance of 1787 was a compact formed between the United States government and the people of the north-west territory before the constitution was formed. The history of that ordinance is shrouded in secrecy, as the journals were not made public. But it is well known that there was much conflict. The item concerning slavery was the result of compromise...Some states came into the measure with difficulty and some with a protest. Virginia would never have been a party to that compact, never would have made the cession she did, had she supposed her right to extend her population whither she would, would have been denied...There are now 3,000,000 of slaves penned up in the slave states, and they are an increasing population, increasing faster than the whites. And are the slaves to be always confined within what may be deemed their prison states?' *Cong. Globe*, 1847–8, 903.

[20] Thornton, in his *History of the Provisional Government*, in *Or. Pio: er Assoc., Trans.*, 1874, 91, gives some particulars. He says Butler made the motion to go into executive session for the purpose of inquiring into the conduct of Benton, who he had alleged communicated to the reporter of the *New York Herald* some proceedings done in secret session; that Butler called Benton's act dishonorable; and that Benton sprang toward him a rage, with clinched

a vote was taken on appeal, and the chair sustained. In this manner the night was, like the day, wellnigh wasted, without coming to a vote on the Oregon bill.

Toward morning, Foote, who had already spoken several times, rose again, when he was called to order. The friends of the bill thinking the best way to bring matters to a conclusion was to humor the Mississippian, entreated that he might be allowed to proceed; and he, declaring his ability to speak until Monday night, commenced at the history of the creation, as given in the books of Moses, and talked on in a rambling strain until after nine o'clock Sunday, when it may be assumed that his spirits began to flag, and he sat down. Benton then hastened to recede from some amendments which he had offered, but which the house had refused to accede to; and the bill, restored to its precise form as it passed the house, was finally passed by the senate, the long and trying ordeal was over, and Oregon was a Territory of the United States, on her own terms.[21] The rule disallowing bills to be presented for signature on the last day of the session was suspended, and this one was signed on the 14th of August, the president returning it to the house with a message, in which he reviewed the question of free and slave territory at some length, deprecating the agitation arising from it, and predicting that it would. if not checked, dismember the union.[22]

Oregon had indeed been granted a territorial organization with all that usually accompanied such creative acts, the appropriations amounting to $26,500,[23] besides the salaries of all the territorial officers, including the

hand and violent gestures, calling Butler a liar. The two white-haired senators were separated by their friends, Butler saying, 'I will see you, sir, at another time and place;' and Benton rejoining in great heat, 'that he could be seen at any time or place, but that when he fought, he fought for a funeral!' See also Clarke, in *Overland Monthly*, x. 412.

[21] *Niles' Reg.*, lxxiii. 274; *Benton's Thirty Years*, ii. 711.

[22] For the territorial act of Oregon, see *General Laws of Oregon*, 1843–72, 52–63; *Cong. Globe*, 1847–8, 1079–80.

[23] For public buildings, $5,000; for territorial library, $5,000; for lighthouses, $15,000; for contingent expenses, $1,500 annually.

members of the legislature, which would bring a sum of money into circulation annually sufficient to afford partial relief to the currency of the country.[24] But the subject of land titles had not been touched, except so far as to secure the missions in the possession of six hundred and forty acres each, and except that the territorial act deprived every one else of all the title they formerly had under the provisional government.[25]

The omission to provide the Oregon settlers with their long-promised donations was not through either the injustice or intentional neglect of congress, but simultaneously with the territorial bills both houses had been notified that a land bill would follow. Senator Breese of Illinois on the 3d of January asked leave to bring in a bill to create the office of surveyor-general of public lands in the territory of Oregon,[26] and to grant donation rights to settlers. In the house, notice of two bills on the same subject was given by McClernand of Illinois January 31st, and by Johnson of Arkansas February 10th. McClernand's bill was referred to the committee on public lands, of which Collamer of Vermont was chairman, who reported it back April 25th, with an amendatory bill, and there the subject of land donations remained while the battle was being fought over the ordinance of 1787. When that fight was over it was too late to move in the matter at that session. Its subsequent course will be related elsewhere.[27]

For the relief of Oregon in the matter of troops and

[24] Salary of the governor, who was also Indian agent, $3,000; 3 U. S judges, $2,000; secretary, $1,500; legislators, $3 per day and mileage; chief clerk, $5 per day; other officers, $3; marshal the same as the marshal of Wisconsin.

[25] 'All laws heretofore passed in said territory making grants of land or otherwise affecting or encumbering the title to lands shall be, and are hereby declared to be, null and void.' Sec. 14 of territorial act, in *Gen. Laws Or.*, 1843–72, 60.

[26] *Cong. Globe*, 1847–8, 95.

[27] It is interesting to know that the widow of Captain Robert Gray, who first entered the Columbia, had a bill for relief, on the ground of discovery, before the house committee on public lands at this and a previous session. See memorial of Martha Gray, in *Or. Spectator*, Sept. 3, 1846; *Cong. Globe*, 1847–8, 679.

munitions of war, nothing was done, or could have been done in time to have averted a crushing disaster to the colony, had the Indians not been checked. The Mexican war, which had only been brought to a close in the summer of 1848, had made a heavy draft upon the treasury, and the army[28] was at that time small. The government was averse to enlisting men especially for Oregon, inasmuch as the rifle regiment which had been raised for service there and along the road to the Columbia would now be marched to its original destination, from which it had been diverted by the war with Mexico, so soon as its ranks, thinned by battle, desease, and desertion,[29] could be recruited. Instead of raising a new regiment, or ordering away the men in garrisons, it was concuded by the secretary of war to furnish the material likely to be required from the companies and stores already on the Pacific coast. Accordingly orders were despatched to John Parrott, navy agent at San Francisco, to forward orders to Commodore Jones to send "men, arms, ammunition, and provisions to Oregon," and also to forward by any safe conveyance $10,000, to be paid over to the governor. But this order was not issued until the 12th of October, when peace had been restored.[30]

During the progress of affairs from May to August, the two informal Oregon delegates had been characteristically employed. Thornton, with a serious air and a real love of scholarly association, sought the society of distinguished men, profiting, as he believed, by the contact, and doubtless being often consulted upon Oregon affairs. He asserts that he was approached while in Washington by an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company who wished to sell the possessory rights of that corporation in Oregon to the United States for the sum of $3,000,000, and that he became involved

[28] The total strength of the army after the discharge of the volunteers enlisted for the war was 8,866. *Cong. Globe*, 1847–8, 1006.

[29] The rifle regiment was reduced to 427 men. *Id.*

[30] *30th Cong., 2d Sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1*, 18–20.

in some trouble with the president for his course in refusing to sanction the purchase.[31] That he became the object of Polk's dislike may be true; but that the president cared for his opinion is hardly probable.

With regard to the proposition of the Hudson's Bay Company, I learn from various sources that the senate had under consideration a proposal to purchase its possessory rights in Oregon, upon the representation that the anomalous condition of the company after the treaty would lead to trouble. Sir George Simpson and Mr Finlayson paid a visit to Washington[32] about this time, and the matter was in the hands

[31] The cause of the trouble was really not so much the fact that he disapproved of the purchase, which any one was at liberty to do, as the manner taken to show his disapproval. As the matter is stated by himself, he received a call at his lodgings, from Knox Walker, the private secretary of the president, who brought with him and introduced a Mr George N. Saunders, whom he left with Thornton when he took his leave. The latter, according to Thornton, proceeded to make an attempt to bribe him to advocate the justice of the Hudson's Bay Company's pretensions, and offered him $25,000 to write such letters as he should dictate, to two members of the cabinet. The pious plenipotentiary's reply, if we may believe him, was to threaten to kick Saunders down the stairs, when that person saved him the exertion by going of his own accord. Not satisfied with this, Thornton wrote a letter to the president, which brought him another visit from Walker, who urged him to withdraw the letter, intimating that it would be better for his private interests to do so, but that he still refused. The story soon after transpiring through a communication to the *New York Herald*, written by Thornton, and signed 'Achilles de Harley,' the president took umbrage, and not only refused to appoint him to the place of one of the judges for Oregon, but also to pay his expenses as a messenger from Oregon out of the $10,000 appropriation. According to S. A. Clarke in the *Overland Monthly*, May 1873, who wrote from Thornton's dictation, Robert Smith, from the congressional district of Alton, Illinois, went to the president for money for Thornton's expenses, and was refused. Benton was then solicited to interest himself for Thornton, but put the business off on Douglas, who being refused, threatened to furnish Thornton with money to stay over to the next session, when he would move for a committee of inquiry to investigate the matter, in which the president was concerned. This threat brought Mr Polk to terms, and the sum of $2,750 was paid to Thornton, though he was obliged to return to Oregon without an office either for himself or the coterie he represented. Such is the explanation furnished by Thornton of the failure of his mission to Washington, and which he has repeatedly made, in his *History of Oregon*, MS., 1–6; in his *Autobiography*, MS., 48–55; in the statement made to Mr Clarke, and on other occasions. The real reason of Thornton's returning empty-handed was not any quarrel of the kind here narrated, but the citizens' memorial and the Nesmith resolution of the Oregon legislature, before spoken of, which Meek carried to Washington along with other documents. While there was no malice in Meek, he would have been sure to have his own sport with the governor's private delegate, the more so that Thornton professed to be shocked at the giddy ways of the authorized messenger.

[32] Extract from *Montreal Herald*, in *Niles' Reg.*, lxxiv. 296–7.

of the British charge d'affaires, Crampton. The Hudson's Bay Company placed a high value upon their property and lands in Oregon as guaranteed to them by the terms of the treaty of 1846; and as the latter were liable to be occupied at any time by American settlers who held in no respect their possessory rights, they were anxious to sell. The United States did not deny their right to do so. The only question was as to the price that was set upon them.[33] Some of the senators, on political grounds, had favored the proposition from the first; but others, better acquainted with Oregon local affairs, as Benton and Douglas, called for information, and the secretary of state laid the whole matter before them, declaring that as adviser of the president he could not counsel its acceptance without first ascertaining the value of the property, but that if he were in the senate he should vote for the purchase, as it would prevent the trouble and annoyance likely to arise from the joint navigation of the Columbia River.[34]

In the following year negotiations on this subject were interrupted, Buchanan declining to entertain the company's proposition to sell, for the reason that the British government interposed an injunction upon its officers, restraining them from transferring to the United States any of the rights secured to it by the treaty, the principal of which, in the estimation of

[33] A correspondent of the New York *Journal of Commerce*, under date of August 7, 1848, says: 'The senate have before them in secret session the proposition of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Company for the conveyances to the United States of all their lands, buildings, improvements, fields of cattle, forts, etc., and all their possessory rights south of 49°, as well as the territory, etc., north of that parallel. The governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Sir John Henry Pelly represented to Lord Palmerston the expediency of the transfer of the territorial rights, properties, and interests of the two companies to the U. S. government, and Lord Palmerston, readily embracing the project, instructed Mr Crampton, the British charge d'affaires, to bring it before this government. His letter to Mr Buchanan's is strong; and Mr Buchanan's communication to the senate, urging the acceptance of the proposition, presents incontrovertible arguments in favor of it. Mr Calhoun and Mr Webster are in favor of it; and to-day I learn that Mr Benton and Mr Hannegan have taken the matter in hand.' *Polynesian*, v. 150; *Niles' Reg.*, lxxiv. 97.

[34] Extract from New York *Herald*, in *Niles' Reg.*, lxxiv. 224.

this government, was the free navigation of the Columbia River.[35] Later, negotiations were resumed, but not until the establishment of a collection district in Oregon had shown the British government and the company that the free navigation of American waters was of little consequence, associated as it was with the obligation to pay duties on English goods, on the same footing with citizens of the United States. When that discovery was made, the value of their possessory rights was much lessened, and senators were not so ready to buy. The reader who will remember Benton's remarks on the 2d article of the treaty of 1846, in secret session, knows that even at that time he comprehended the importance of the blunder made by the British embassador in regard to this article; and it does not appear likely that Thornton was better informed on the subject than senators who had for years been engaged in the discussion of the Oregon Question from all points of view, or that the Hudson's Bay Company regarded his opinion as worth $25,000. The publication of a letter containing a charge against the president of bribery, or of consenting to bribery, whether written by himself, or by another, as he has since declared, but emanating from him, would be very good reason for regarding him with disfavor.

Soon after the adjournment of congress Thornton received a little more than the sum allowed by the territorial bill for mileage of a delegate, and repairing to New York, took passage on the *Sylvie De Grasse* for Oregon, where he arrived in May 1849.[36]

[35] Washington letter, in *Niles' Reg.*, lxxiv. 312.

[36] The person whom Thornton accuses of approaching him with the offer of a bribe, George N. Saunders, has had a notorious record as a politician, and was not above attempting to make the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company pay for his assumed influence in their affairs. He was described as of an amiable and joyous temperament, but lacking in principle. He was for some years editor of the *Democratic Review*, which his management converted from a respectable magazine into a reckless and disreputable publication. Yet he was wont with it to make senators and members tremble, see *Cong. Globe*, 1851-2, pt. i. 712, and was often called the president-maker. In 1853 he was commissioned consul to London. New York cor. *Or. Statesman*,

President Polk, who was elected on the issues connected with the Oregon Question, was desirous of having the new territory established during his administration. It was already the middle of August when the bill passed, and it was a long journey to Oregon by whatever route the territorial officers might choose. No time was lost in making the appointments; the appointees being urged to set out at once for the Pacific coast. The president's first choice for governor was General James Shields[37] of Illinois; but the appointment being declined, the position was offered to another general of the Mexican war, Joseph Lane of Indiana, who was requested to organize the government before the 4th of March following. Lane accepted.[38] The other appointees

Oct. 4, 1853. He is described by a writer in the *Boston Transcript*, in *Id.*, Sept. 16, 1862, as the head and director of all knaviah expedients to secure the election of Buchanan in 1856. 'Nobody knew how he obtained his money or acquired his right to command; but money he had in abundance, and his right to command was not disputed. There, with his shining shock of brown hair, curling over the lowest of human foreheads and the most impudent of human faces, he freely dispensed the "influence" which carried Pennsylvania for Buchanan in spite of the Quaker vote. His reward was the office of navy agent in the city of New York.' He became a defaulter to the government to the extent of $21,000 in 1861. He settled in Louisville and preached secession, and afterward went to Canada, where he led the rebel fugitive element, and where he told George Augustus Sala that they were plotting atrocities in connection with the war which would 'make the world shudder.' *Boisé City Statesman*, July 13, 1865; *Portland Oregonian*, Nov. 9, 1865; *Id.*, June 17, 1867.

[37] Shields was born in Altmore, County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1810, and emigrated to America at the age of 16. In 1832 he settled at Kaskaskia, Illinois, in the practice of the law. He was elected to the legislature in 1836, and was auditor of the state in 1839; was appointed judge of the supreme court in 1843, and commissioner of the general land-office in 1845. At the breaking-out of the Mexican war he received the appointment of brigadier-general in the United States army, and was brevetted major-general for distinguished services. He served six years in the U. S. senate, being elected in 1849 from Illinois, and afterward two years from Minnesota Territory. He was for a short time in California and Mexico, and afterwards served as a general in the union army. In 1878 he was again elected to the U. S. senate from Missouri, but died a few weeks after taking his seat, in June 1879. *Grover's Pub. Life*, MS., 56; *Niles' Reg.*, lxxiv. 113, 337; *S. F. Call*, June 3, 1879; *Salt Lake S. W. Herald*, June 4, 1879.

[38] Joseph Lane was born in Buncombe Co., N. C., in 1801. From healthy parentage and pure mountain air he derived a strong constitution, and though not a large man, he was well knit, tough, and wiry, with a lively and ambitious disposition. His father removed to Kentucky when he was a child. At 15 he left the paternal roof to seek his fortune, as sons of southern and western men were wont to do. He married at the age of 19. In 1820 he settled in Indiana. Struggling with poverty and inexperience, the gift of

were Knitzing Pritchett of Pennsylvania, secretary; William P. Bryant of Indiana, chief justice; James Turney of Illinois and Peter H. Burnett of Oregon, associate justices; Isaac W. R. Bromley of New York, United States attorney; Joseph L. Meek, marshal; and John Adair of Kentucky, collector for the district of Oregon.[39] Of these, Turney declined, and O. C. Pratt was given the position. Burnett declining, William Strong of Ohio was named in his place. Bromley also declined, and Amory Holbrook was appointed in his stead.

Meek, now United States marshal,[40] received his commission and that of Governor Lane on the 20th

tongue, which never deserted him, made him early a man of mark, and he was elected captain of the local militia, which at that time, when the late war with England and the frequent Indian wars kept alive the military spirit, was considered as a position of honor and trust. At this evidence of the esteem of his fellows, young Lane became ambitious to acquit himself in all respects creditably, and began to acquire that book knowledge which from the circumstances of his boyhood had been denied him, studying while his neighbors were sleeping. He also labored to acquire property, and made his first venture in business by buying a flat-boat and transporting freight on the Ohio River. Money came in, and when he was still young he was elected to the legislature of Indiana, first in the house and then in the senate. When the Mexican war broke out the military spirit of Captain Lane was fired. He enlisted as a private in the 2d Indiana regiment of volunteers, to take his chances of promotion to the captaincy of a company. When the regiment assembled, captains being plenty, Lane was chosen colonel; and the other two regiments from his state being equally anxious to be commanded by him, the president made him their general. For two years previous to his appointment to the governorship of Oregon he was winning laurels on the battle-fields of Mexico; and to the history of that republic this portion of his biography belongs. Notes from a magazine of May 1858, in *Lane's Autobiography*, MS., 67–85.

[39] *New Orleans Picayune*, Aug. 28, 1848; *Honolulu Polynesian*, Feb. 3, 1849; *Oregon Facts*, 8; Evans, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1877, 27; *S. F. Alta*, Jan. 4, 1849; *S. F. California Star and Californian*, Dec. 16, 1848; *Or. Spectator*, Feb. 8, 1849; *S. I. Friend*, Nov. 1, 1849; *Am. Almanac*, 1849, 313; *Niles' Reg.*, lxxiv. 97, 338; *Victor's River of the West*, 483.

[40] In the *New York Tribune* of Sept. 1849, a correspondent says of Meek that he was so illiterate as to be able 'to do little more than write his name, although President Polk, with a full knowledge of the fact, appointed him,' etc.; and states that he was an 'old trapper who had been 72 years in the mountains!' The *Or. Spectator* of Jan. 26, 1850, remarked upon this, that at that rate, as Meek had been 10 years in the Willamette Valley, and was probably 20 years old when he went to the mountains, he must be of the venerable age of 102 years—he was 40—and took occasion to say that notwithstanding his want of book learning, he had been peculiarly prompt and faithful in every office with which he had been intrusted. This was a decided change from the tone of Abernethey's private letters, written after Meek's appointment as messenger, in which he took frequent occasion to ridicule the choice of the legislature. *Or. Archives*, MS., 108.

of August, and followed the president to Bedford Springs, whither the family of the executive had gone to escape the heat of the capital. In such haste was Polk to put his officials on the way to Oregon that he had already taken a seat for Meek in the coach which would leave Bedford the day of his arrival, and on that same afternoon he bade farewell to all his summer's glory, and set out for the home of Lane, near Newburgh Landing in southern Indiana. On the 27th of August he presented Lane his commission, and on the 29th this portion of the Oregon government was on the way to Fort Leavenworth, where was an escort of twenty-five men for the journey across the plains.

Owing to the lateness of the season it was determined to take the southern route by Santa Fé, El Paso, Tucson, and the Pima villages on the Gila River, following that stream to its junction with the Colorado, and thence north-westwardly to the bay of San Pedro in California, where they hoped to find a vessel to take them to San Francisco, and thence to the Columbia River. The company which left Fort Leavenworth on the 20th of September numbered about fifty persons, including Lane, his eldest son Nathaniel, Meek, and Dr Hayden, surgeon of the detachment under Lieutenant Hawkins, twenty-five riflemen, with wagon-masters, teamsters, and servants.

On the Santa Fé trail they were met by the army under Price returning from Mexico. The passage of this host had swept the country of herbage. On arriving at Santa Fé it was found impracticable to proceed farther with wagons, and the baggage was placed on mules for the march to the seaboard. At every stage feed was poorer, and the sandy plains of the Grande and Gila rivers reduced the mules to a pitiful condition. At Tucson the escort began to desert, and in an attempt to capture two of them two others were killed, making the loss double. After

crossing the Colorado [41] and entering California rumors of gold discoveries caused such desertion that when the expedition reached Williams' rancho on the Santa Ana River less than six men remained, and these were obliged to walk while the few animals left alive carried the baggage. At this place, however, the wayworn and wellnigh starved travellers found hospitable entertainment and were furnished with horses to take them to the coast. At Los Angeles they found stationed Major Graham with a company of United States troops; and thence they proceeded to San Pedro Bay, where a vessel, the *Southampton*, was ready to sail for San Francisco.

On entering the Golden Gate the Oregon officials encountered one of those wild phenomena which drop in on mankind once in a century or so. Hundreds of men from the Willamette, many of whom Meek last saw in the Cayuse country without money enough to purchase a suit of clothing had it been for sale in Oregon City, were waiting here for a passage to the Columbia, with thousands of dollars' worth of gold-dust buckled to their waists. A fever of excitement pervaded the shifting population of San Francisco which it was impossible to resist; and although neither Lane nor Meek would forsake their trust, they were tempted to fit out for the mines the few men who had remained with them from Fort Leavenworth, on a partnership agreement, and saw them depart for the gold-fields with Nathaniel Lane, before continuing their journey.[42]

Lane and Meek went on board the *Janet*, Captain Dring. The vessel was crowded with returning Oregonians, and after a tedious voyage of eighteen days anchored in the Columbia. The party to which Lieu-

[41] Near Cook's Wells the company found 100 wagons which had been abandoned by Major Graham, who was unable to cross the Colorado desert with them.

[42] Meek was to receive half the first year's profit. The result of his venture was three pickle-jars of gold-dust, which young Lane brought to him the following year, and which no more than reimbursed him for his outlay. *Victor's River of the West*, 480.

tenant Hawkins was still attached immediately took passage in a canoe for Oregon City, where they arrived the 2d of March, two days before the expiration of Polk's term of office.[43]

On the day following his arrival Governor Lane published a proclamation as follows:

"In pursuance of an act of congress, approved the 14th of August, in the year of our Lord 1848, establishing a territorial government in the territory of Oregon: I, Joseph Lane, was on the 18th day of August in the year 1848 appointed governor in and for the territory of Oregon. I have therefore thought it proper to issue this my proclamation, making known that I have this day entered upon the discharge of the duties of my office, and by virtue thereof do declare the laws of the United States extended over and declared to be in force in said territory, so far as the same or any portion thereof may be applicable. Given under my hand at Oregon City, in the territory of Oregon, this 3d day of March Anno Domini 1849.

JOSEPH LANE."[44]

Thus Oregon enjoyed one day's existence under the president whose acts were signally linked with her history, in the settlement of the boundary, and the establishment of the laws of the United States. The only other presidential appointee besides the governor and marshal present in the territory at its setting out on its new career was Associate Justice O. C. Pratt, who had arrived about a month previously.[45] He administered the oath of office to the

[43] *Crawford's Nar.*, MS., 185; *Lane's Autobiography*, MS., 3; *Or. Argus*, May 19, 1853.

[44] The proclamation was printed on the little press used by G. L. Curry to print his independent paper, the *Free Press*. *Lane's Autobiography*, MS., 5.

[45] Pratt arrived on the bark *Undine*, loaded with returning gold-miners, which missed the river and ran into Shoalwater Bay. She entered afterward and went up the river for a cargo of lumber. Pratt landed at Shoalwater Bay, and went down the beach to Cape Disappointment and Baker Bay, and crossed to Astoria, where a large number of natives were congregated, to observe some of their barbarous festivals. 'At this war-dance,' says Crawford, 'I saw O. C. Pratt for the first time.' *Nar.*, MS., 181.

other officials, and helped to set in motion the wheels of the new political machine.

And so, without any noise or revolution, the old government went out and the new came in. The provisional government was voluntarily laid down, as it had voluntarily been taken up. It was an experiment of a part of the American people, who represented in their small and isolated community the principles of self-government in a manner worthy of the republican sentiments supposed to underlie the federal union, by which a local population could constitute an independent state, and yet be loyal to the general government. Under judicious management, good order and happiness, as well as a general condition of prosperity, had been maintained. The people were industrious, because all must work to live; they were honest, because there was no temptation to steal; they were not miserly, because they had no money to hoard; they were hospitable, because every man expected to need the kindness of his neighbor; and they were moral both on account of a public sentiment created by the mission and Hudson's Bay Company's influence, and from the absence of temptation. In such a community there is strength; and had there been neither Indian war nor gold-discovery, the same organization might have continued to stand for a generation without further assistance from the general government.[46]

[46] 'In the din of battle it also stood the test. It declared and successfully waged war to redress the unprovoked wrongs the citizens had suffered; from its own resources, without extraneous aid, it levied the necessary troops; in the hour of danger its citizens responded to the call of their constituted authority. The Cayuse war was probably the most important historic feature of the period. By it was fully demonstrated, not only the inherent strength of the provisional government, the unity of feeling it had engendered, its entire capability to meet the requirements of the people, but the inciting cause of the war had been the constant surrounding of the pioneers.' Evans, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1877, 34. 'The men of the "forty's" were no common men; they would have been men in any country; they had been winnowed out of a great nation, a chosen band. They came as a community with all the necessary characteristics to establish a well-organized government; this they put into operation as soon as they arrived—rocked the cradle of the infant provisional government—nurtured and trained the rapidly developing youth of the 'territorial government.' *Brown's Autobiography*, MS., 33. 'Thirty

With the going-out of the provisional government there was unloosed almost the last grasp of the Mission political influence. The head and front of this power for several years had been Abernethy. He had stood high with the Methodists, the largest religious denomination in Oregon, and by a certain smoothness of face, of manner, and of soft brown hair over a sloping forehead, had created the impression of mild, almost weak amiability, rather than of any intellectual force. I have shown, however, with what pertinacity he could plot and plan against his British commercial or other rivals. His dislike of the western men was scarcely less, because he could not rule them, and because they snapped their fingers at Mission influence. Like many another of the school in which he had been trained, he believed the Lord was on the side of professors of religion, and that if they obtained the advantage of other men, not of their belief, the Lord was rejoiced thereat, because the righteous shall inherit the earth. This belief made it right for the missionary party, of which he was the real head, to practise that underhanded policy, in certain cases, which when indulged in by men of the world is called dishonesty. In these disingenuous measures Abernethy was the prime mover; but the fear of injuring his business or his position as governor kept him silent. He was by nature, too, a quiet man, whose opinions were made known by what he did rather than by what he said. For a few years following the change in Oregon affairs, he accumulated money; but he failed to keep the fortune circumstances threw into his lap. He bought everything that offered, whether he could pay for it or not, and when reaction came, lost all that he had made, besides being heavily in

years ago was established by a mere handful of people, on this then remote and inaccessible land, that famous provisional government which carried the country through the vicissitudes of peace and war, until March 3, 1849, when the territorial government provided by congress was proclaimed at Oregon City amid the rejoicings of the people, by its first governor, General Joseph Lane.' Deady, in *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1875, 42.

debt. It cannot, therefore, be said of him that he was greater in a business capacity than as a statesman or philanthropist.[47]

A history that is written from the very mouths of the living actors, and that despises no authority however humble, if it has any claim to be thought just, should have brought to light, had there been anything to record, some acts of generosity, of self-sacrifice, of devotion to the good of the country, performed by this leading man among the missionaries; but in all the instances requiring the exhibition of these qualities, during the early period of Oregon history which closes with the establishment of the territorial government, the men who came to the front were the men whom Governor Abernethy despised. There remains to be recorded yet one more act in the life of the colonial governor deserving of preservation in history, which I reserve for a future chapter.[48]

I have spoken freely of the Oregon colonists, their personal peculiarities, and all their little and great jealousies, and occasional misdoings. I have not made of them religious martyrs, but something better; I have not made of them pilgrim fathers, but something nobler, their fanaticism being less fierce and cruel, while for self-denying application and high and holy purpose they were the peers of any who landed on Plymouth Rock. If I have not presented the leaders of the several migrations as heroes, to me they were none the less heroic; while the people were filled with a patriotism as lofty and purposes as pure as any appearing upon the highways of history.[49]

[47] *Beacon's Mer. Life in Or. City*, MS., 10; *Moss' Pioneer Times*, MS., 35–9; Mrs Wilson, in *Or. Sketches*, MS., 18; *Buck's Enterprises*, MS., 10.

[48] Governor Abernethy, aside from his unfortunate speculations, sustained the wreck of the remnant of his fortune in the flood of 1861–2, which swept away the most valuable improvements at Oregon City. He then removed to Portland, and engaged in a small business, which he followed till his death in 1877. He remained always a firm friend of the church and of temperance, and is well spoken of for these traits. See *Or. Pioneer Assoc., Trans.*, 1876, 68; *Salem Statesman*, in *San José Pioneer*, May 12, 1877.

[49] Herewith I give some modern biographies, more of which will be found in vol. ii., *History of Oregon*. W. H. Effinger, born in Va, Nov. 14, 1839,

graduated from Dickinson college, Pa, in 1856, studied law, and took a tour through the south, intending to locate himself in either Miss. or La; but the breaking-out of the civil war caused him to return to Va and take service in the confederate army. During the war he was twice wounded. After its close he continued the practice of his profession in Va until 1872, when he removed to Oregon. At the time of the late Indian war he was maj.-gen. of the state militia, and accompanied Gov. Chadwick to Umatilla, where a rendezvous had been appointed with Gov. Ferry of Washington. Effinger desired to call out 800 militia, but Chadwick declined. It is Effinger's opinion that had this been done the Indians would not have broken through Howard's lines. I have explained Chadwick's actions in my account of this war in *Hist. Idaho*, this series. In 1880 Mr. Effinger was chairman of a delegation from Oregon to the national democratic convention at Cincinnati, which advocated the nomination of Stephen J. Field for the presidency. As a lawyer, Effinger achieved a high position in Oregon.

James Steele, of Scotch lineage, his grandfather having come to the U. S. from Scotland, while his grandmother on the paternal side was a Gladstone, a cousin of the English premier, was born and educated in Moore co., Ohio, in 1834, moving to Iowa in 1856, just as the first railroad was being constructed in that state from Davenport to Iowa City. Several years were spent in Iowa and Kansas, when he came to Oregon in 1862. His first employment here was in R. Pittock's grocery store, where he remained for one year. After that he was book-keeper for Harker Bros two years. When the 1st National Bank was organized in 1866—the first on the Pacific coast—he was made cashier, remaining there 16 years, resigning in 1882 to engage in banking on his own account, he being one of the organizers of the Willamette Savings Bank, and its first president; also sec. and treas. of the Northwest Timber Co., organized in 1883, the lands of the company being near Astoria. The Oregon Construction Co. was another enterprise in which Steele became interested, its purpose being to construct railroads. This co. built the Palouse branch of the N. P. R. from Colfax to Moscow. Then there was the Oregon Contract and Pavement Co., with the object of making all kinds of street improvement, another important industry in which Steele was early interested; also the Oregon Pottery Co., which is a consolidation of the Buena Vista Pottery Co. with the Portland Pottery Co., incorporated by Steele in 1884; besides having mining interests in Idaho, and being a promoter of an enterprise which contemplated reduction-works at Portland. This is Scotch thrift and American enterprise united.

J. C. Carson, born in Pa in 1825, removed with his parents to Ohio in 1834, where he studied medicine until 1850, when he came to Cal. by sea as asst to a surgeon, Kinnaman, who designed erecting a hospital at Sacramento. Not finding things as they expected, the hospital was given up, and Carson went to the mines; but after drifting about for two years, he came to Portland, at that time a rude hamlet in a forest. Finding nothing to do here, he taught a country school for a year. In 1852 Portland began to grow rapidly, and taking advantage of the movement, J. C. with D. R. Carson established a sash and door factory, in time employing 50 men. Carson has been several times member of the city council, and was its president in 1854 and 1855. In 1866 he was one of the three commissioners selected to report on the value of the H. B. Co. property in Oregon and Washington. In 1870 he was a member of the lower house of the legislature from Multnomah co., and re-elected in 1880. In 1884 he was elected to the senate.

Jonathan Bourne, Jr, born in New Bedford, Mass., Feb. 23, 1855, was educated at Harvard university, graduating in 1877. He travelled abroad for a year, and came to Portland in 1878, where he read law with W. H. Effinger, being admitted to the bar in 1880, and entering into a partnership with him. Bourne became president of the Oregon Milling Co., owning mills at Turner and Silverton, in Marion co.; president of the Divided Car Axle Co.; president of E. G. Pierce Transfer and Forwarding Co., with a branch in San Francisco; and sole owner of the town of Grant's Pass, recently made

the county seat of Josephine co., besides having interests in various other manufacturing and railroad enterprises. He was elected to the legislature from Multnomah co. in 1884. In politics he is an ardent republican, as was his father Jonathan Bourne, Sr, who was four times member of the executive council of Mass., and was the first delegate to vote for the nomination of Lincoln in the convention of 1860, since which time he has been a member of every republican national convention to the present time. The son inherited also the father's business talents, who was for many years the largest whale-ship owner in the world, and later interested in railroads and various manufactures.

John Somerville, a native of Ill., was born in 1846, and migrated to Oregon in 1873 in company with his father, Alexander Somerville, born in Ky in 1816. His mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Stephenson. They had two other children, Edgar J. and Mary J. The family settled on a farm in Linn co., where the father died in 1880. John engaged in merchandising, and subsequently in stock-raising in eastern Oregon, in company with A. H. Breyman. In 1883 Somerville, Breyman Bros of Salem, and B. J. Bowman established the National Bank of East Portland. Somerville married, in 1867, Ellen E. Shelley, a native of Lane co.

James Lotan, born in Paterson, N. J., served a term of enlistment in a N. Y. regiment in the civil war, and came to Oregon in 1864, having first been employed in the navy-yard at Washington for a year. He was foreman and manager of the Oregon Iron-works for several years, and in 1873 became a large stockholder and supt of the Willamette Iron-works. The company was incorporated in 1865 with a capital of $50,000, the money used in the business afterward increased to about $200,000; M. W. Henderson pres., B. Z. Holmes vice-pres., W. S. Stevens sec., and John Mair supt. The company in 1883 had a business worth $400,000, which fell off subsequently as the railroads were completed.

B. F. Kendall, born in Springfield, Ill., Feb. 6, 1827, came to Oregon in 1851, and engaged in farming and stock-raising, having 80 acres of improved land in Baker co., and several hundred head of cattle and horses. He was elected county commissioner in 1883 on the republican ticket.

S. A. Caldwell was one of a joint-stock company of 150 persons from Boston who in 1849 came to Cal. by sea in a vessel of their own. After arrival, and finding that as a company they could do nothing, they sold their vessel and disbanded, Caldwell coming to Oregon in 1850. In 1852 he formed one of a company which purchased stock of the immigrants. The winter of 1862 being a severe one, they lost 5-6 of their herd, having neither shelter nor food, and the cattle being worn down with their journey across the plains. In 1854 Caldwell settled in Eugene, where he resided for 8 years, when he removed to Auburn, and in 1876 settled near Malheur City on 160 acres, 120 of which was arable land.

W. McClanahan, born in Ind., came to Oregon overland in 1852 in the company of William Huntington. In the spring of 1853 he went to Shasta, Cal., and engaged in mining, remaining there 5 years, when the Fraser River excitement carried him to B. C., from which place he returned in the autumn of the same year. In 1859 he married Annie Butt of Forest Grove and moved to Clarksville, where he mined and kept hotel until 1872, when he settled on a farm near Bridgeport. He secured 480 acres, 260 of which was rich bottom-land, and the remainder upland, all good for farming purposes. McClanahan gives the name of James Fleetwood and William Mitchell as early settlers in his section, and mentions Frank Koontz as having erected the pioneer saw-mill here. The mill was subsequently sold to Clements. A school was established in the district, and religious services held once a month.

H. W. Sloan, supt of the Humboldt Mining Association of Cañon City, furnishes the following: The stock of the co. is divided into 8 shares, held by 6 working members; namely, H. W. Sloan, two shares, value, $3,000; J. Sprowl, two shares, $3,000; W. C. Sprowl, H. Heppner, F. Yergenson, and H. Hunter, one share each, $6,000. They have a patent to 140 acres of min-

ing ground, and work the mine by hydraulic apparatus; have a 7-mile ditch, including one mile of flume, which carries 1,000 inches of water. The quality of the gold is $18.40 to the ounce, or .909 fine. A clean-up of $2,500 to $3,000 is made every 5 or 6 weeks. The 6 stockholders and 6 Chinese are employed in working. Sloan also secured a hay rancho of 100 acres, which he stocked with fine brood mares.

John Laurence, born in N. C., came to the Pacific coast in 1857, and located himself at Yreka, Cal., engaging in mining and farming. In 1865 he removed to Grant co., Oregon, settling in John Day Valley. In 1877 he began merchandising at Prairie City, and also purchased the Strawberry flouring mill, built in 1872 by Morehead & Cleaver, which made from 25 to 30 barrels of flour per day of 12 hours, and a chop mill, both run by water-power from Waldon Warm Springs. He became owner with his brother, Isham Laurence, of 320 acres of grain land, and raised wheat, oats, and barley. He also owned an interest in the Keystone gold mine with Starr, Carpenter, and Shearer. It was situated 7 miles from Prairie City, and had a 5-stamp mill upon it. Considerable tunnelling was done on two levels. The ore ran 3½ ounces of gold and 5½ ounces of silver to the ton. The mine cost $25,000, and yielded up to 1886 $31,000.

M. V. Thompson, of the firm of Groth & Thompson of Canon City, secured with his partner the Eureka Hot Springs, a fine place of resort; also a large stock rancho for raising horses.

George D. McHaley, a farmer and stock-raiser near Prairie City, came to Oregon in 1843 with his parents, who settled at Oregon City. In 1850 he went to the Cal. gold mines near Redding, where he remained over two years. He subsequently located himself in the John Day country as a farmer, removing from the North Fork to Prairie City in 1881, where he secured 160 acres of hay land, his cattle feeding on the public lands in summer. He was elected in 1884 a member of the lower house of the legislature.

Quincy A. Brooks was born in Pa in 1828, and educated at Duquesne college, Pittsburg, graduating in 1846. He studied law, and came to Oregon in 1851, locating himself soon after at Olympia on Puget Sound, then a portion of Oregon. He was appointed inspector of customs, and afterward deputy collector of that port. Gov. Gaines appointed him prosecuting attorney in 1852 for the northern district of Oregon, which office he held until the organization of Washington territory. He took part in its early politics, and was appointed by Gov. Stevens clerk of the supt of Indian affairs, holding that position under Stevens, Nesmith, and Geary. In 1857 he removed to Salem, where he married Lizzie Cranston in 1858; and thence went to Portland, where he remained until 1861, when he went into mercantile business in Walla Walla, and afterwards at Auburn. In 1865 he received the appointment of postal agent for the Pacific coast, holding that office through Johnson's administration. On the breaking-out of the Modoc war in 1872, he was commissioned quartermaster-general of the state troops, with the rank of major, and served during the war. After the removal of the Indians he located himself near Linkville, where he secured 1,000 acres of land, and some valuable solfatara hot springs. His son, Edward C. Brooks, was appointed to the military academy at West Point, graduating in 1886.

David Feree, a native of Ind., born in 1836, of Ky parentage, enlisted as a private on the breaking-out of the civil war, remaining in the service to the close, and fighting in 37 battles, under Sherman, Sheridan, Rosecrans, and Grant. He rose to be captain during his service. In 1869 he migrated to eastern Oregon, settling in 1870 in what is now Klamath co., at the south end of upper Klamath Lake, where he made a farm, and engaged in raising stock cattle and horses. For 2½ years he was supt of farming on the Klamath Indian reservation. He married May E. Johnson of Brightborough, Iowa, in 1858.

John S. Shook, born in Ind. in 1843, came to Oregon about 1862. He was the son of Amon Shook, who also was born in Ind., but removed to Iowa in 1847. The family being large with little wealth, John migrated to Oregon

and located himself in Jackson co. In 1864 the remainder of the family, consisting of the parents, 3 sons, and 5 daughters, followed, and in 1870 John again became the pioneer, taking some land in the Klamath country, where Alkali is now situated, and being followed by the others and their joint property, 15 cows, with which they went into stock-raising, working for wages and investing all their earnings in cattle. John took a leading part in building up the town of Bonanza, where he was postmaster for several years, and taught the first school. The Shooks in a few years were independent, and became the largest land and stock owners in the country.

Richard Hutchinson, born in Pa in 1826, came to Cal. in 1867, residing in Sierra and Mono cos until 1864, when he removed to Jackson co., Oregon, and subsequently to Tule Lake, Klamath co. He married Annie Armstrong, of Tyrone co., Ireland, in 1848.

Newton Franklin Hildebrand, born in Moniteau co., Mo., in 1843, came to Cal. in 1874, settling in Yolo co. In 1879 he made a tour through Idaho and eastern Oregon, and in 1884 settled in Klamath co. He married Rhoda E. George in 1872.

Joseph Henry Sherar, born in Vt, came to Cal. by sea in 1855, being then 23 years old. He proceeded to the Salmon River mines, where he remained 3 years mining. In 1859 he removed to Hoopa Valley, purchased a farm of 450 acres of good farming land, and a train of 40 mules, with which he carried on freighting to Arcata on the coast, to the mines on Salmon River, and 150 miles up the Klamath River. While in this business he had for a partner Jonathan Lyon, a nephew of Gen. Lyon of the army of the civil war. In the spring of 1862 Sherar, with a passenger and freight train, started for the Powder River mines. The route was along Trinity River to Trinity Centre, across the mountains to Scott Valley, from there to Jacksonville, and thence to Oregon City, crossing the Cascade Mountains by the old Barlow road, the snow in places being 20 feet deep in June, to Tyghe Valley, Des Chutes Bridge, John Day River, Umatilla, Walla Walla, Grand Rond, and over the Blue Mountains to Powder River. Returning to the Dalles he loaded his train for the John Day mines. A German in his party built an oven of clay to bake bread in, en route, giving the name to a settlement which was afterward formed there. This company also named Antelope Valley from the great number of those animals found there, and Cold Camp from the cold experienced there. Near this camp, while they lay there, Berryway killed Gallagher for his money and pack-train; he was arrested, tried, and hanged at Cañon City. Proceeding, Sherar's company named Muddy Creek, Cherry Creek, and Burnt Rancho, where Clark and his partner were burned out by the Indians. Bridge Creek was so called on account of a small bridge of juniper logs, built over it by Shoeman and Wadley, who came from Cal. and went to the John Day mines with a train. Beyond here was Alkali Flat, where the first hotel on the road was erected in 1863. Crossing the Blue Mountains to the head of Rock Creek, the trail led to the John Day Valley, and thence to Cañon City. This was the road afterward so much molested by Indians, 180 miles in length, and guarded by the 1st Oregon cavalry. Sherar continued to carry freight over it for two years. In 1863 he married Jane A. Herbert, and settled in Wasco co., raising horses until 1871. Sherar's bridge over the Des Chutes has the following history: In earliest immigration times, as my readers will remember, it was frequently forded, at some peril to the traveller; sometimes the Indians carried passengers over in canoes. In 1860 a bridge was built at the crossing by Todd and Jackson, carried away by high water in 1861, and rebuilt in 1862. Jackson sold to Todd in the autumn, who took in Hemingway and Mays as partners. Hemingway soon purchased the interest of the other partners, after which he sold to O'Brien, who sold to Sherar in 1871, for $7,040, who expended $75,000 in improving the roads on every side of it, 66 miles of which he kept in repair. In 1876 he purchased the White River flouring mills, which manufactured 40 barrels of flour per day. He had also a saw-mill cutting 2,800 feet daily. He purchased the Fenegan rancho 14 miles east of his bridge, containing 1,580 acres, worth $25,000; had 6,500

sheep and horses and mules for farm work. He kept the stage-station and post-office at the bridge, where a little settlement grew up, and was considered worth $60,000. Here was a pioneer; a man who by hard work became owner of $100,000 worth of property, with a good yearly income. Many such there are in this favored land.

Rodney Glisan was born at Linganore, Md., in 1827, of Maryland's earliest English ancestry, and educated at the university of that state as a physician. In 1849 he passed a competitive examination by a board of army surgeons, was accepted, and commissioned asst surgeon U. S. A. in 1850. After being on temporary duty at several posts in the west and south-west, he was ordered to the Pacific coast, arriving in S. F. in 1855 on the steamer *John L. Stephens*, from Panamá. Soon after he was ordered to southern Oregon with the troops sent to suppress the Rogue River Indians, at that time in a hostile attitude to the white settlers, and in this service endured hardships from which one might well shrink. In 1861 he settled in Portland, where he married, in 1863, Elizabeth R. Couch, daughter of the pioneer John H. Couch. He has been president of the Multnomah County Medical Society, and the Medical Society of the State of Oregon; member of the American Medical Association, and an emeritus professor of obstetrics in the medical dept of the Willamette university. He published a book entitled *A Journal of Army Life*, and is the author of several brochures upon different branches of medicine and surgery. In 1881 he was appointed by the medical societies of Oregon delegate to the International Medical Congress held in London, and spent two years subsequently in the hospitals and medical colleges of Europe, whence he returned to Portland in 1883.

William Ried was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1842, of Scotch parentage. He was brought up in an atmosphere of railroads, his father being manager of the Glasgow and South-western Railway, and a railroad builder for 20 years. William was sent to St Andrew's parish school, and educated in the Presbyterian faith, under Samuel Neil, author of *Logic and Literature*. At an early age he left his father's house to do battle in the world for himself, succeeding in securing an education in Glasgow university, with a knowledge of the law which enabled him to practice as a partner of Alex. Douglas of Dundee, soon after which he married Agnes Dunbar. While at Dundee he met Mrs Lincoln, widow of President Lincoln, and performing for her some literary service, was rewarded by the appointment of U. S. vice-consul at Dundee, which office he held from 1869 to 1874, when he resigned to come to Oregon. His frequent intercourse with Americans led him to give much attention to the country, and in 1873 he published a pamphlet on *Oregon and Washington as Fields for Capital and Labor*, which was widely circulated, and resulted in the formation by its author of the Oregon and Washington Trust Investment Company, for doing business in Portland. The president of the company was the earl of Airlie, and Mr Reid the secretary. This company invested over $1,000,000 in Oregon and secured mortgages on much valuable property, being subsequently converted into the Dundee Mortgage and Trust Investment Company, with Reid as manager. Mr Reid has been very active in commercial and financial affairs. Soon after arriving in Portland he organized the Board of Trade, with A. P. Ankeny and 85 other members, who elected him secretary. In Sept. of the same year he procured the establishment by the legislature of a State Board of Immigration, the governor appointed him one of the commissioners, and the board making him secretary. He prepared pamphlets, which were printed in several languages, and circulated at the Paris exposition and the Philadelphia exposition, attracting much attention to the north-west. He was the organizer of the Oregon and Washington Mortgage Savings Bank of Portland, the first deposit savings bank in the state. In 1878 he conceived a system of narrow-gauge railways in the Willamette Valley, to be built by Scotch capital, under the name of the Oregonian Railway Company, Limited; and secured the passage by the legislature of a law entitling foreign corporations to build railroads in the state, with the same powers belonging to domestic corporations. In

the autumn of 1880 he had in operation in the Willamette Valley 118 miles of road, when he applied to the legislature for a right to enter the city, and locate his road upon the public grounds therein, but was opposed by Villard's railroad companies and the city government. The legislature, however, passed the bill over the governor's veto, and the Scotch company was triumphant, Reid being local president. The construction of the road into Portland was proceeded with, and the grading had reached to a point within 11 miles of the city, when the stockholders in Scotland, despite the protests of the local president, gave a 96 years' lease of their railways to Villard for a guarantee of 7 per cent on the stock. Reid then abandoned the management, and turned to other enterprises. His next undertaking was the introduction into the state of the roller system of manufacturing flour, and the City of Salem Company, with a capital of $200,000, was the result. In 1883 it erected the Capitol A and B mills at Salem and C mill at Turner, at a cost of $230,000, with a combined capacity of 900 barrels per day. The success of these mills led to the erection of others on the same plan, in Portland and elsewhere. The First National Bank of Salem was organized in 1882 by Mr. Reid erecting the bank building and becoming the first president. Having relinquished all connection with the Scotch companies above mentioned, in the spring of 1883 he organized the Oregon Mortgage Company of Scotland, with a capital of $1,000,000, which he managed for two years. In 1884 he organized the Portland National Bank, and was made its first president, and also president of the Oregon and Washington Mortgage Savings Bank. In the mean time the successors to Villard in Oregon repudiated the 96 years' lease of the narrow-gauge system, because the road was uncompleted and unproductive. The courts appointed a receiver; the legislative act under which the Oregonian Company was chartered became inoperative through the expiration of the time allowed for the completion of the road, the people of the valley desired to have a road to tide-water put in operation, and Reid was the man to bring it about. Another bill was introduced in the legislature, contested as the first had been by the city of Portland and the Oregonian Railway Company; but the bill became a law, and the Portland and Willamette Valley Railway Company, organized by Reid, undertook to connect the Willamette Valley system with Portland by the 1st of Nov., 1886. The state gave the new company a contract, to last for 15 years, to carry the freight and passengers of the uncompleted road to Portland. Mr. Reid is eminently a financier. There has been loaned on real-estate mortgages from May 1874 to June 1885, $7,597,741 of Scotch money. As one dollar borrowed represents three of value at minimum estimates, and as much of the property mortgaged is never released, there are many millions' worth of Oregon and Washington lands held in Scotland.

Thomas H. Crawford was born in Indiana, June 24, 1840, and came to Oregon in 1852, with his parents, who settled in Linn co. on a farm. For 6 years his opportunities for study were limited. Then he was sent to the Santiam academy at Lebanon for about a year, after which he entered the Willamette university, from which he graduated in 1863, after which he began teaching. His first school was in Sublimity, where he remained three years, when he took charge of the public schools in Salem for 1½ years. From there he came to Portland in 1868, and taught in the Portland Academy and Female Seminary as assistant for two years. In 1870–2 he was principal of the North Portland school, after which he was elected to the chair of natural sciences of Willamette university, remaining in that position three years, returning to Portland in 1875, and being elected principal of the Central grammar school. On the resignation of the former superintendent of public schools in Portland, in 1877, he was elected to fill that position. Mr Crawford has labored conscientiously to improve the school system and management, in which he has been eminently successful; much attention has been given to plans of building, and all matters connected with the public schools, until those of Portland are not excelled by any city of its population anywhere in the United States. It is noteworthy that the leading teachers in Portland for many years have been educated in Oregon.

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